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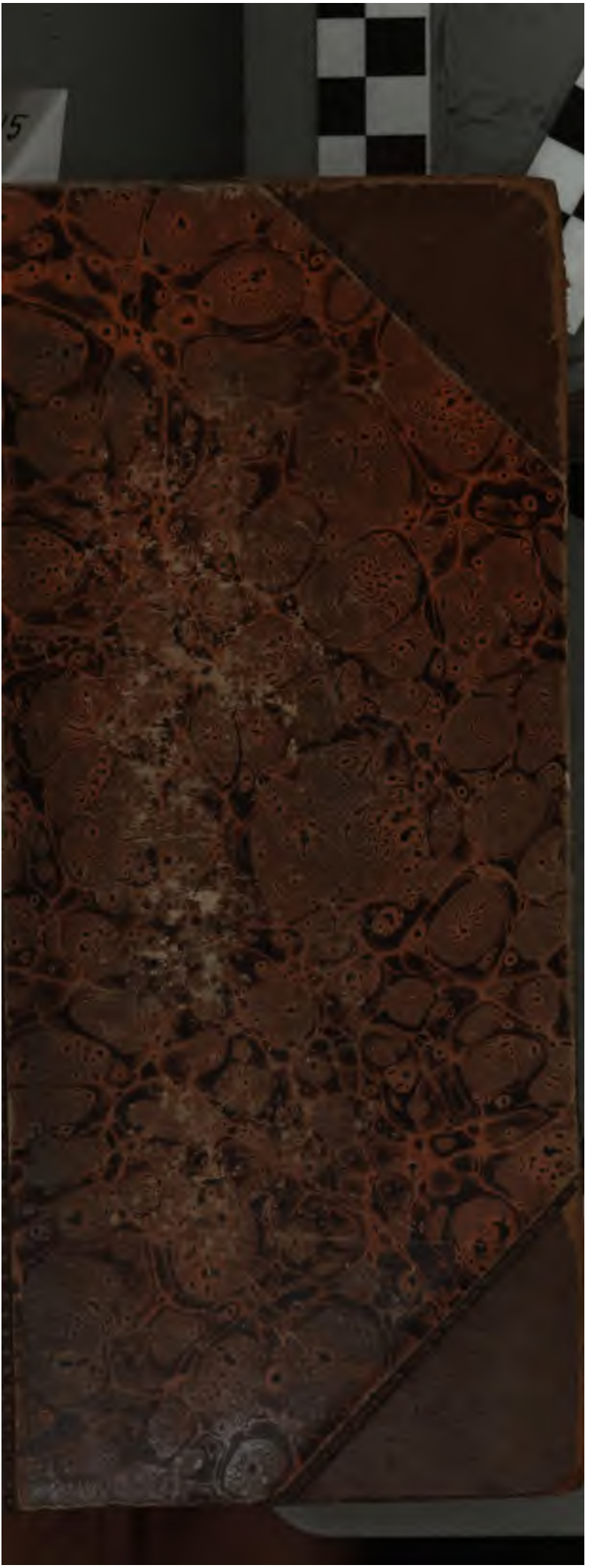

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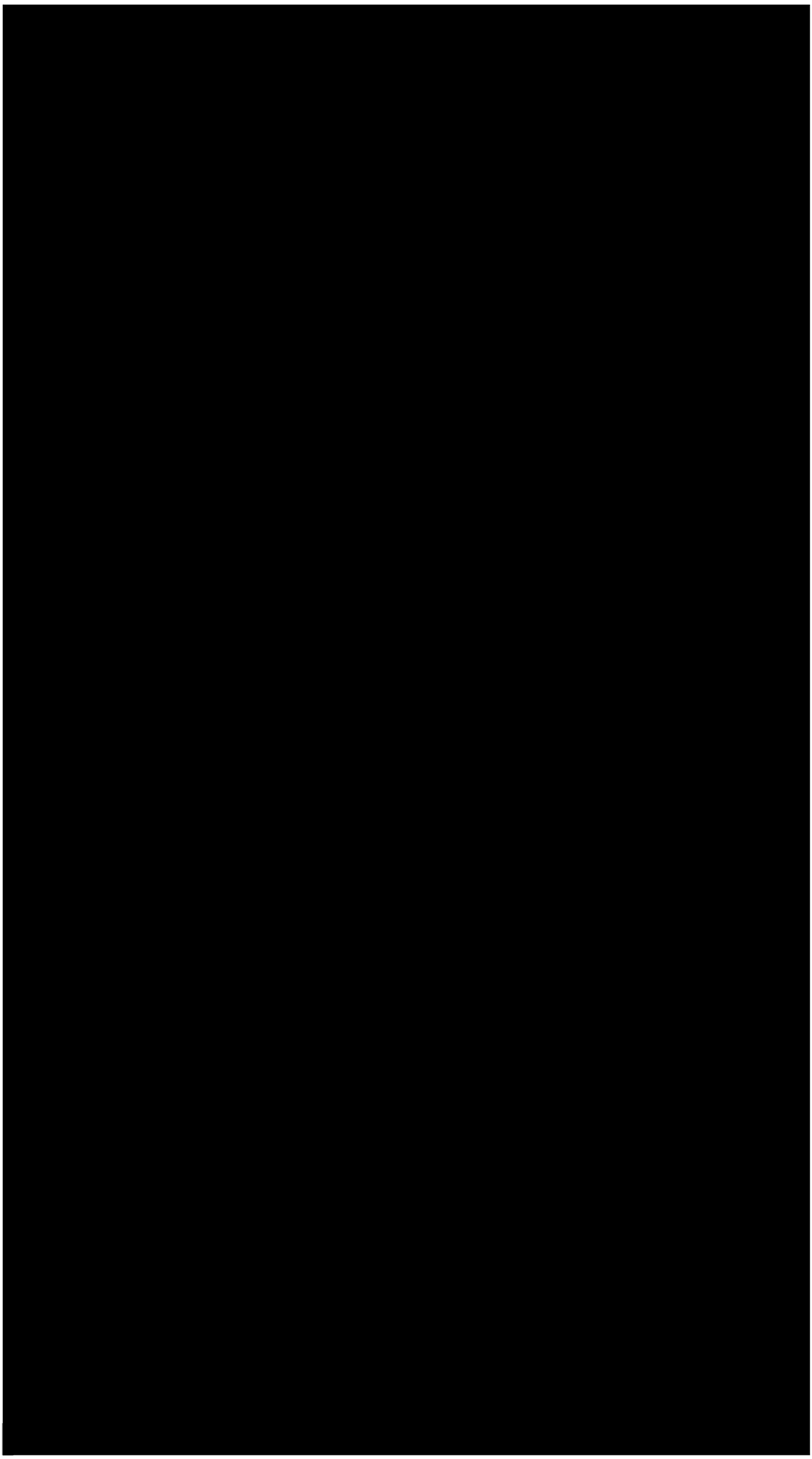

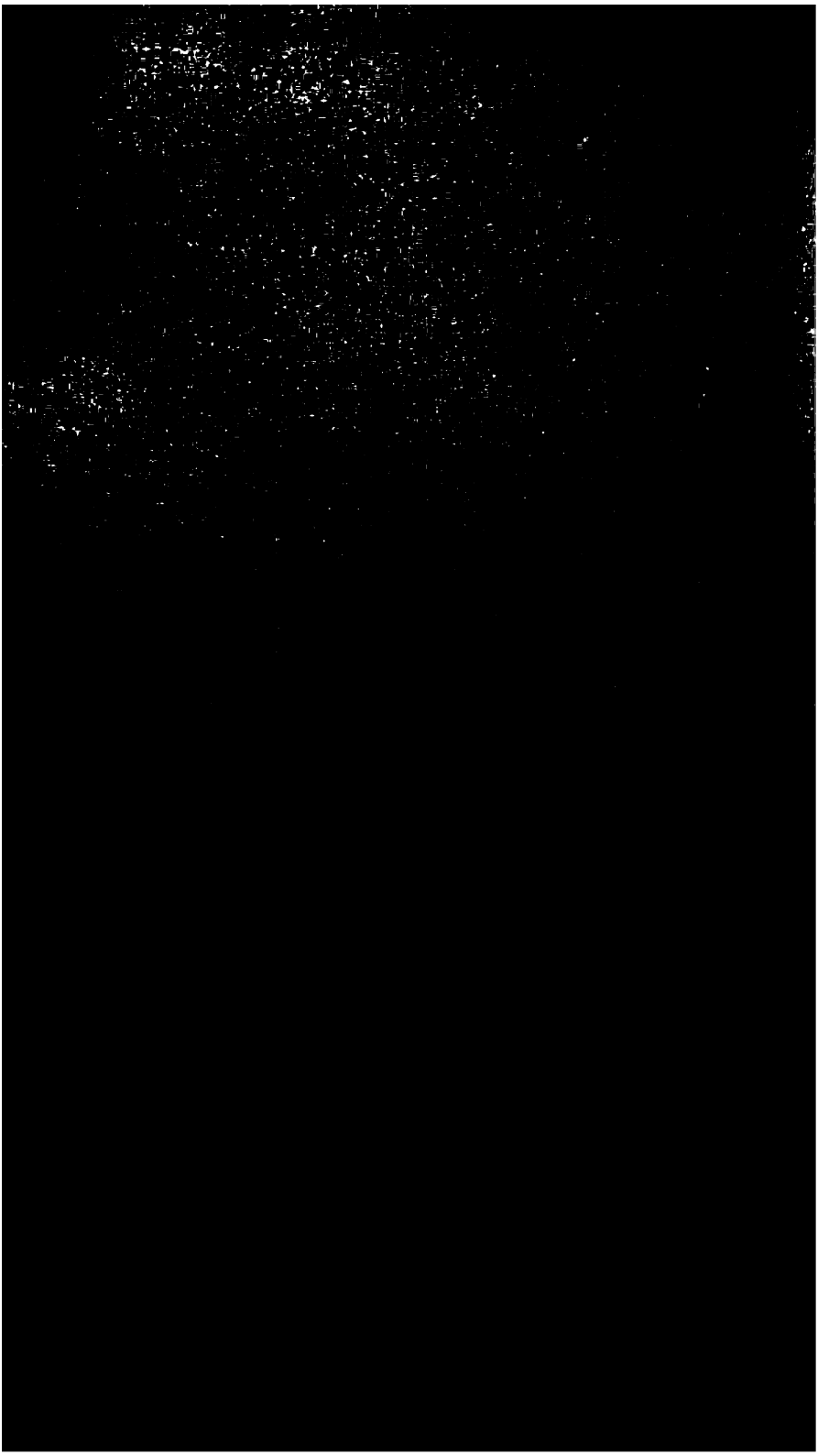

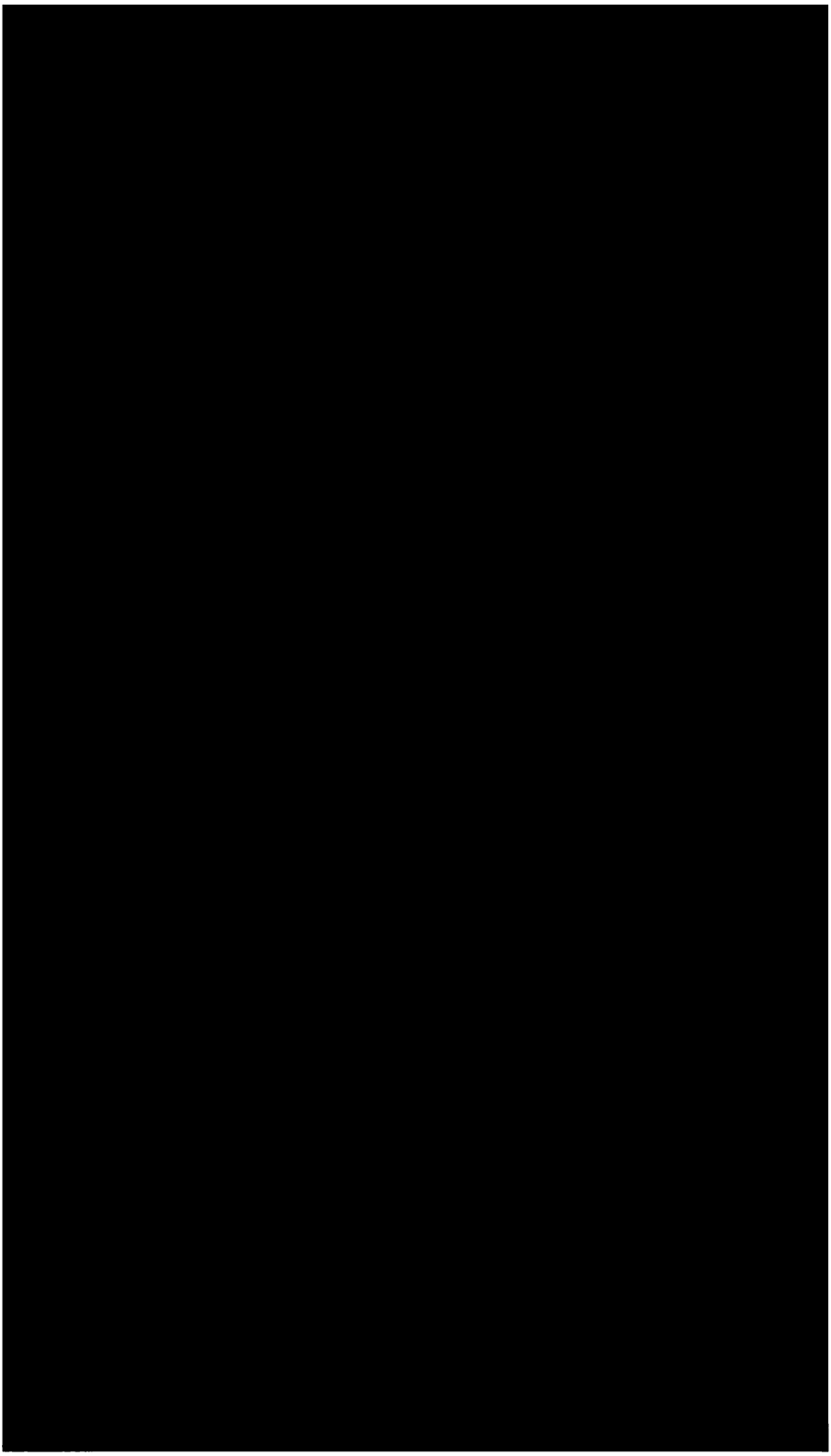

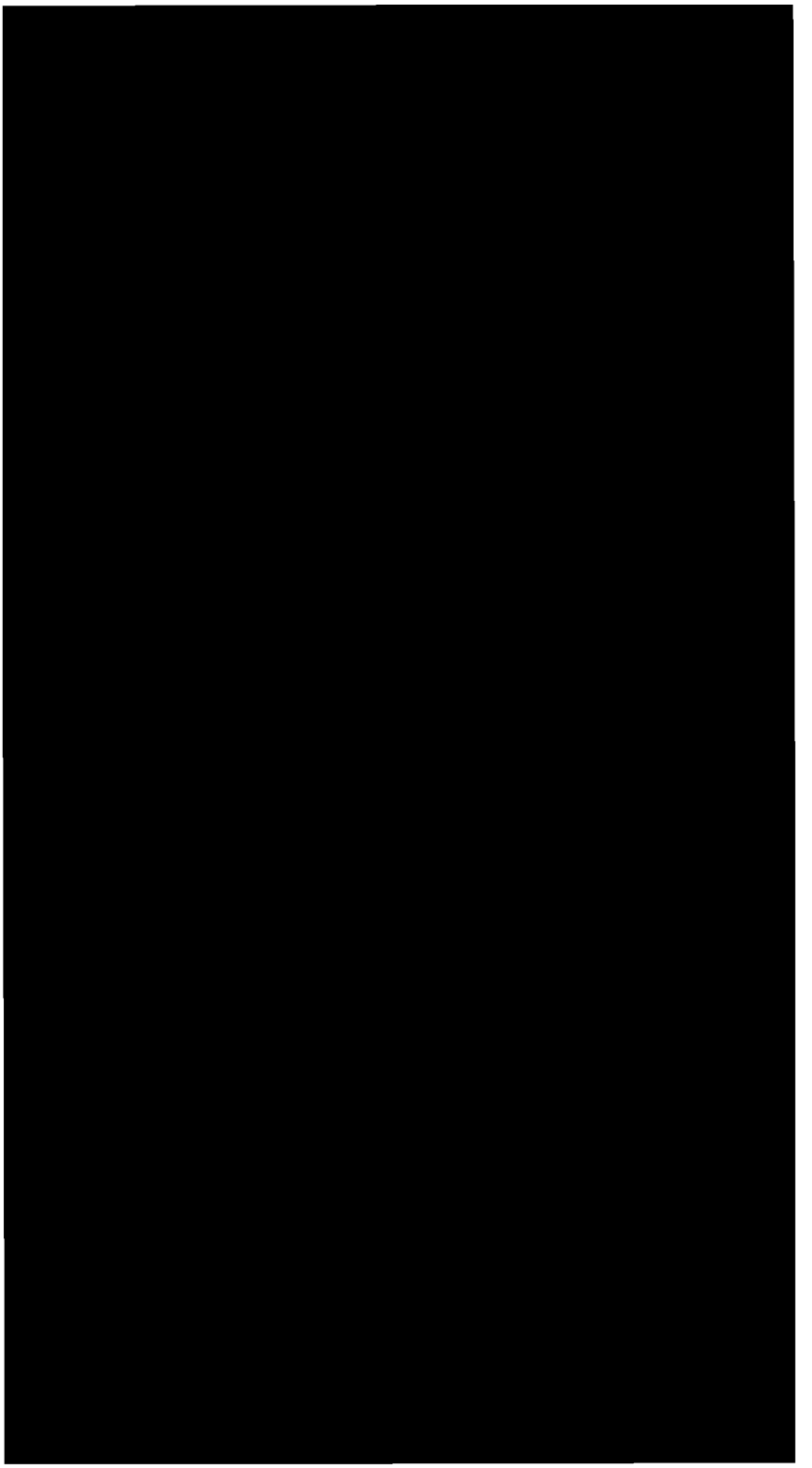

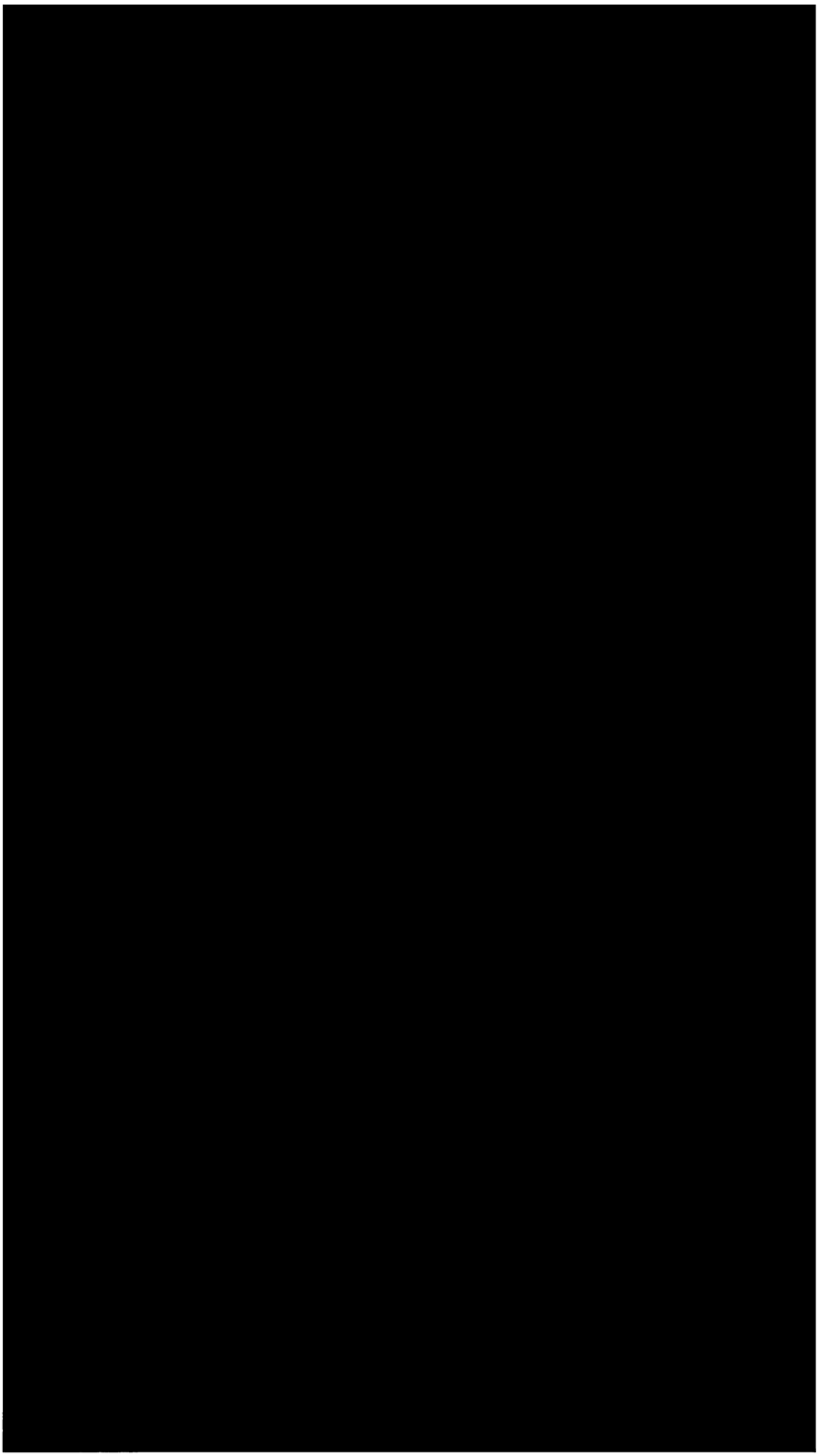

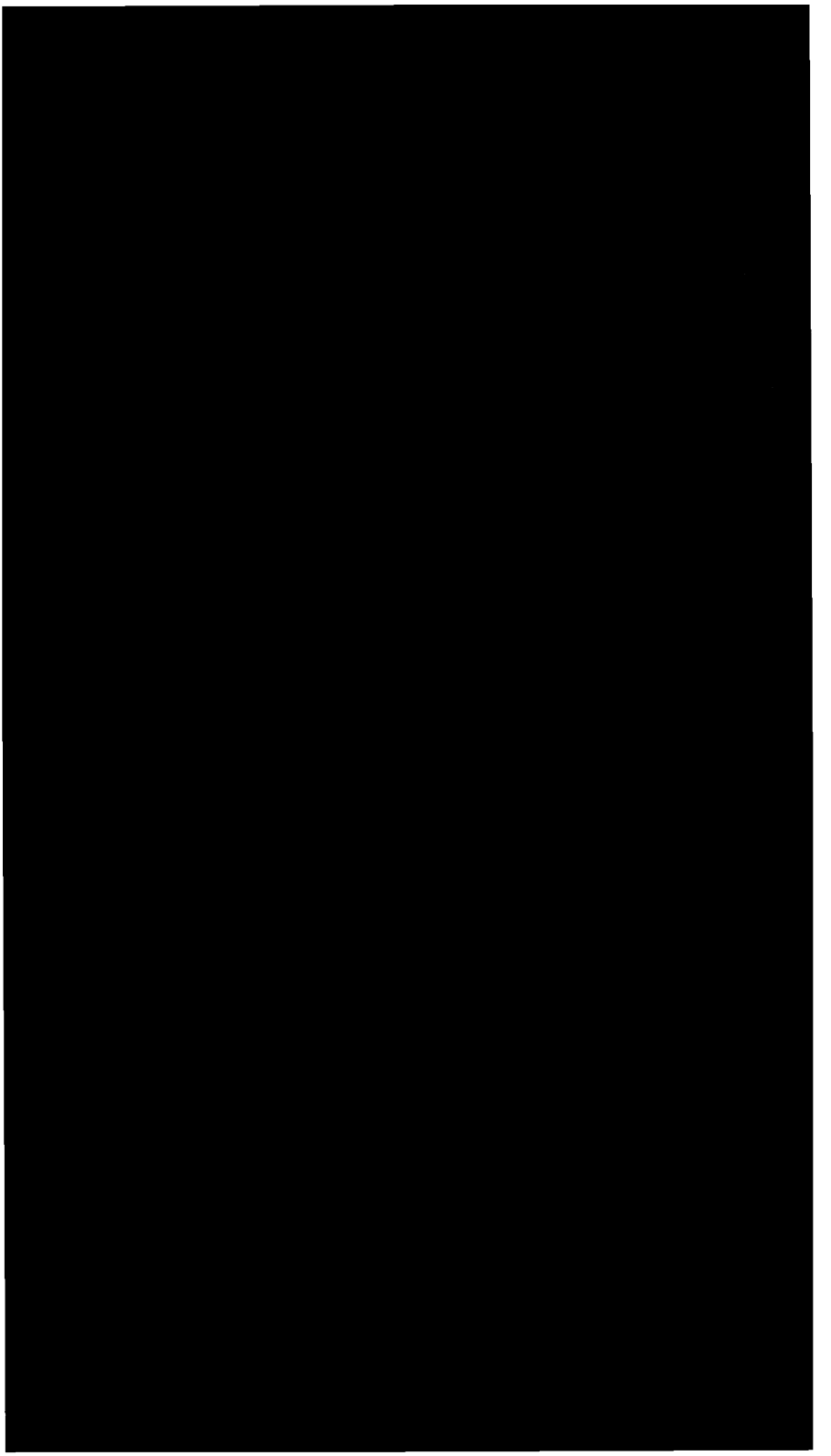

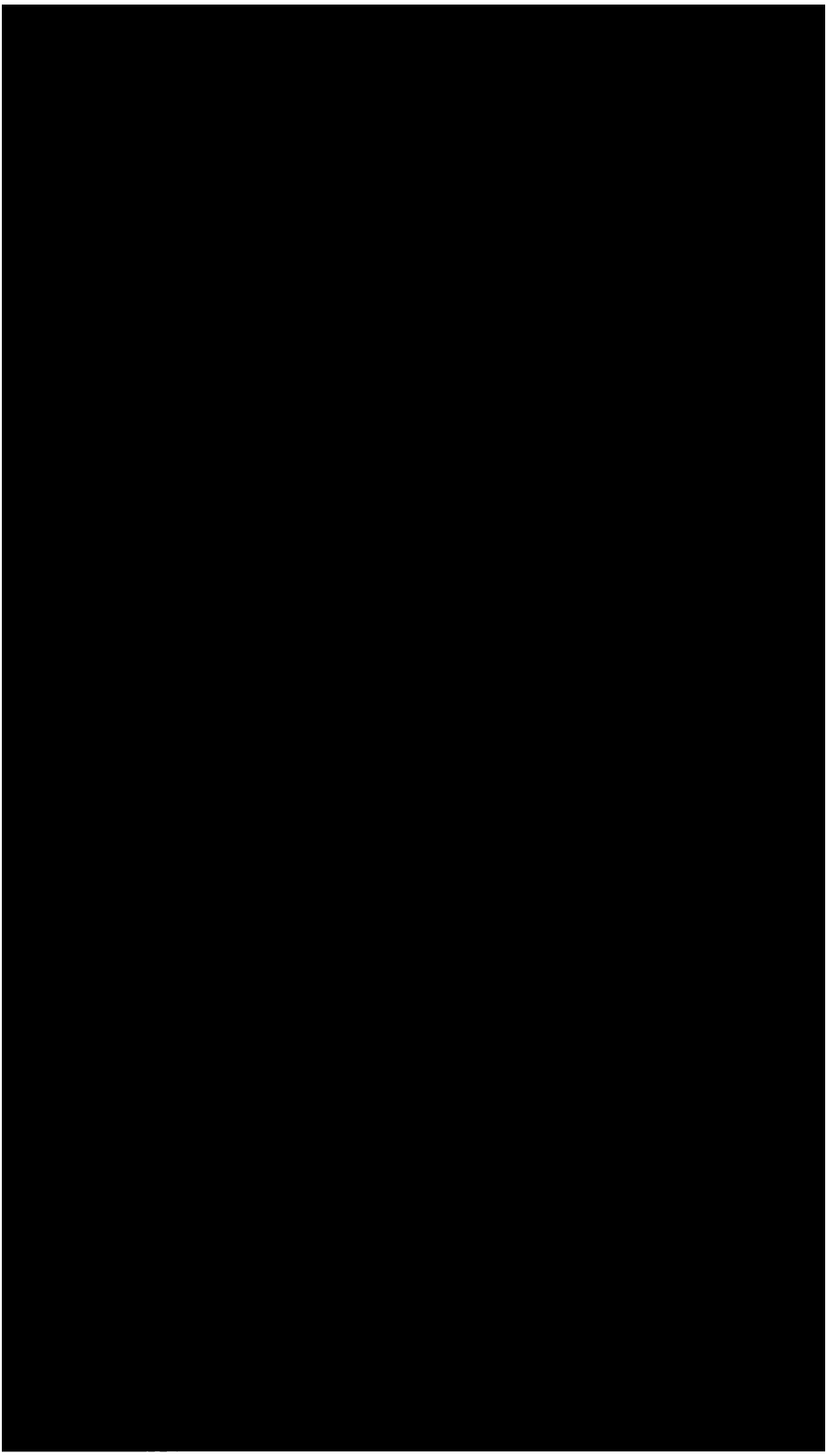

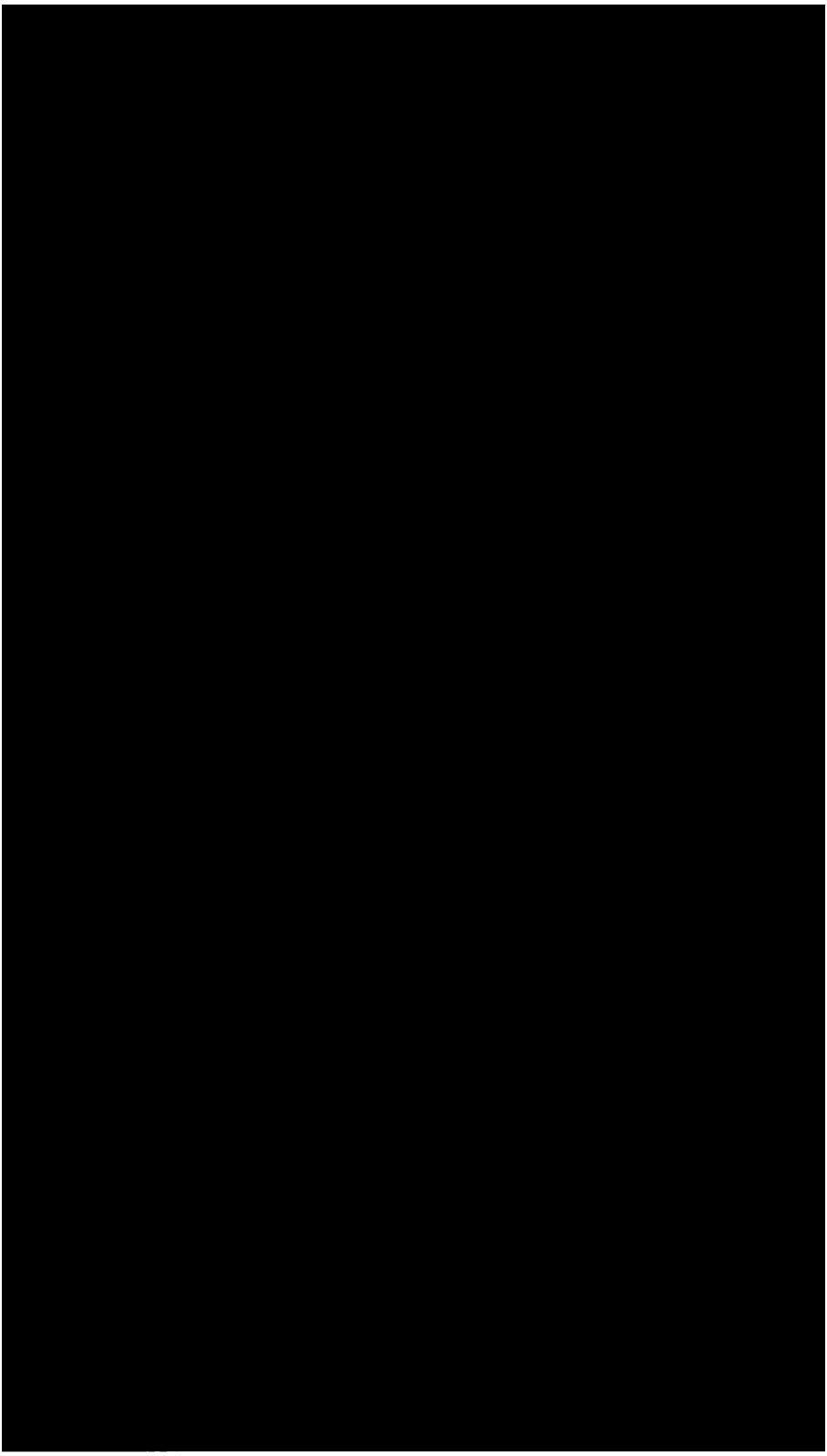

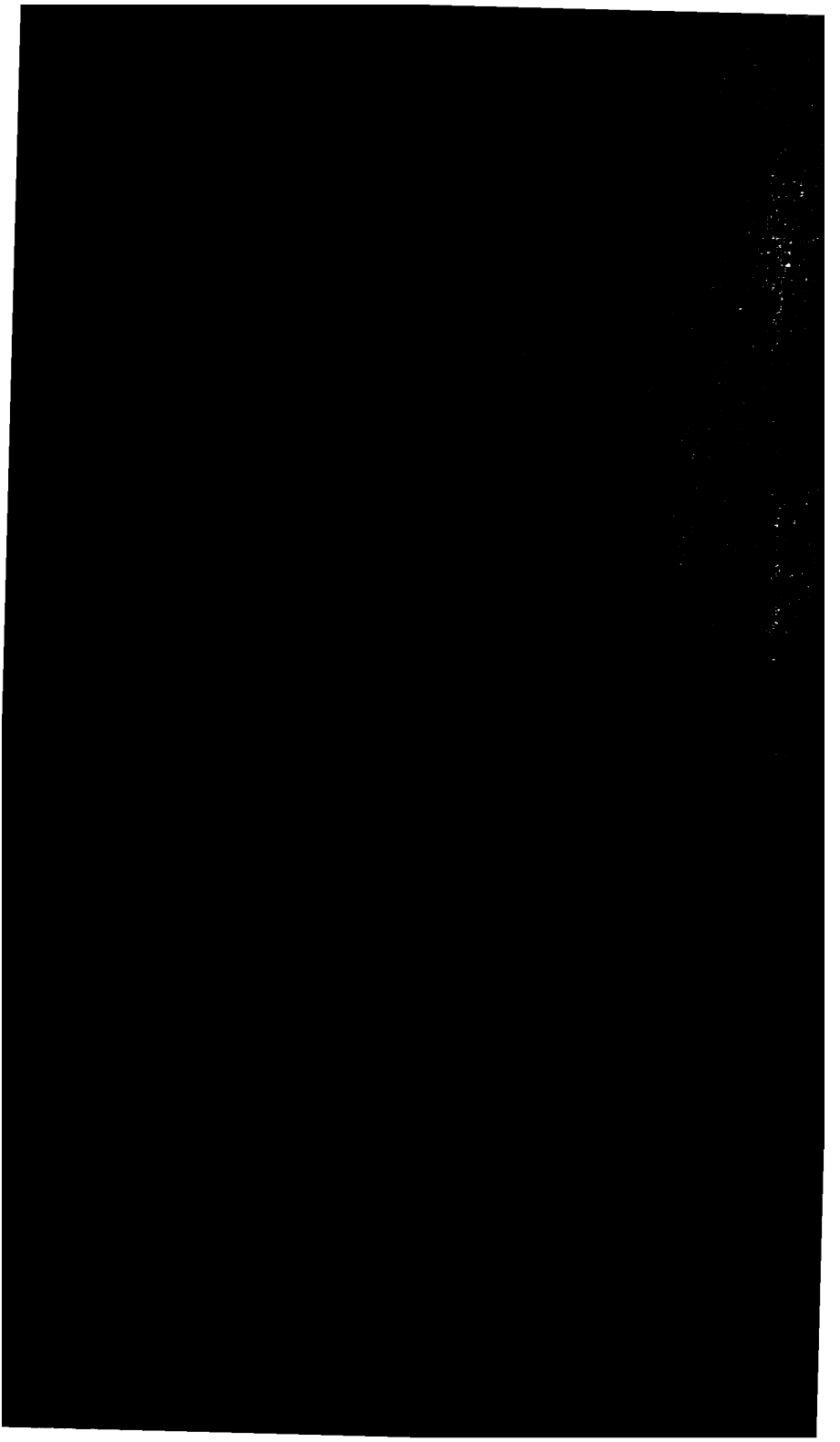

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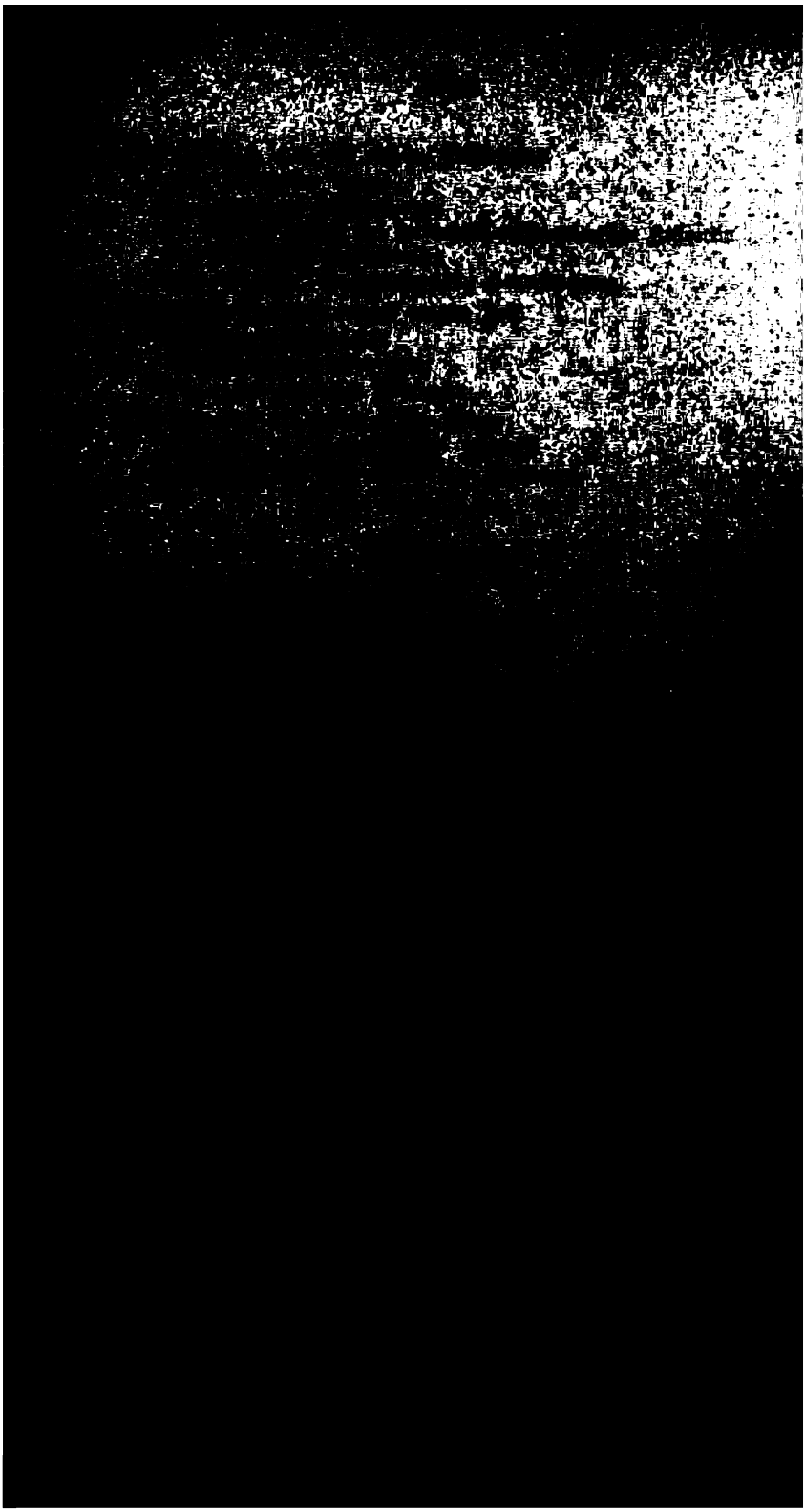
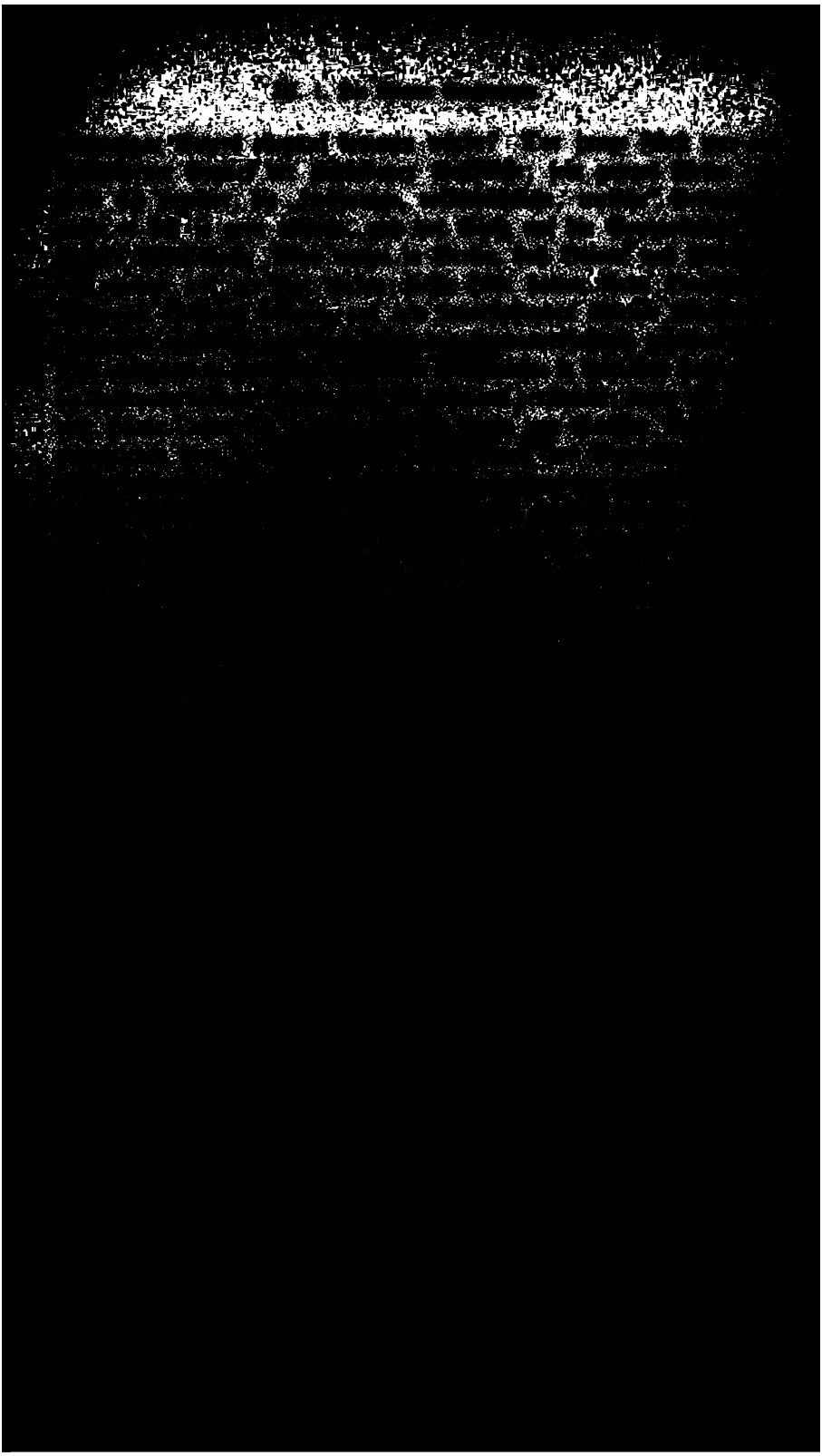
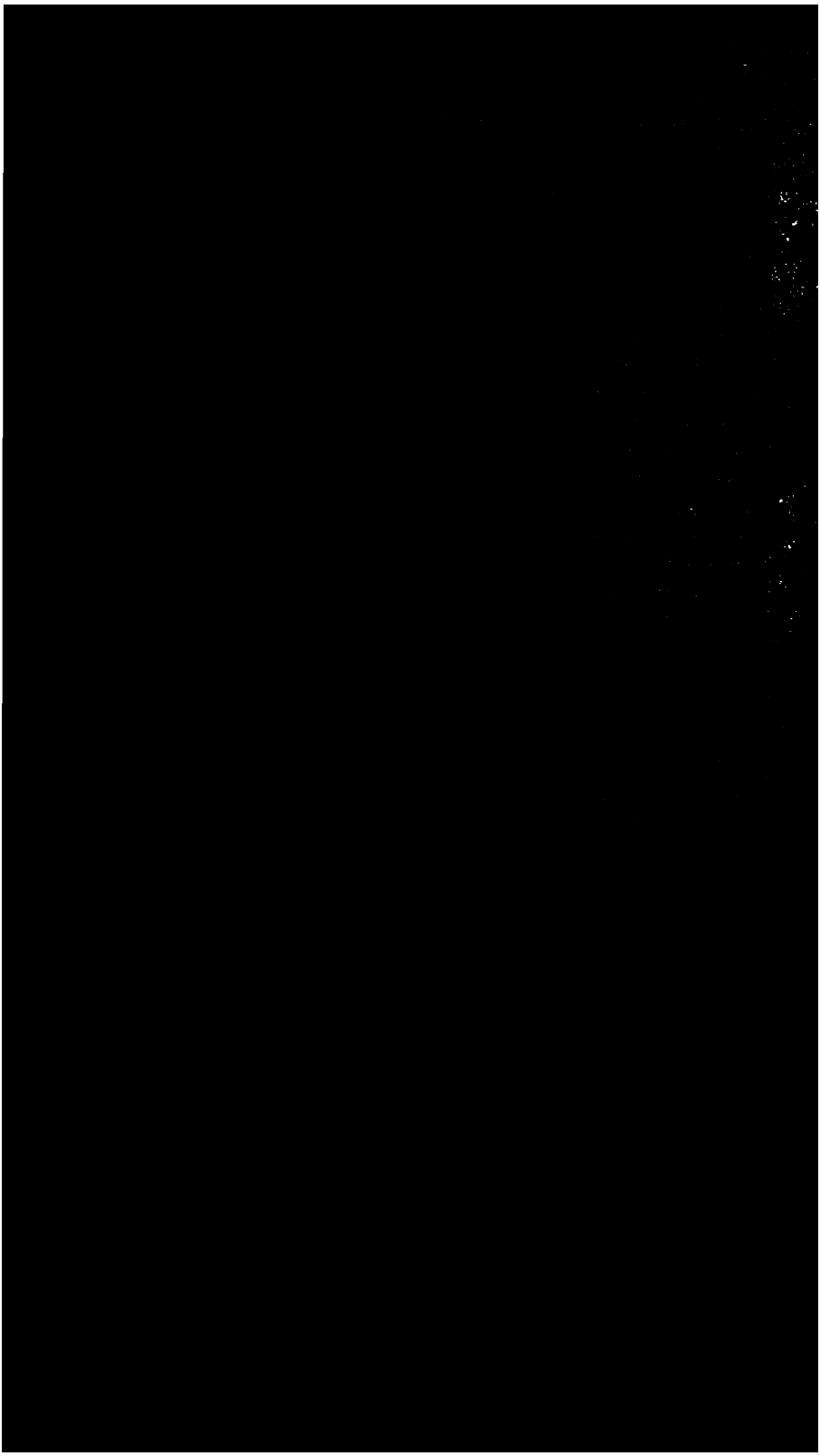
Drittes Buch.

Oesterreichs Herrschaft und Preußens Erstarken.

1819—1830.



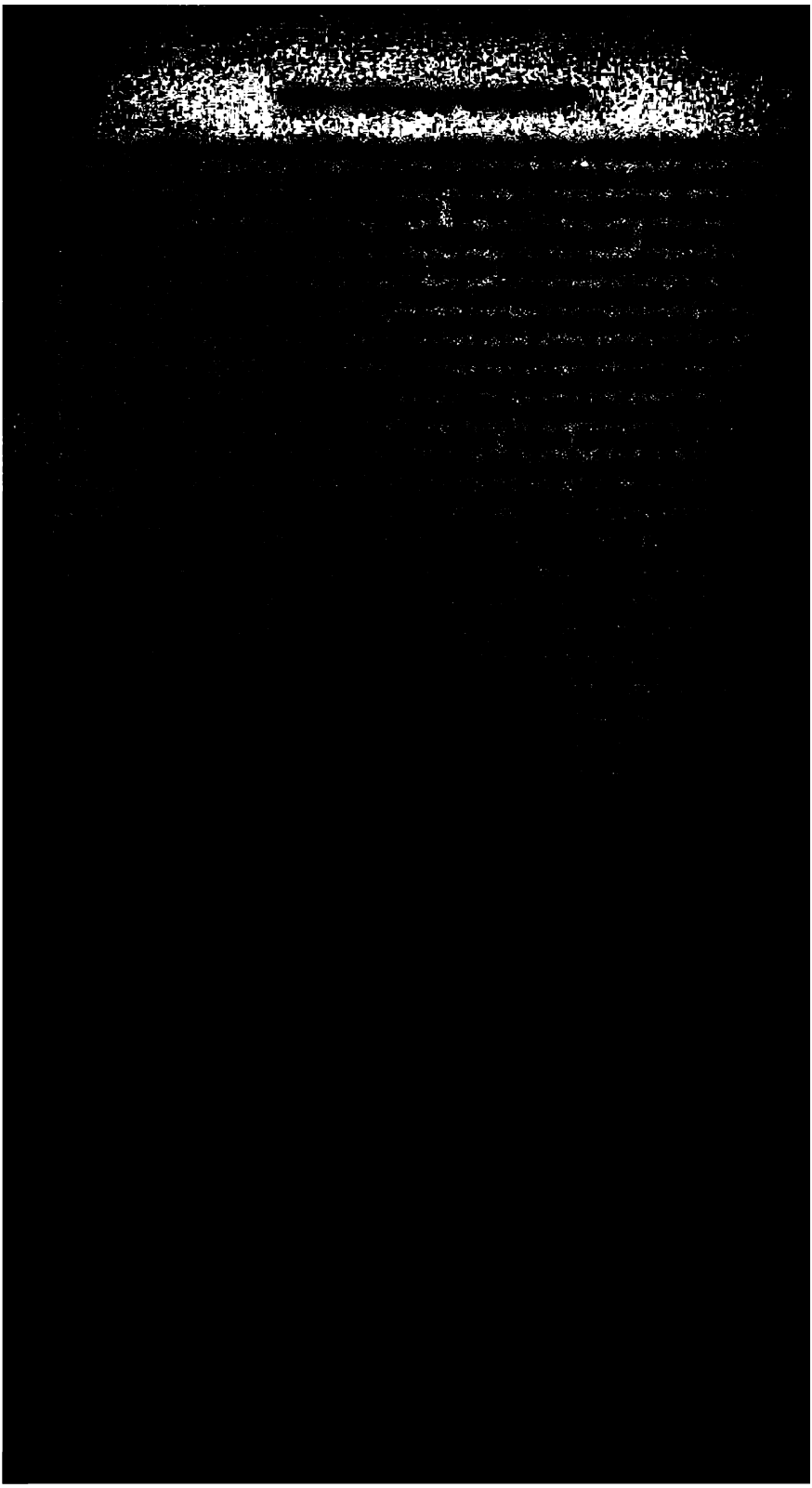


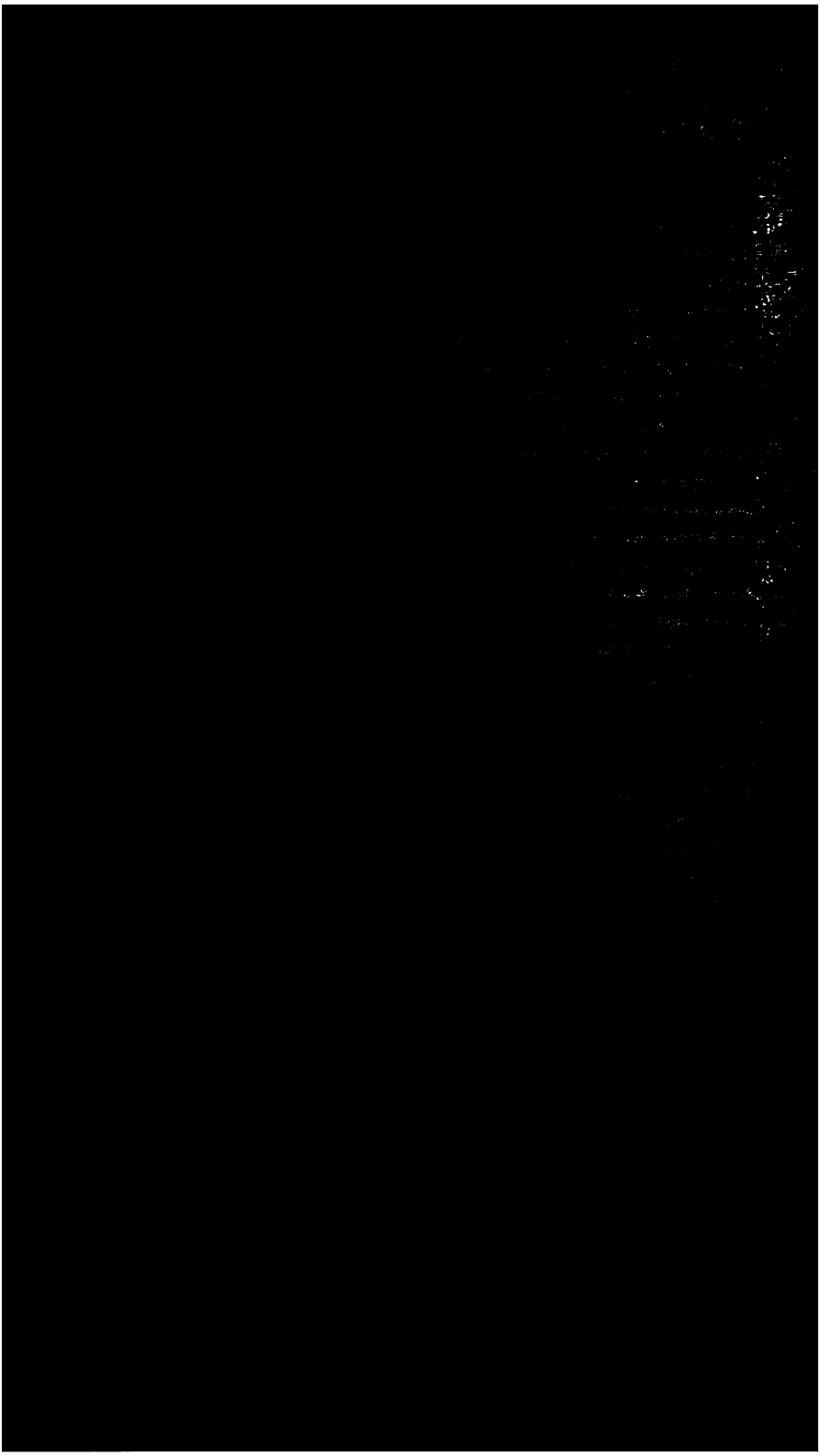


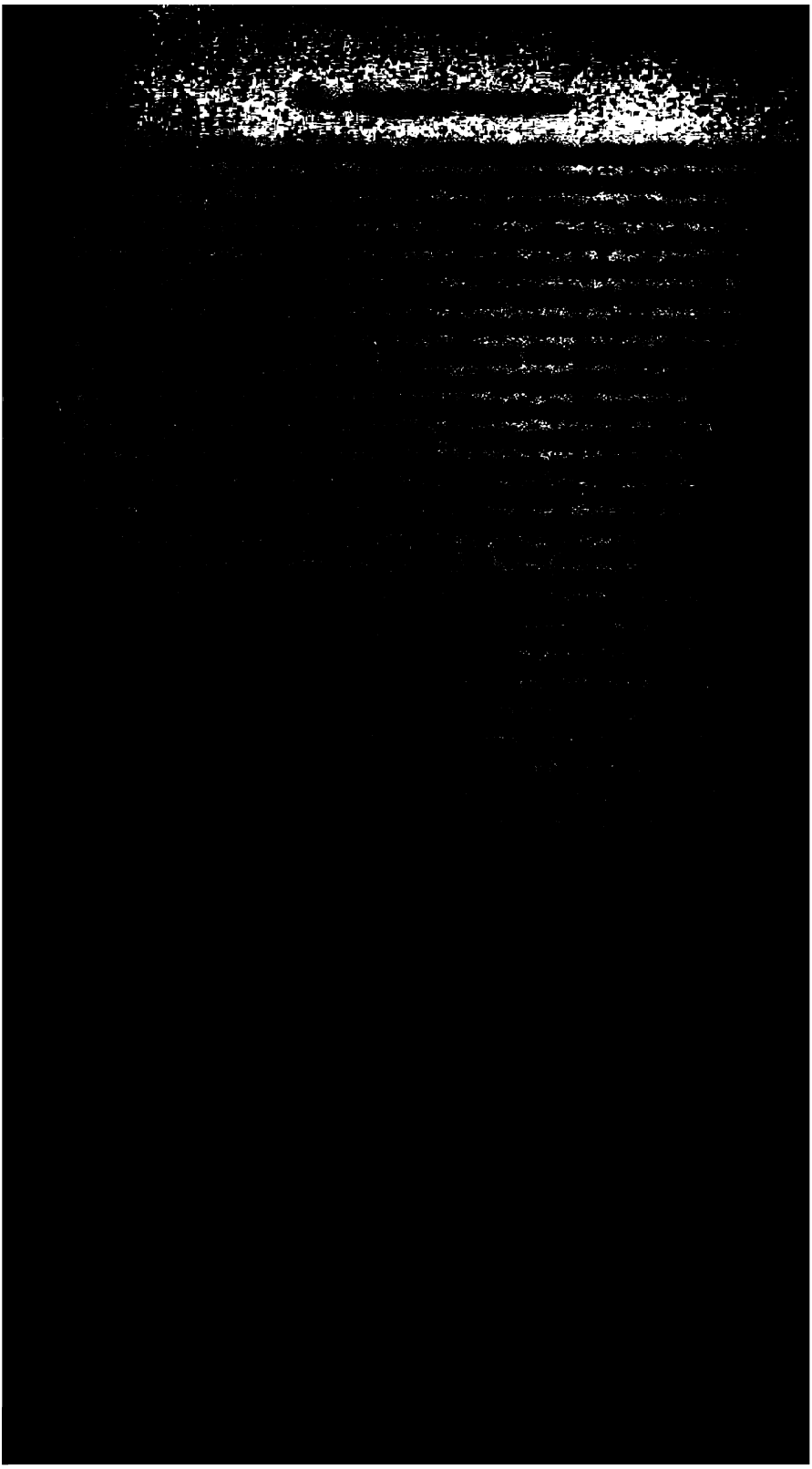
nügen und schlug eine mittlere Richtung ein, welche, wie die Dinge lagen, für seinen Staat die einzig richtige Politik war. Er bekannte unverhohlen seine Verfassungstreue und verfocht mit juristischem Scharfsinn jene streng partikularistische Ansicht des Bundesrechts, welche das Haus Wittelsbach schon auf dem Wiener Congresse und seitdem am Bundestage beharrlich vertreten hatte: nach der bairischen Doctrin war das Grundgesetz des Bundes allein in den elf ersten Artikeln der Bundesakte enthalten, die „besonderen Bestimmungen" der neun letzten Artikel über die inneren Verhältnisse der Bundesstaaten galten in München nur als eine freiwillige, nicht unbedingt verbindliche Verabredung zwischen souveränen Mächten. Aber man wußte stets woran man mit dem Baiern war. Von den liberalen Neigungen, die man ihm fälschlich zugetraut, zeigte er gar nichts; er vermied jedes Wort, das ihn in diesem Kreise verdächtigen konnte, um so vorsichtiger, da ihm seine Genossen nachdrücklich vorhielten, daß der Münchener Hof selber durch seine Hilferufe die Karlsbader Beschlüsse mit veranlaßt hatte. Blieb nur die Souveränität der Wittelsbacher und ihre Landesverfassung unangetastet, so bot er willig seine Hand zu jedem Antrage, der die „Ordnung" sichern sollte; und da er in den Verhandlungen sich als ein ausgezeichneter Geschäftsmann bewährte, immer gelassen und höflich, arbeitsam und unterrichtet, ganz frei von Arglist, so kam er selbst mit Metternich, wie Rechberg vorausgesagt, auf einen guten Fuß. Mit Bernstorff verband ihn bald eine vertrauensvolle Freundschaft, und wieder einmal erwies sich die Verständigung zwischen den beiden größten rein deutschen Staaten als naturgemäß und heilsam: sie konnte zwar, wie hier die Parteien standen, nur wenig Gutes schaffen, doch manche Thorheit reaktionärer Parteipolitik verhindern.

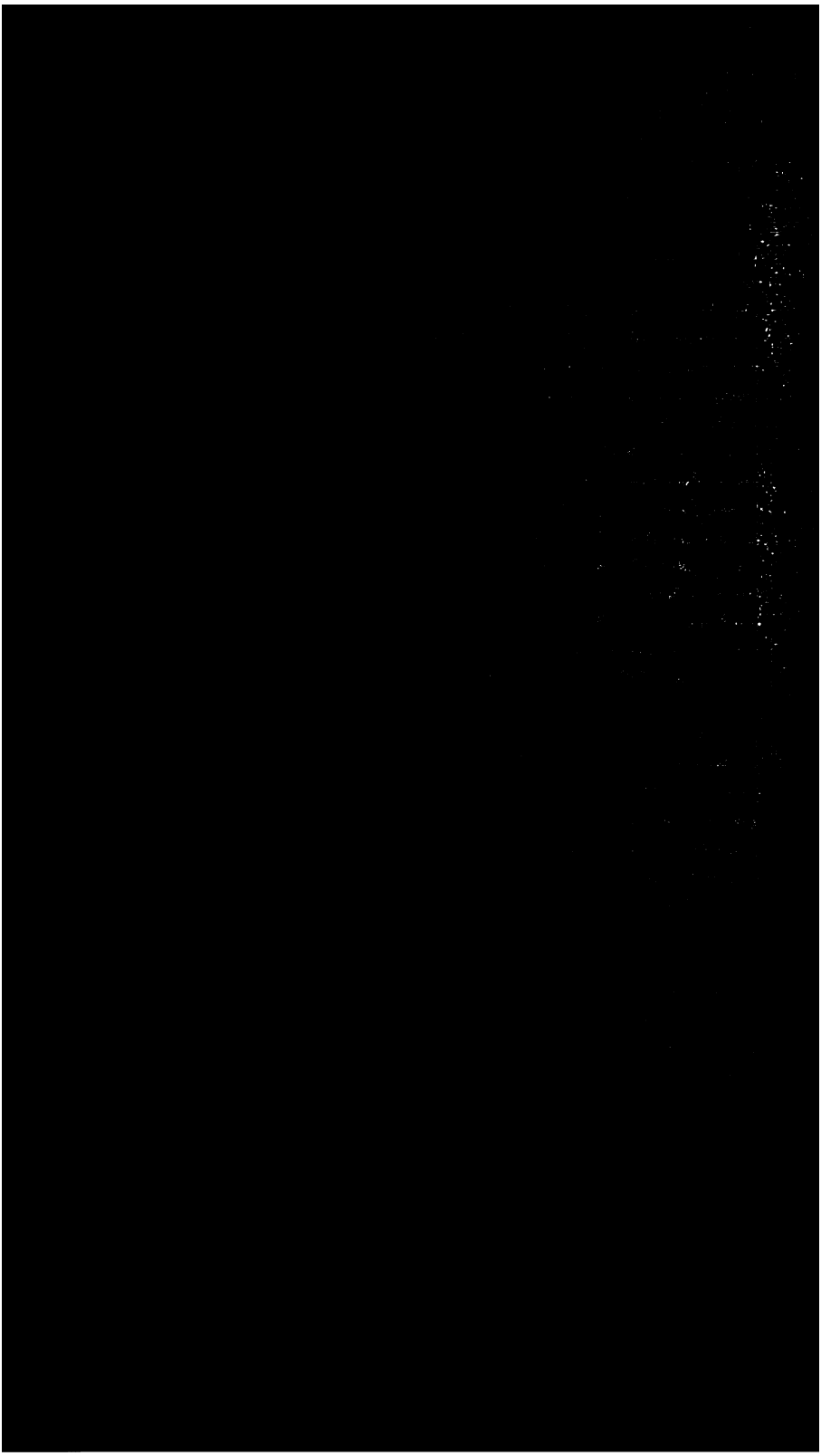
Minder freundlich, aber fast noch ungefährlicher erschien die Haltung Württembergs. Ueber den Plänen des Stuttgarter Hofes lag noch immer jenes seltsame Zwielicht, das dem Charakter König Wilhelms zusagte. Der preußische Gesandte vermochte schlechterdings nicht durchzusehen; bald versicherte ihm ein Minister, der Hof sei im Grunde mit den Karlsbader Beschlüssen ganz einverstanden, bald erging sich der König vor dem russischen Gesandten in hochliberalen Aeußerungen.*) Die nämliche Unsicherheit verrieth sich auch bei der Wahl der Bevollmächtigten für die Conferenz. Wintzingerode blieb in Stuttgart, aus denselben Gründen, welche Rechberg in München zurückhielten: er wollte seinen Monarchen nicht aus den Augen lassen und in den Sitzungen des Geheimen Raths den Ausschlag geben.**) Statt seiner wurde Graf Mandelsloh bevollmächtigt, ein gutmüthiger, bequemer, urtheilsloser alter Herr, dessen politische Unschuld über jeder Anfechtung erhaben war. Doch ganz ohne Hintergedanken ver-

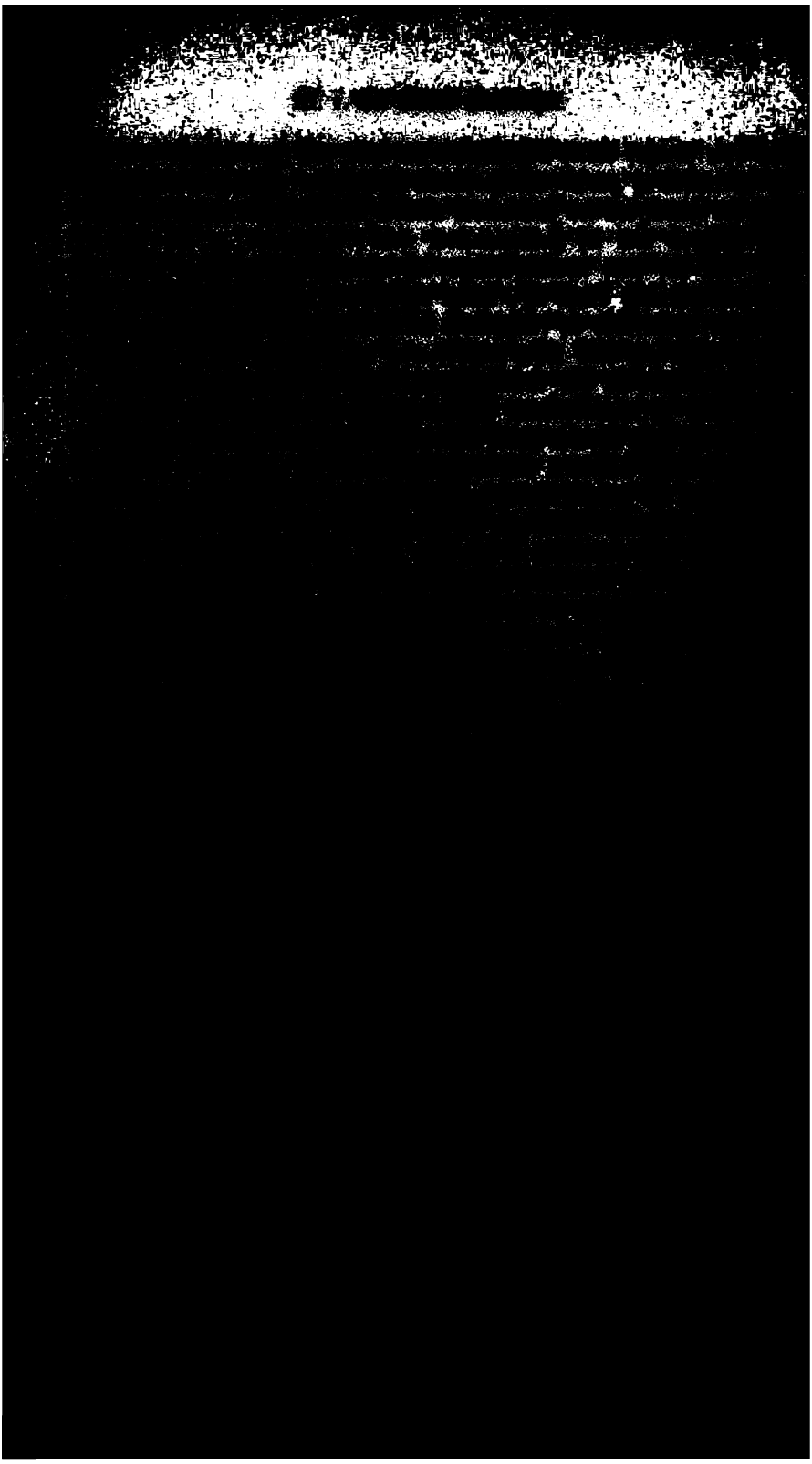
*) Küster's Berichte, 21. Sept., 23. Okt., 29. Nov. ff. 1819.
**) Küster's Bericht, 26. Okt. 1819.

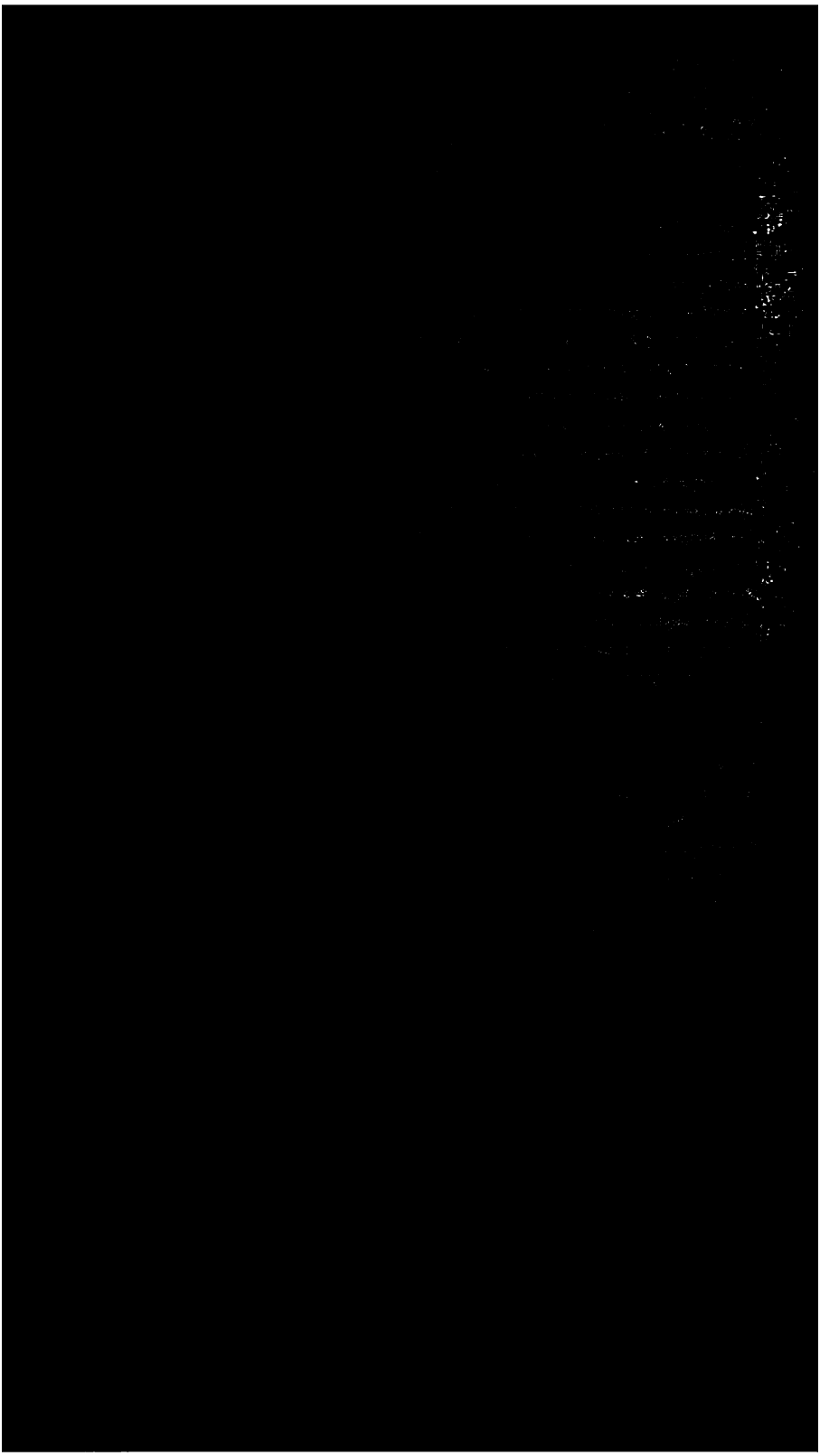


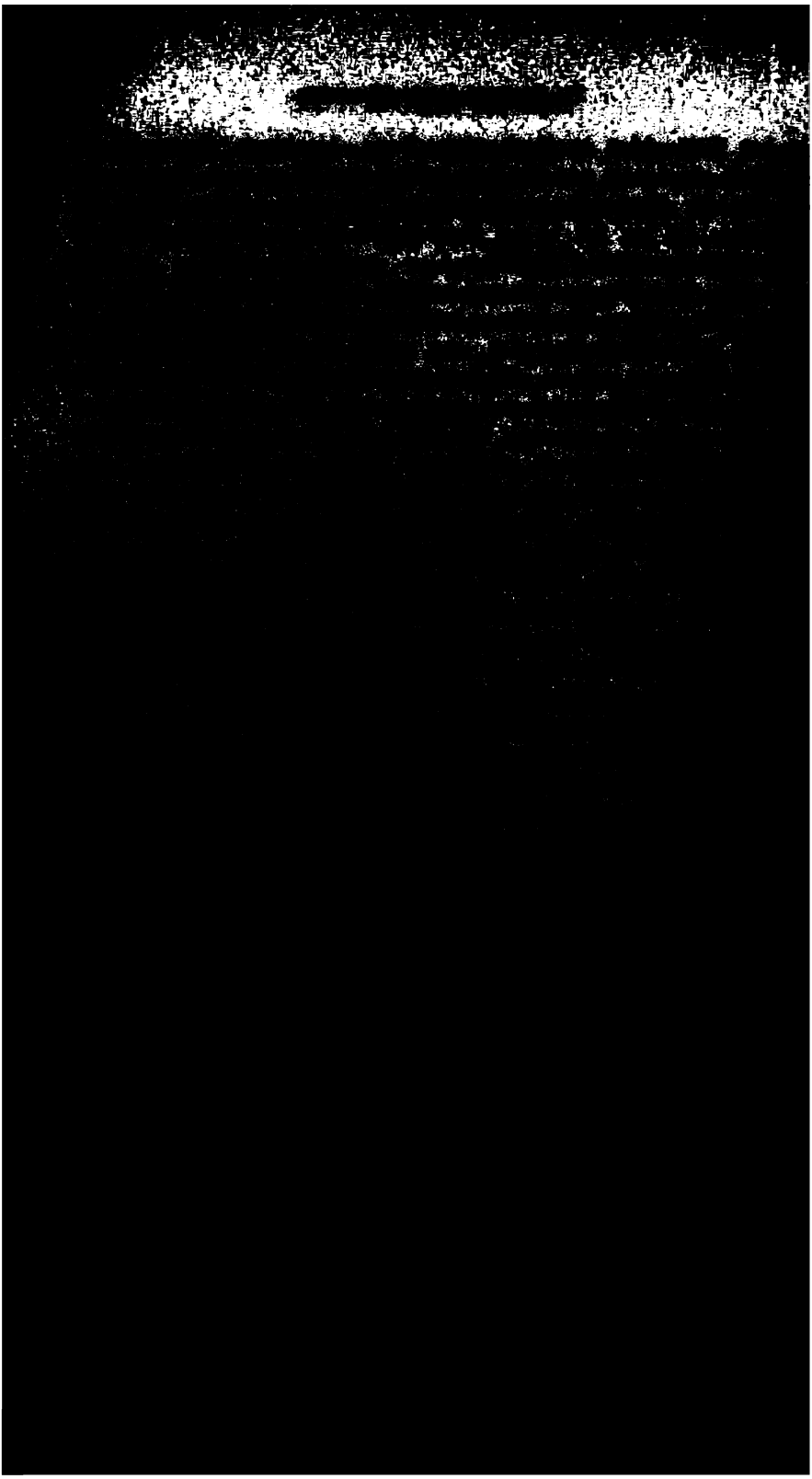


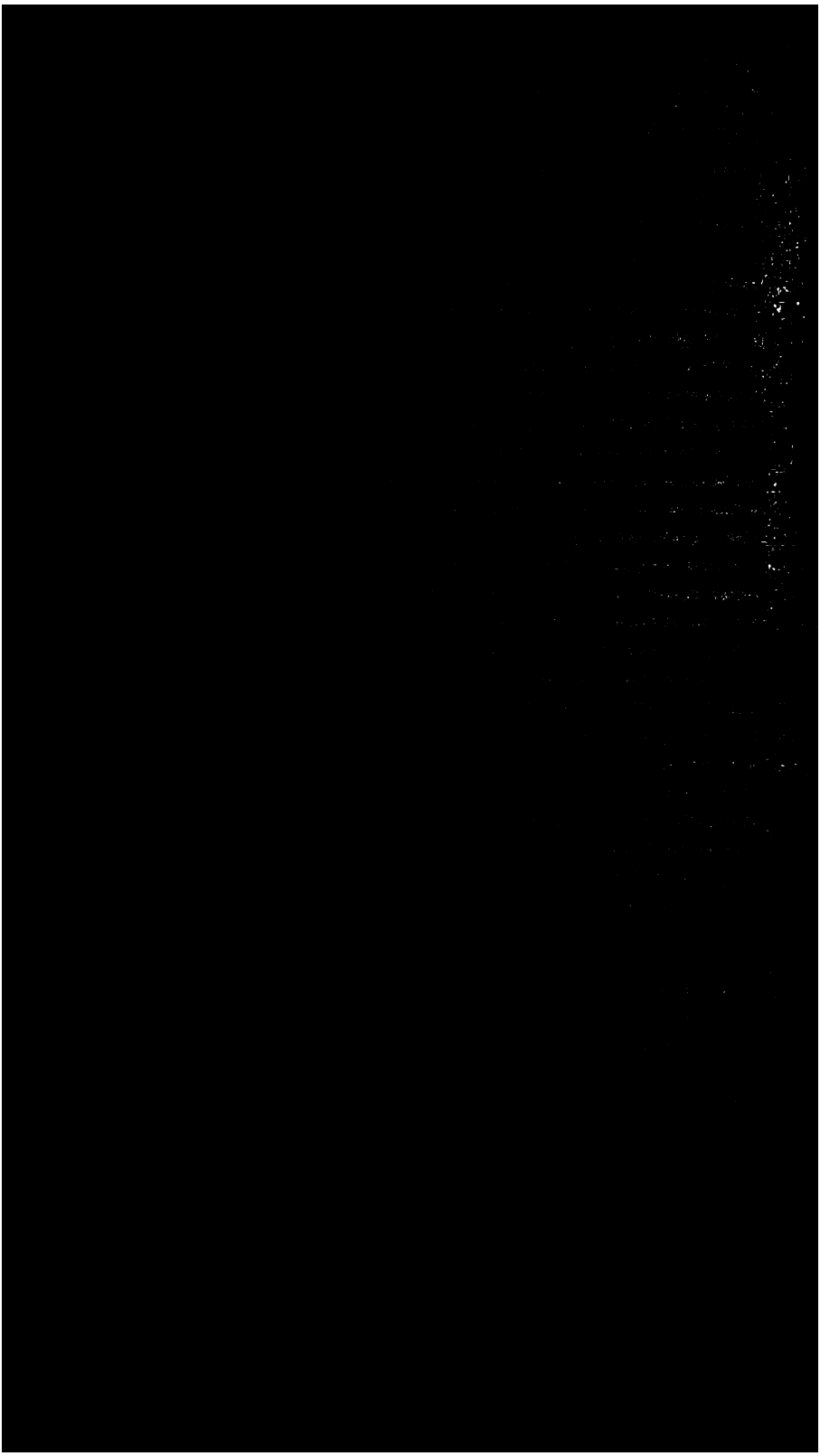


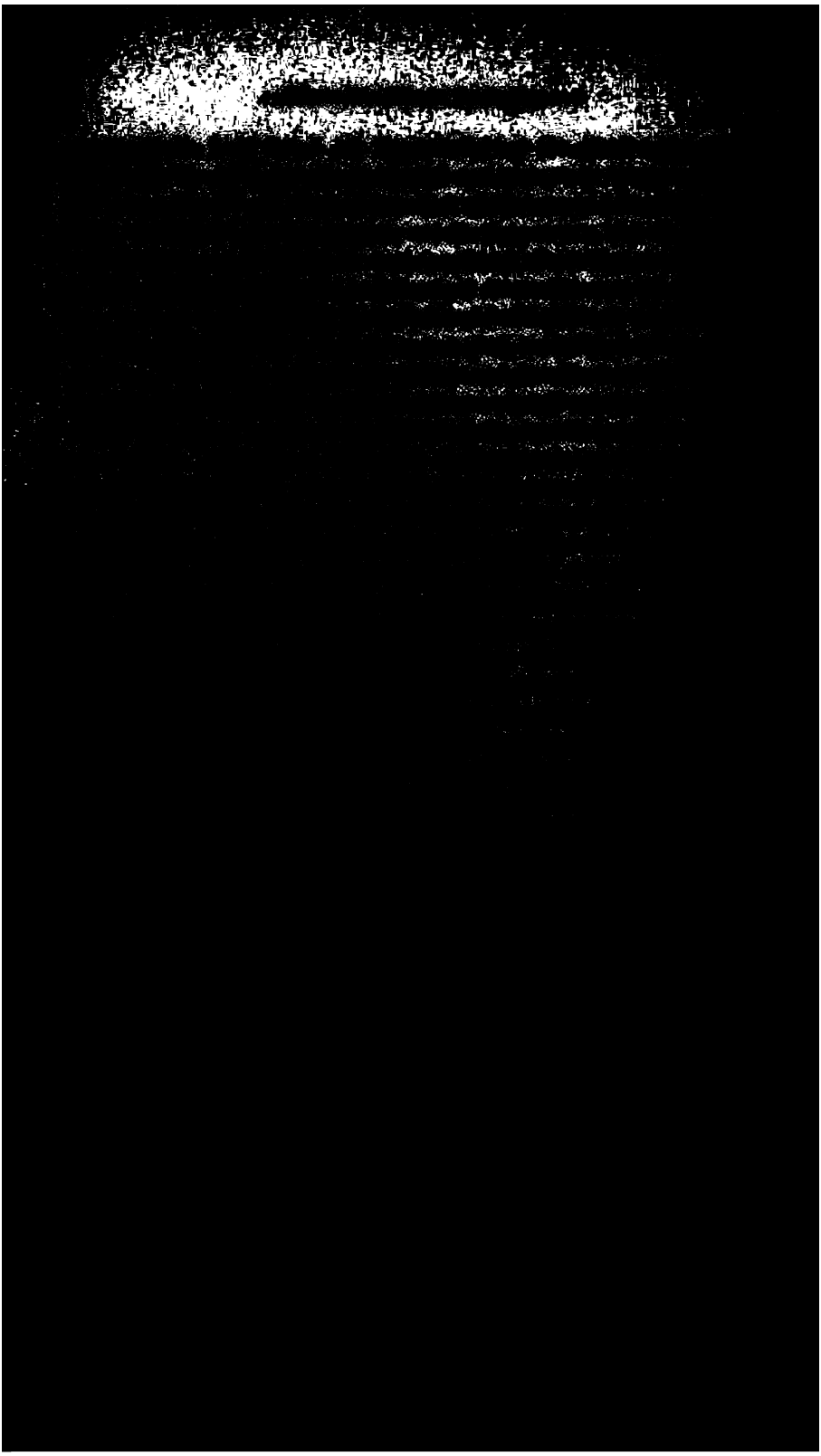


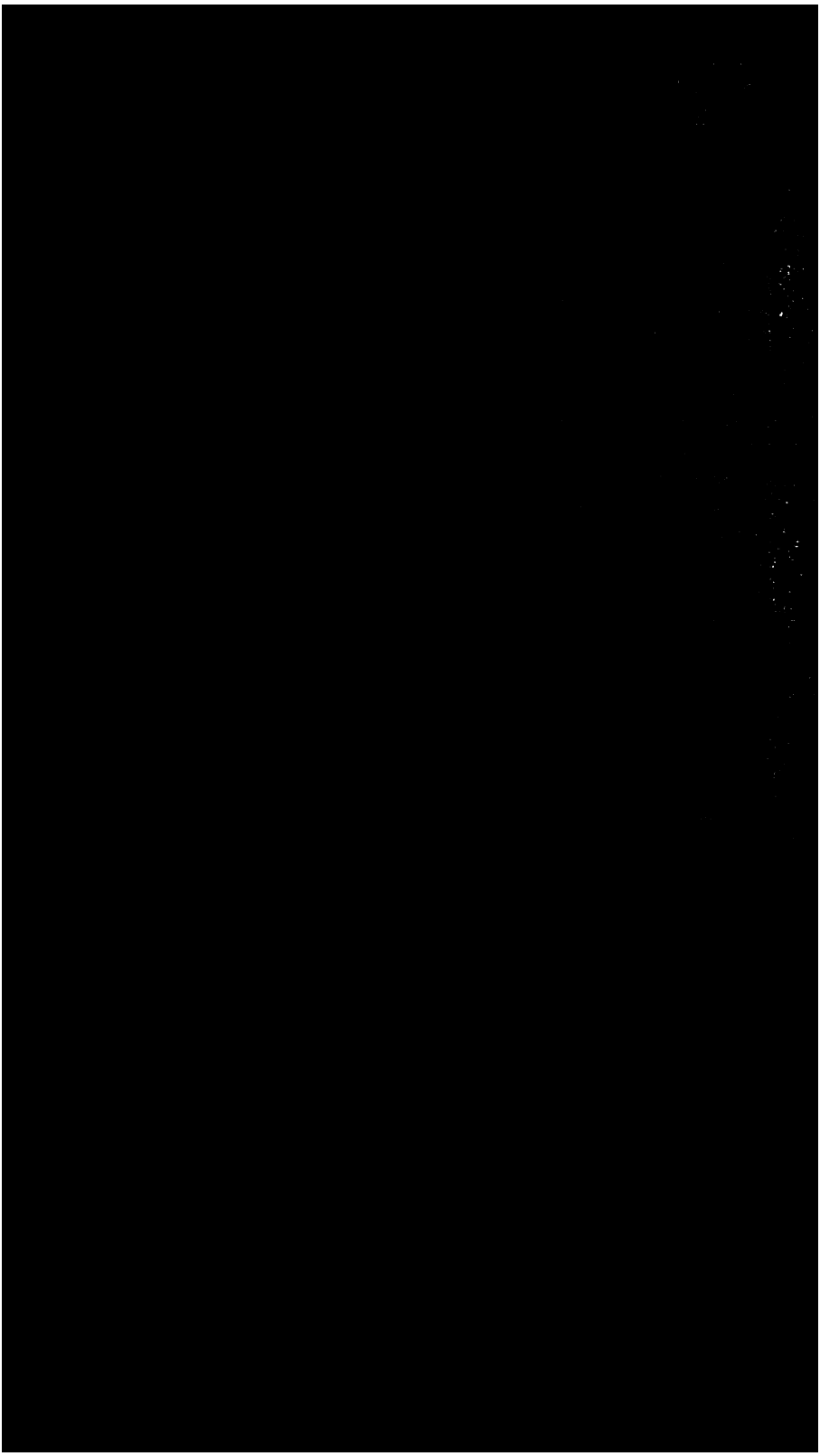


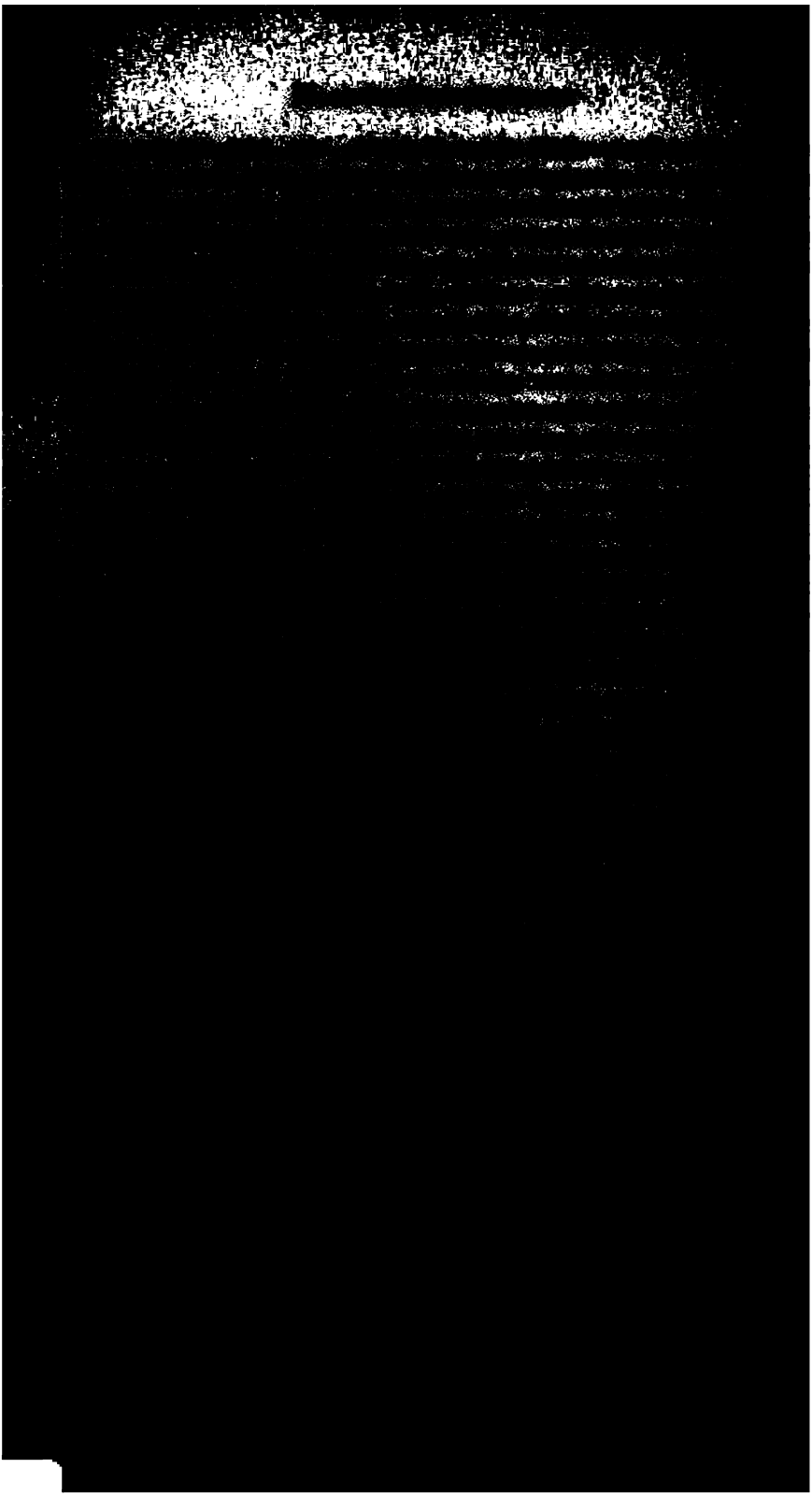


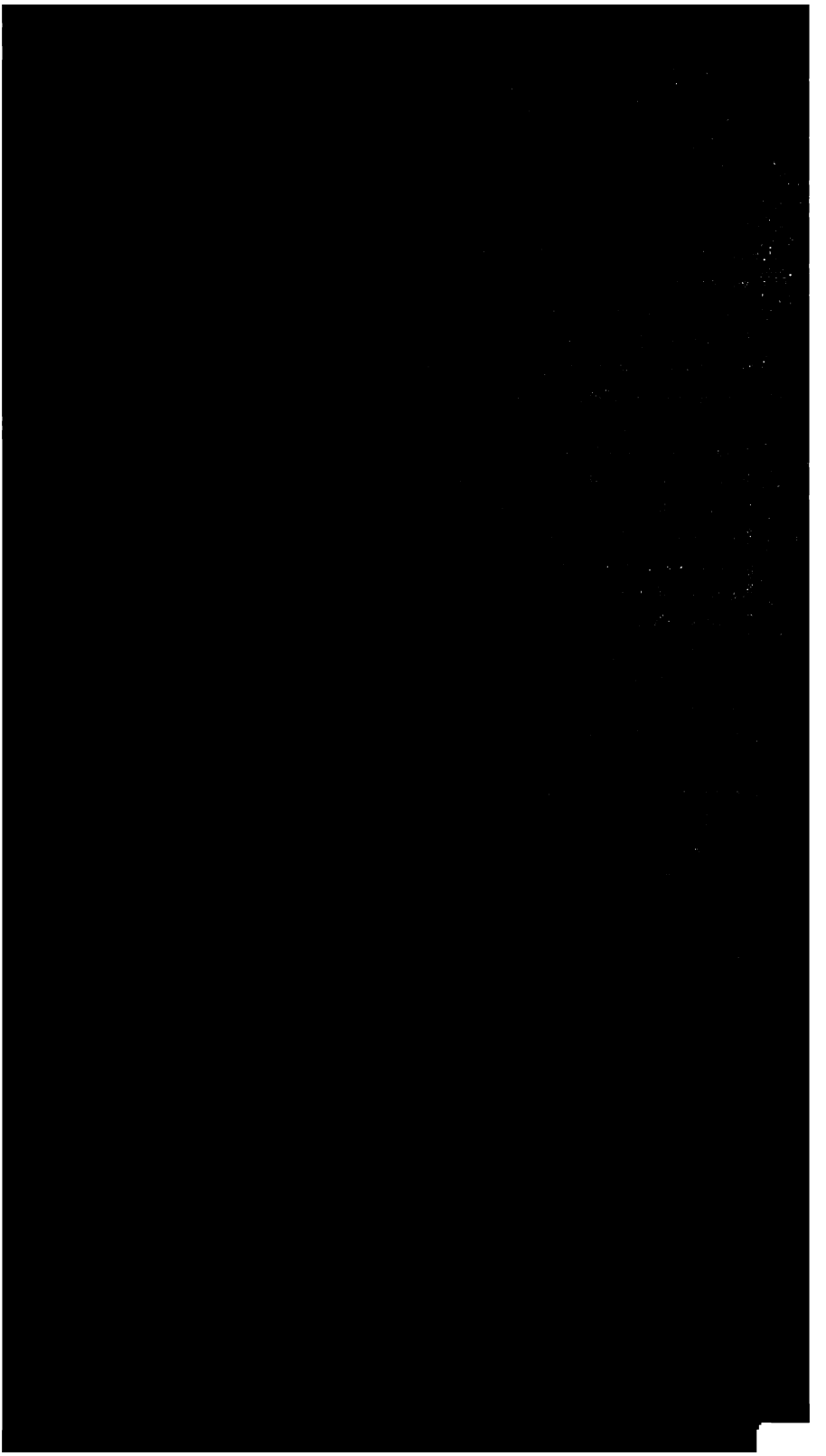


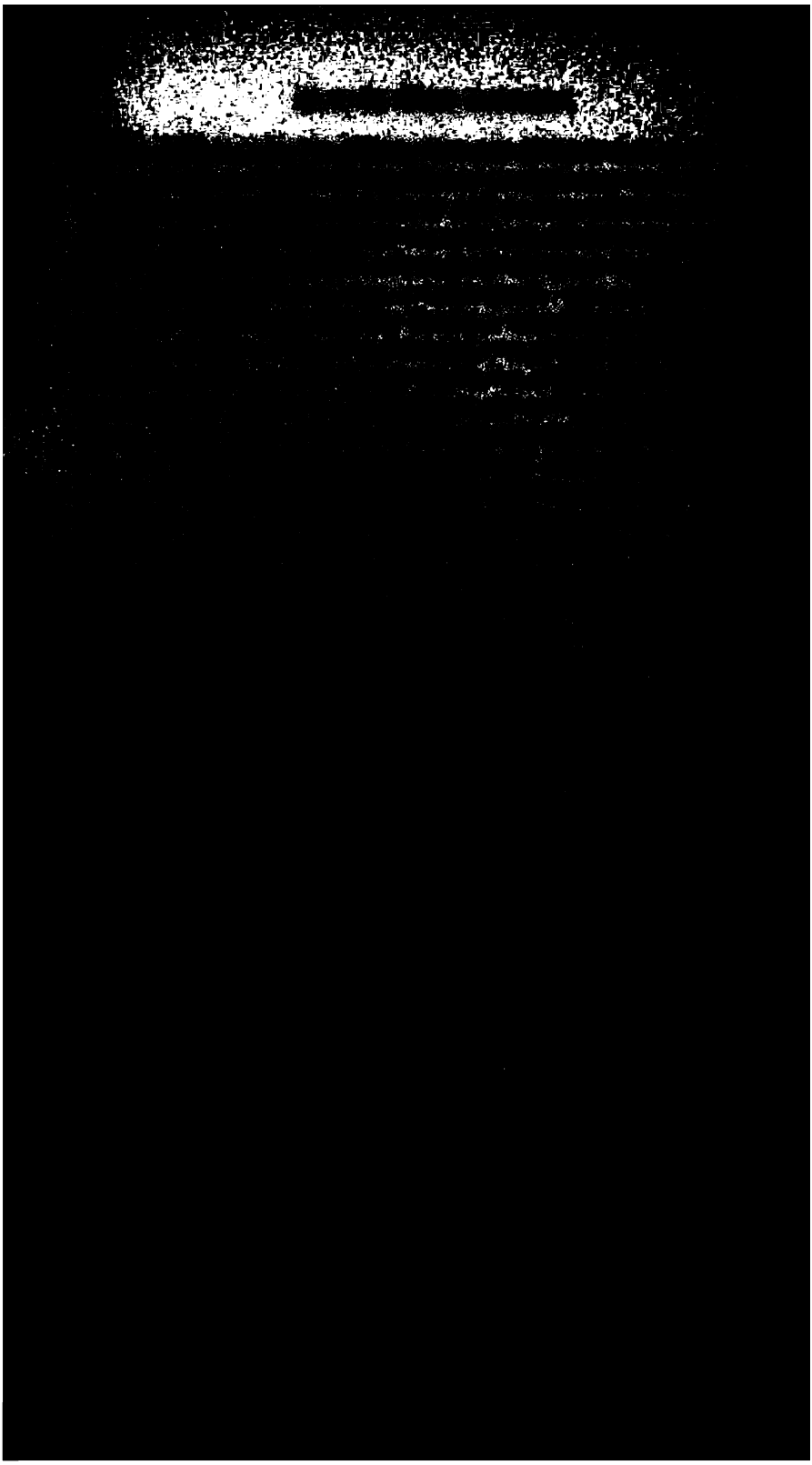


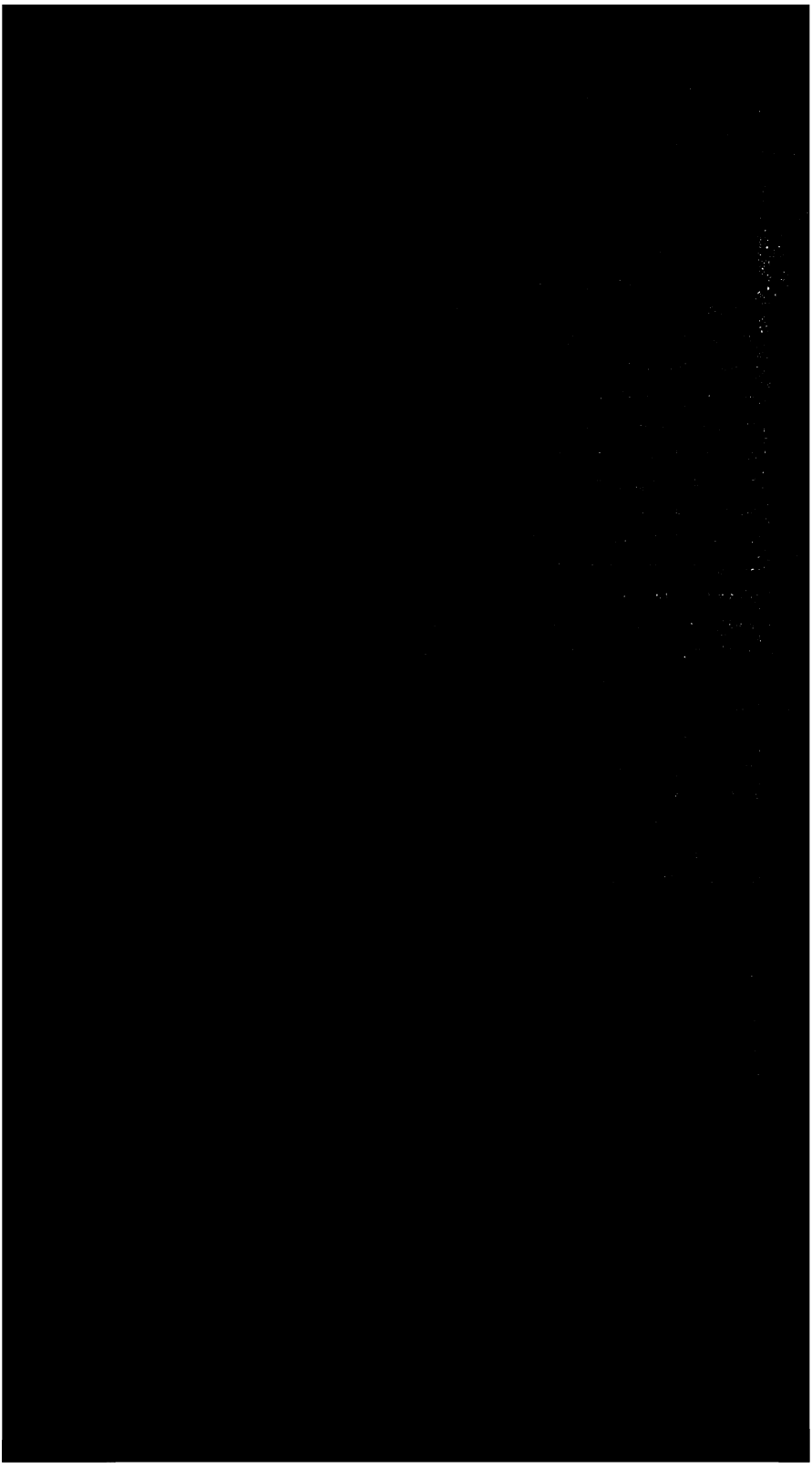


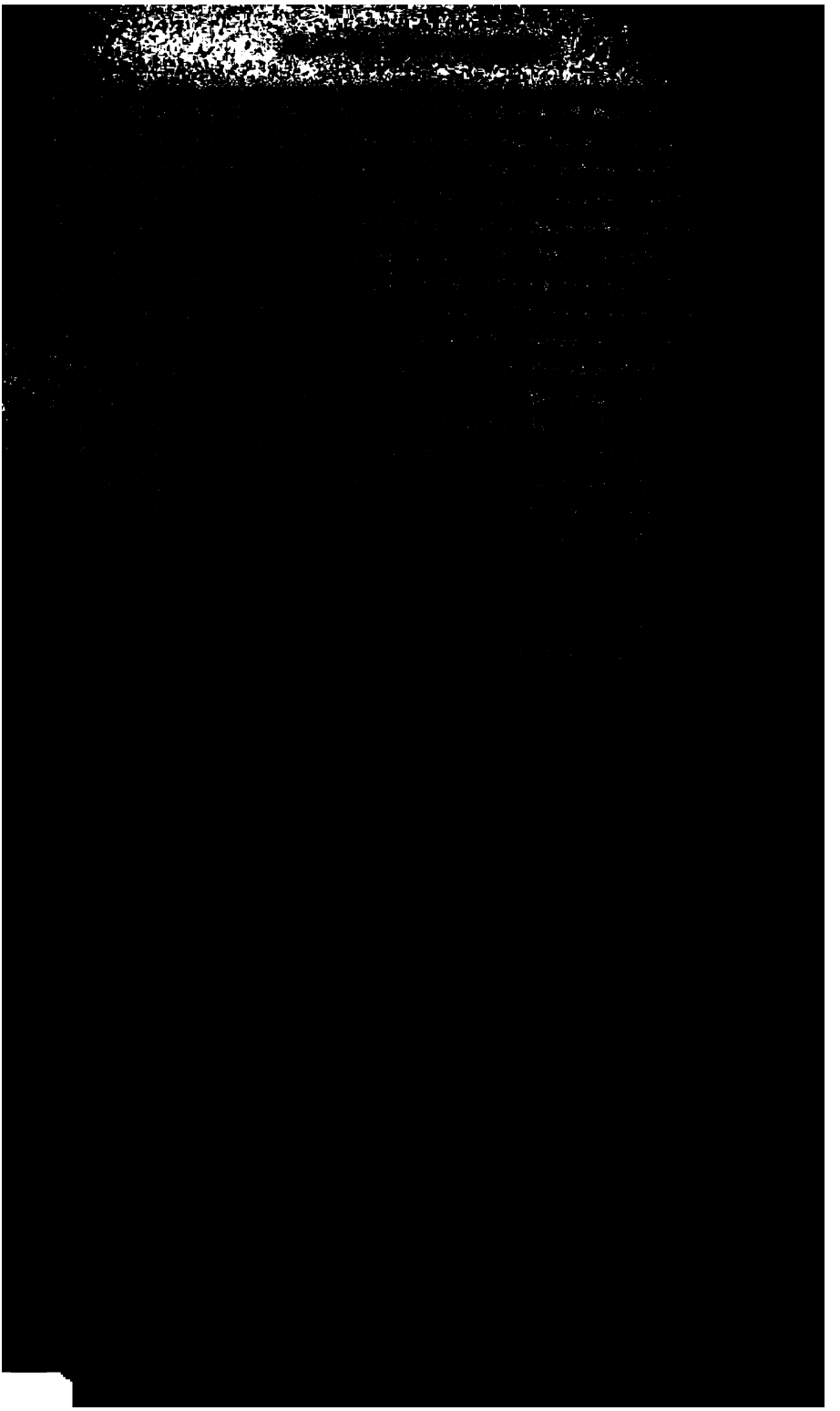


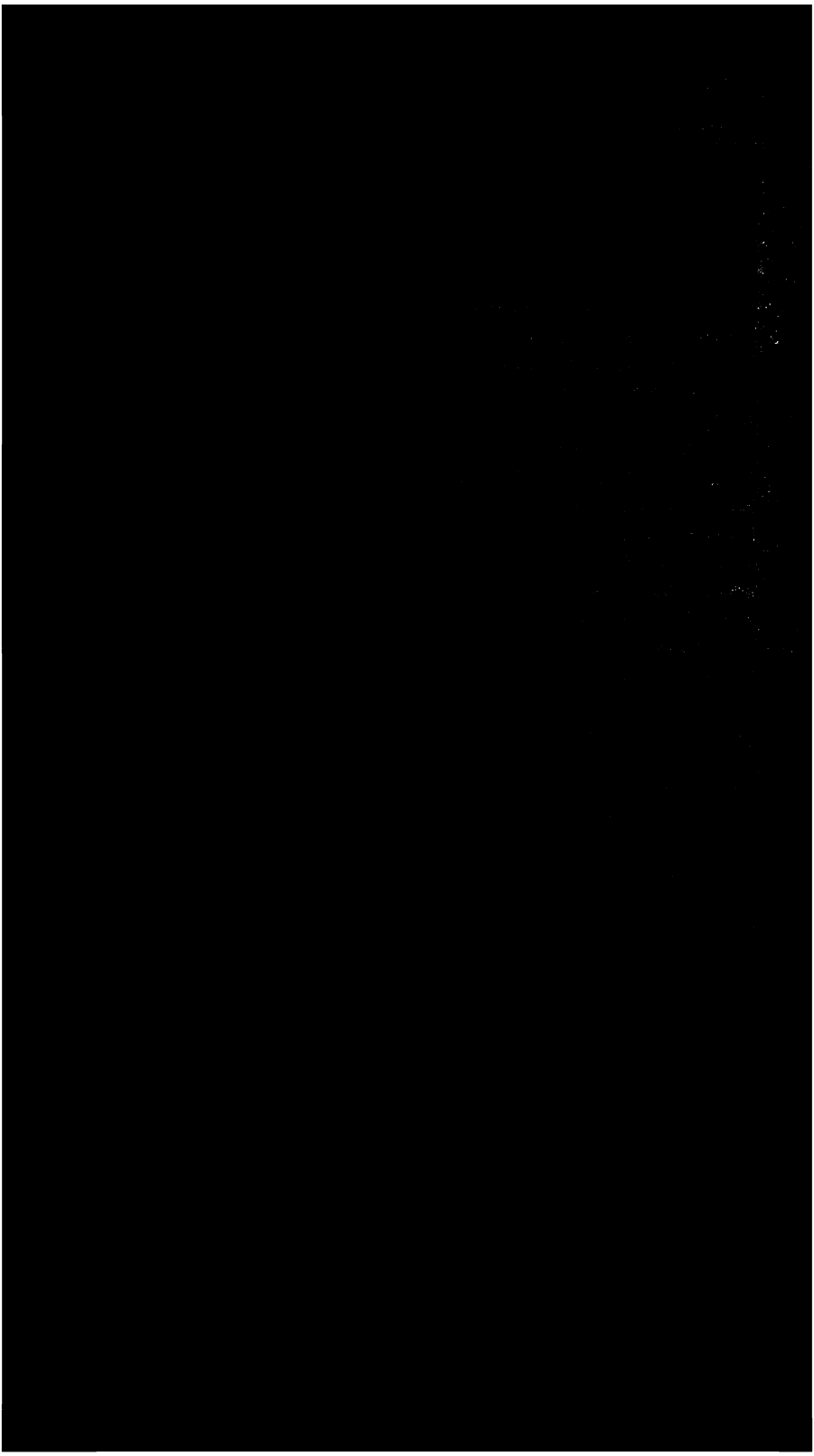


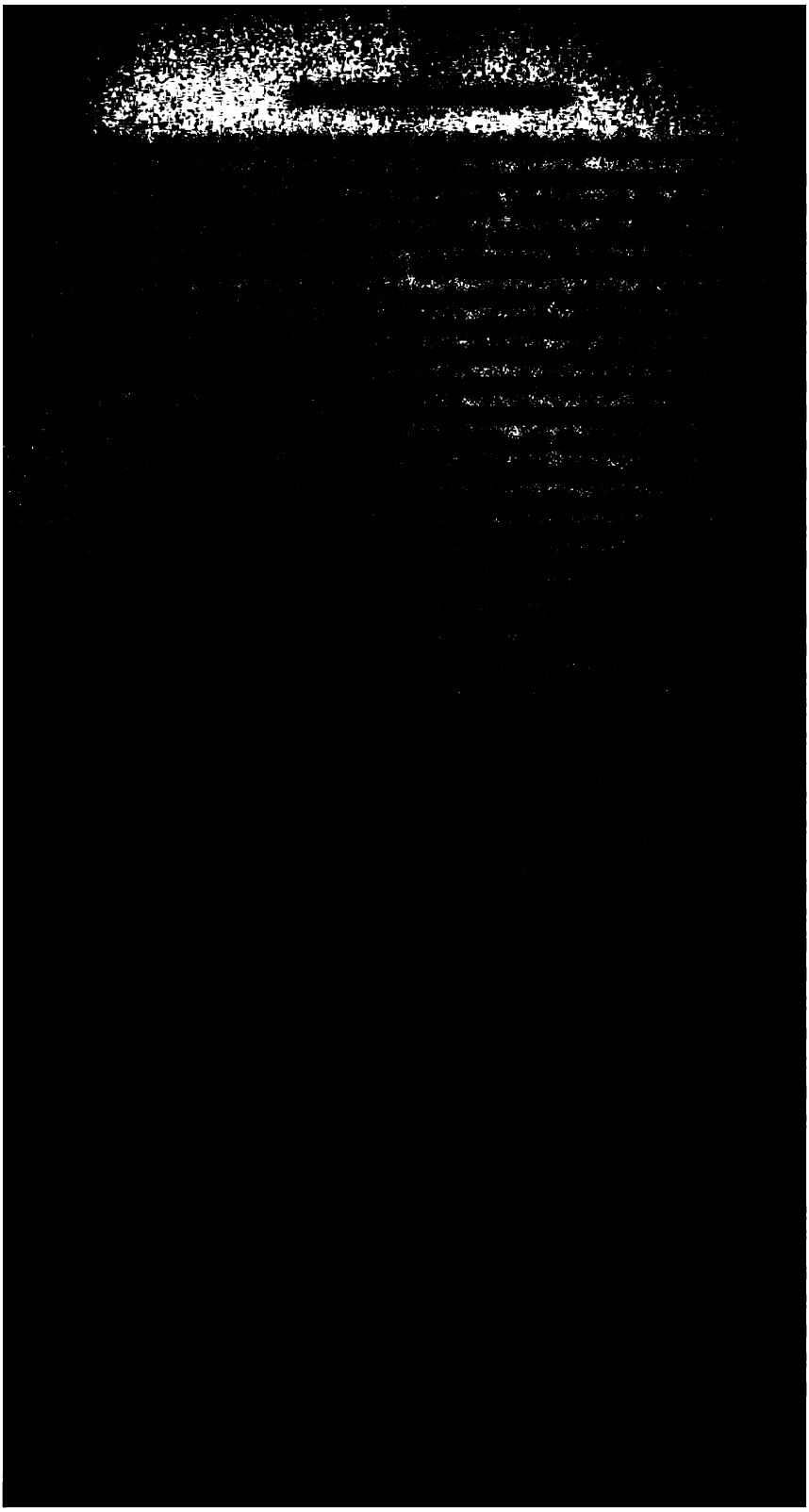


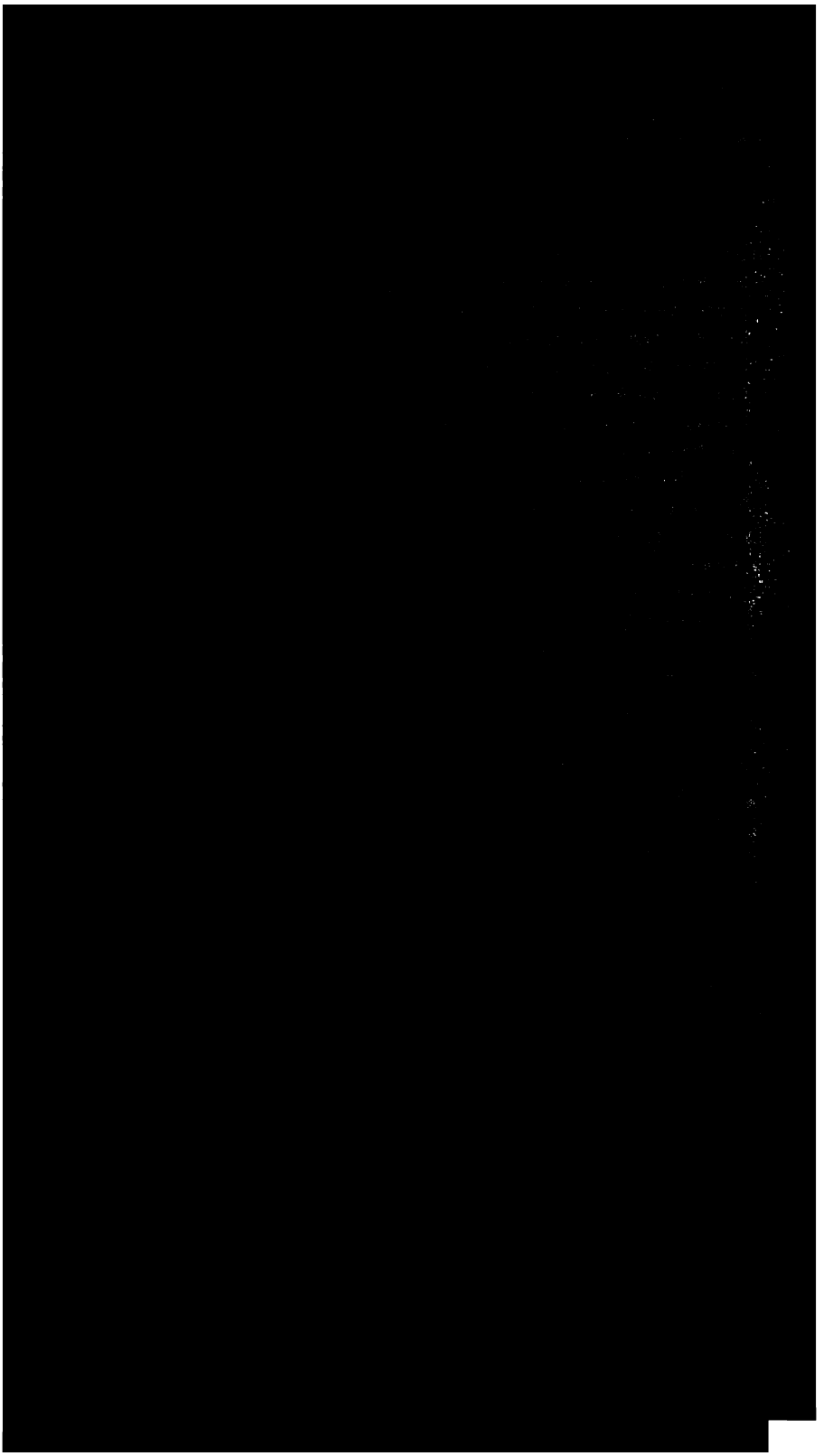


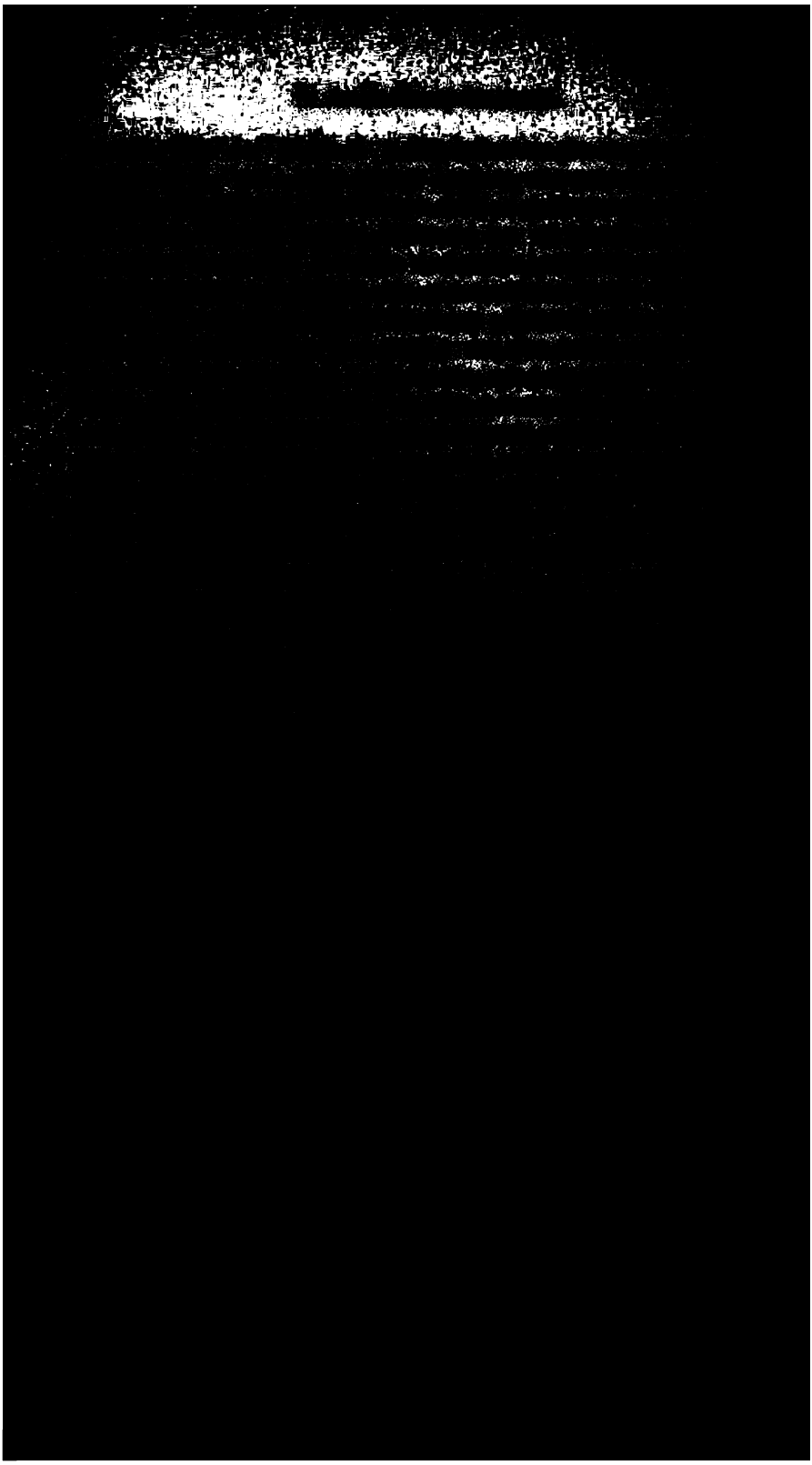


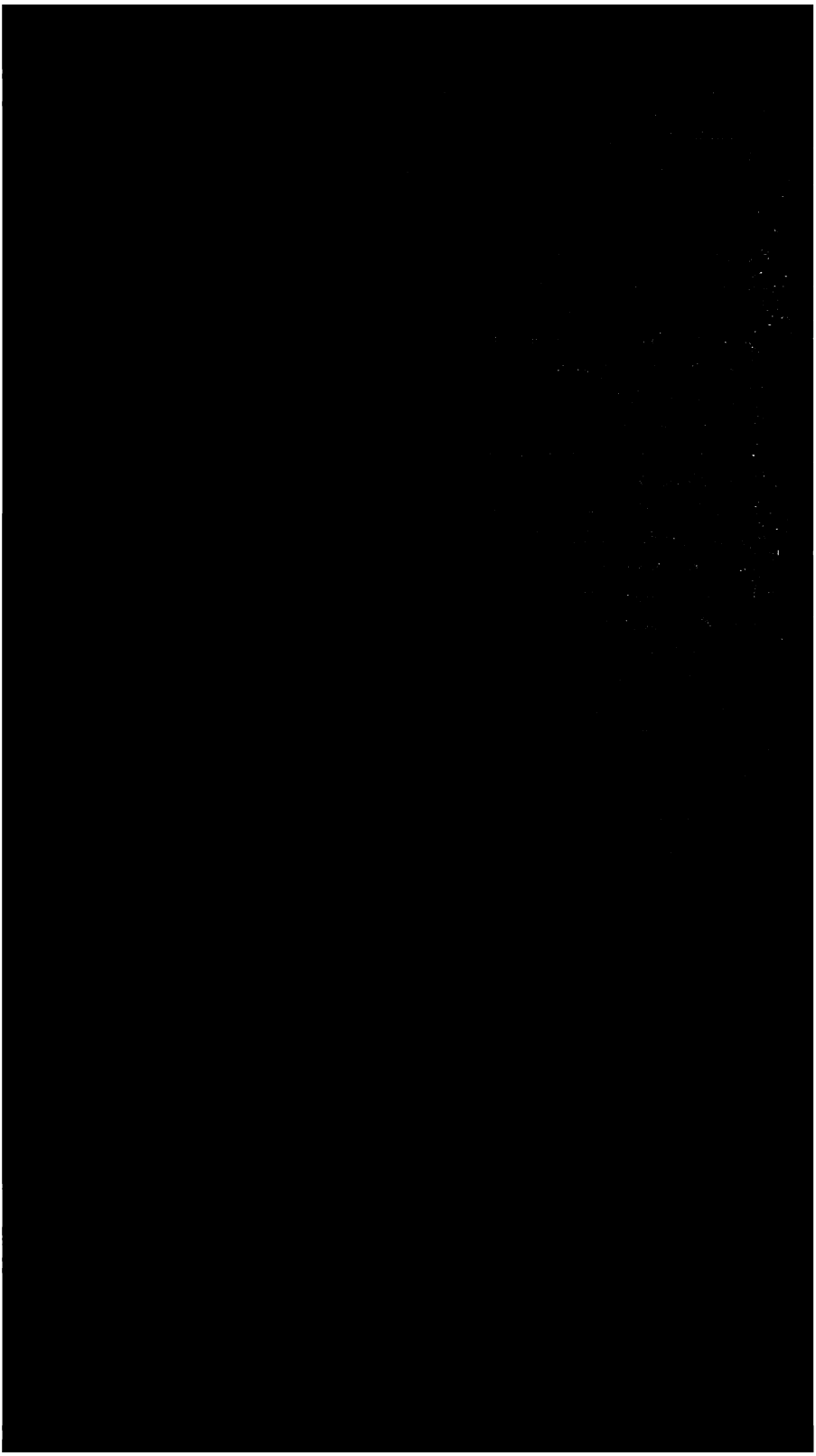


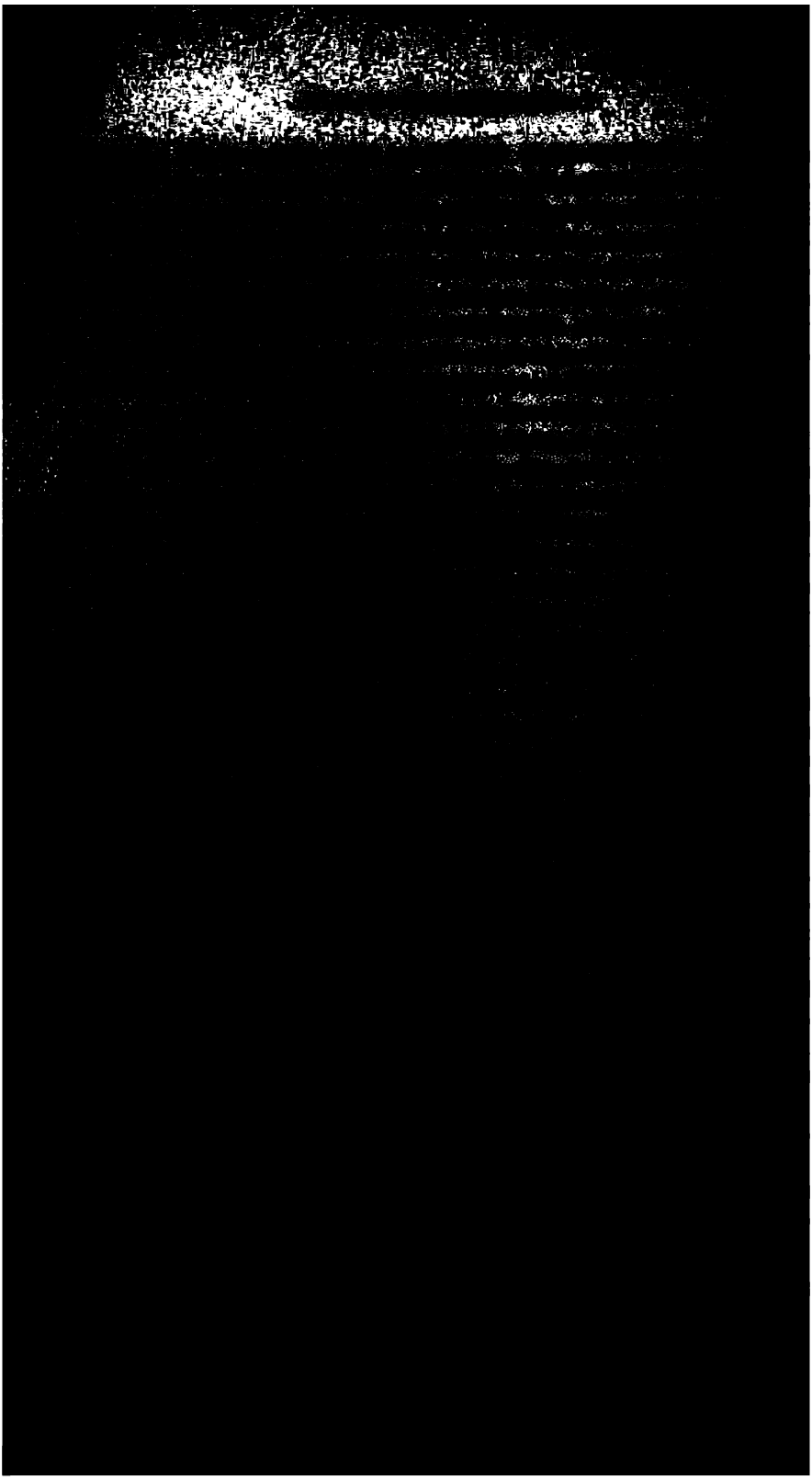


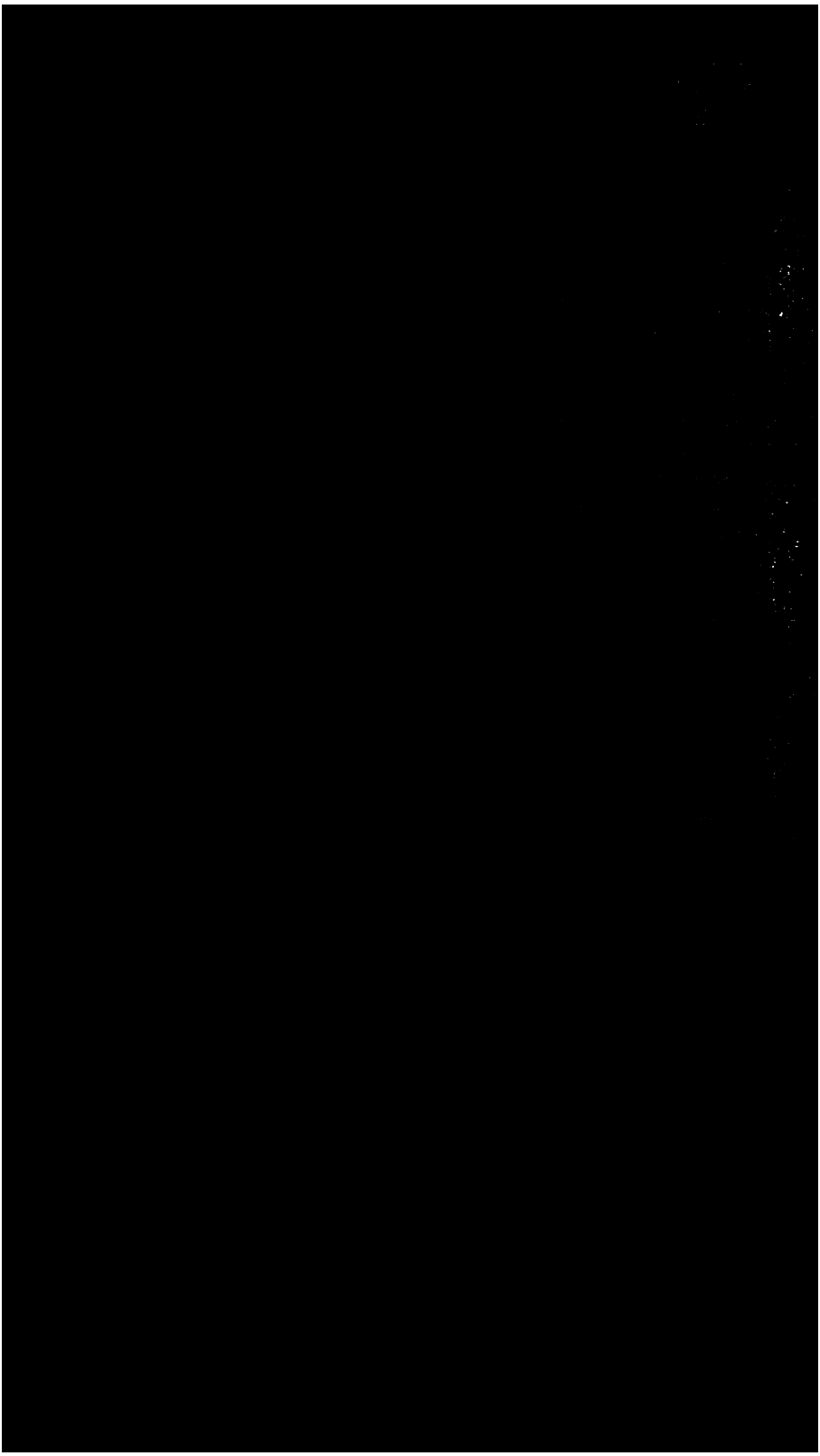


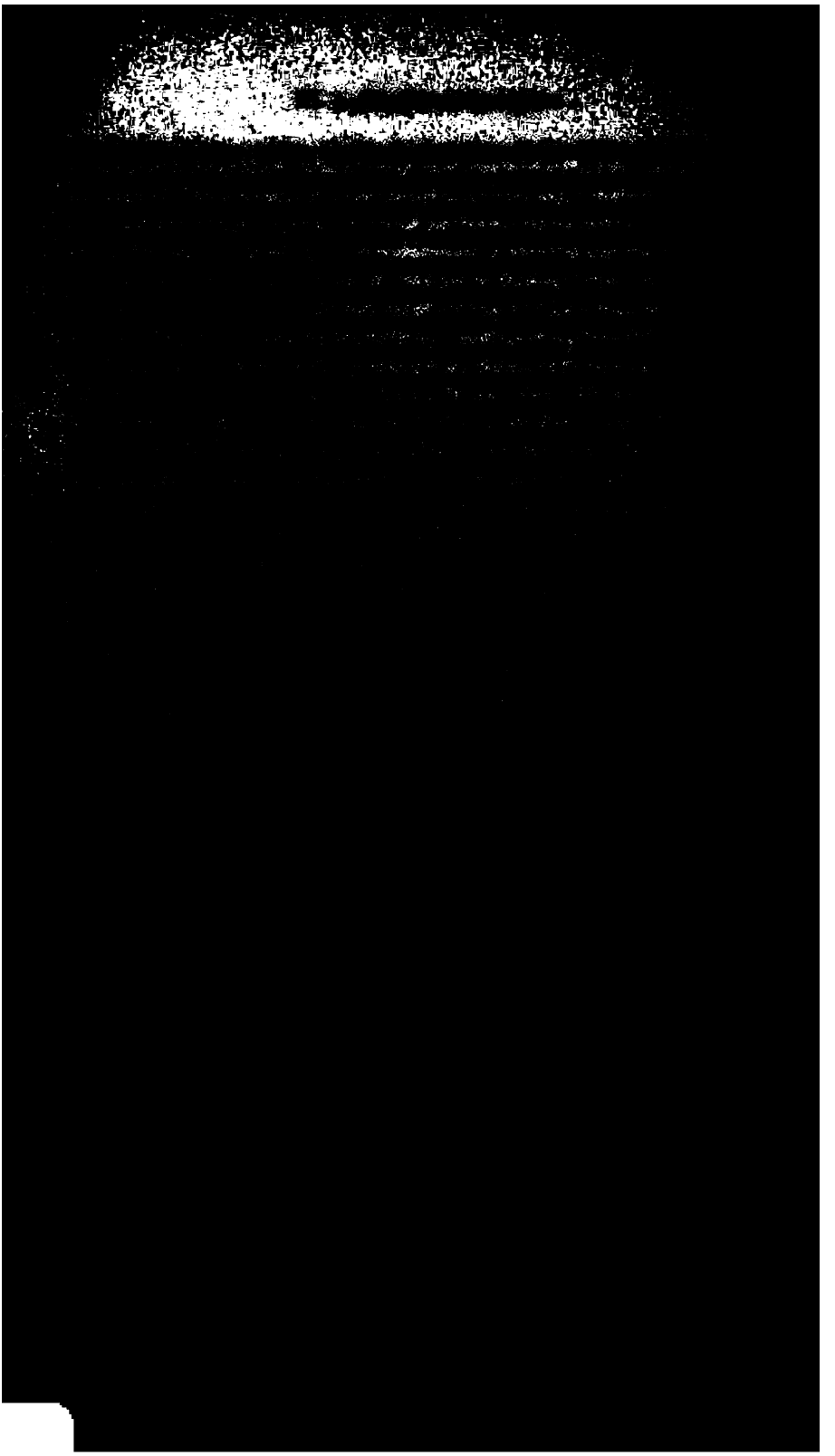


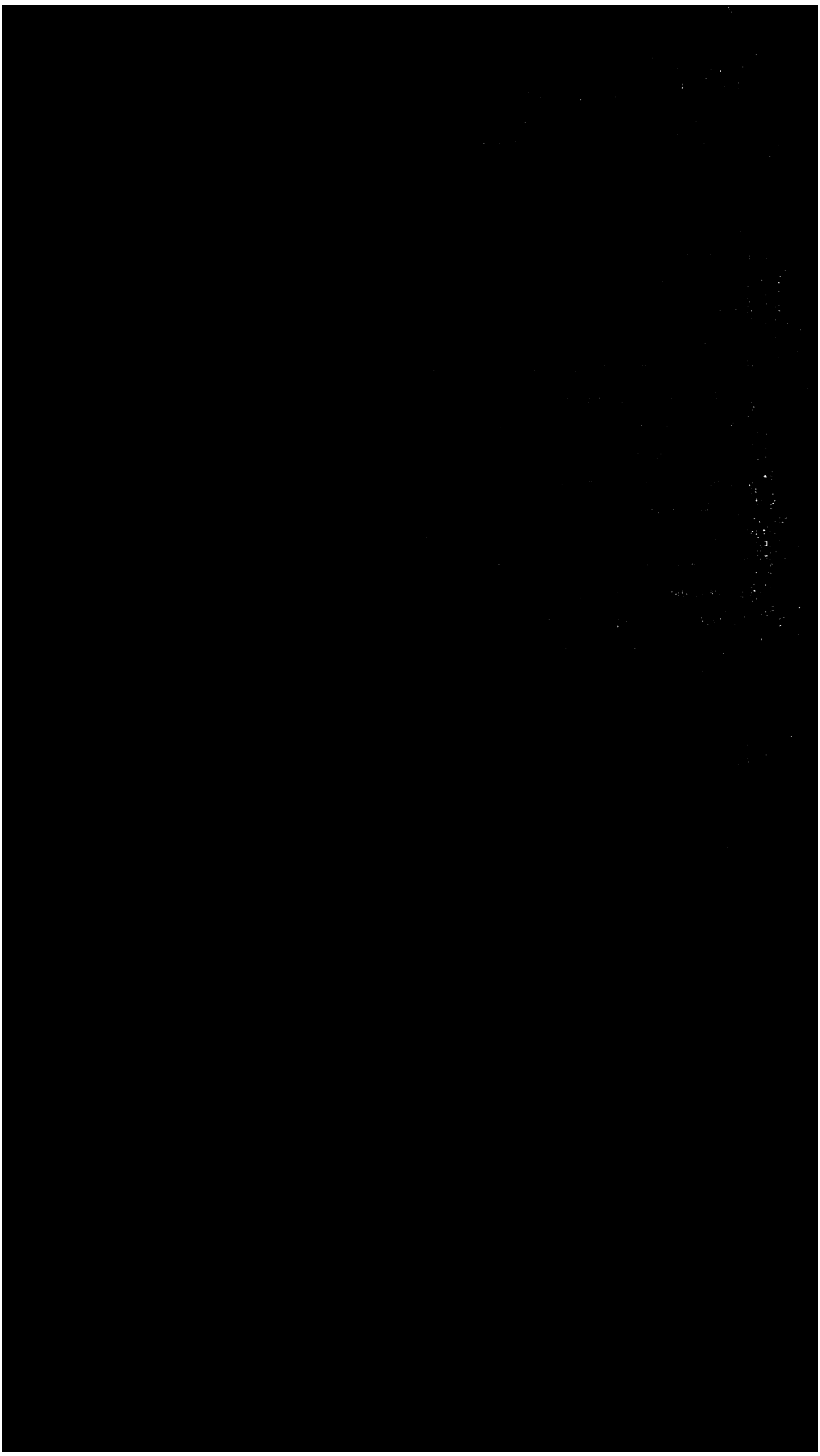


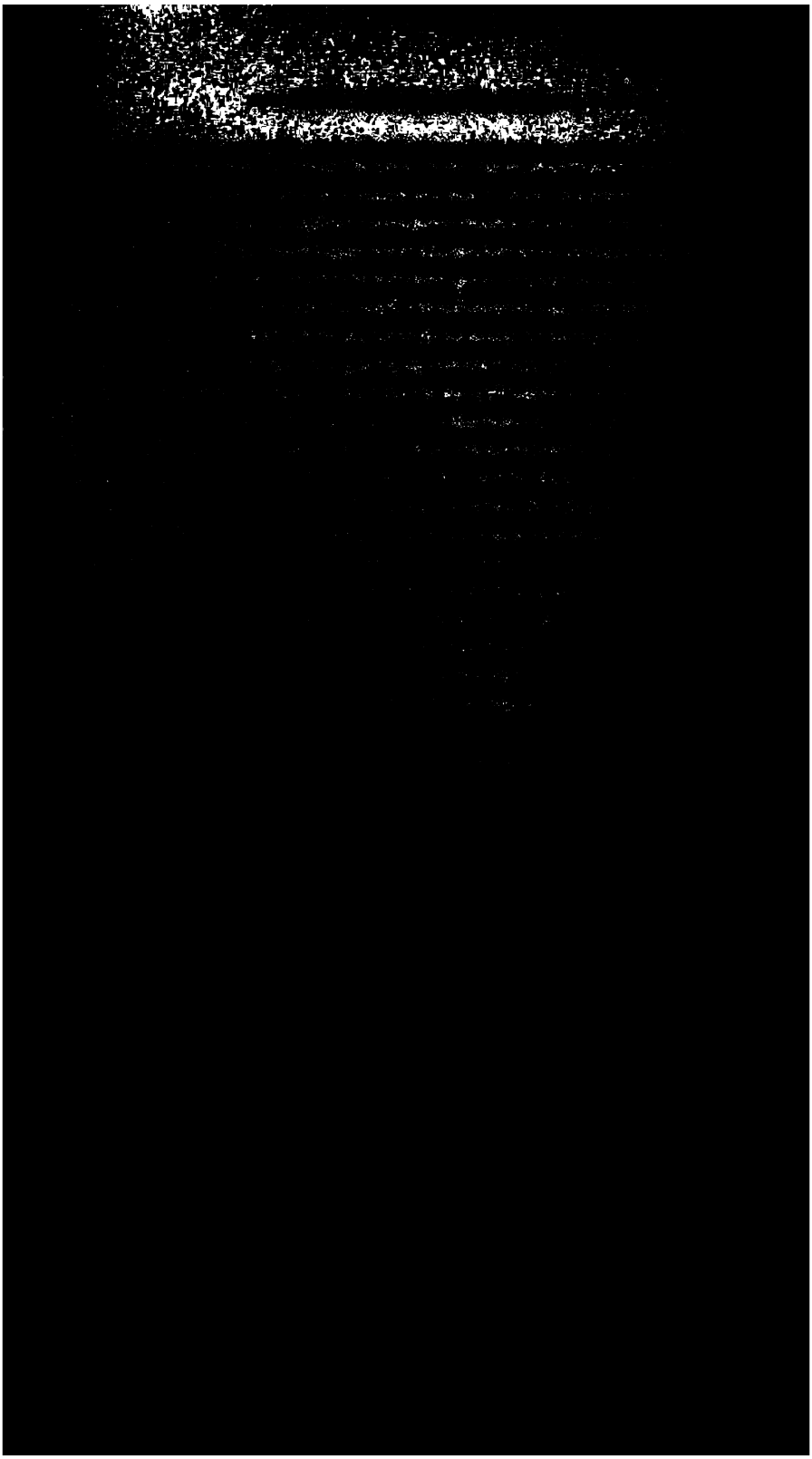


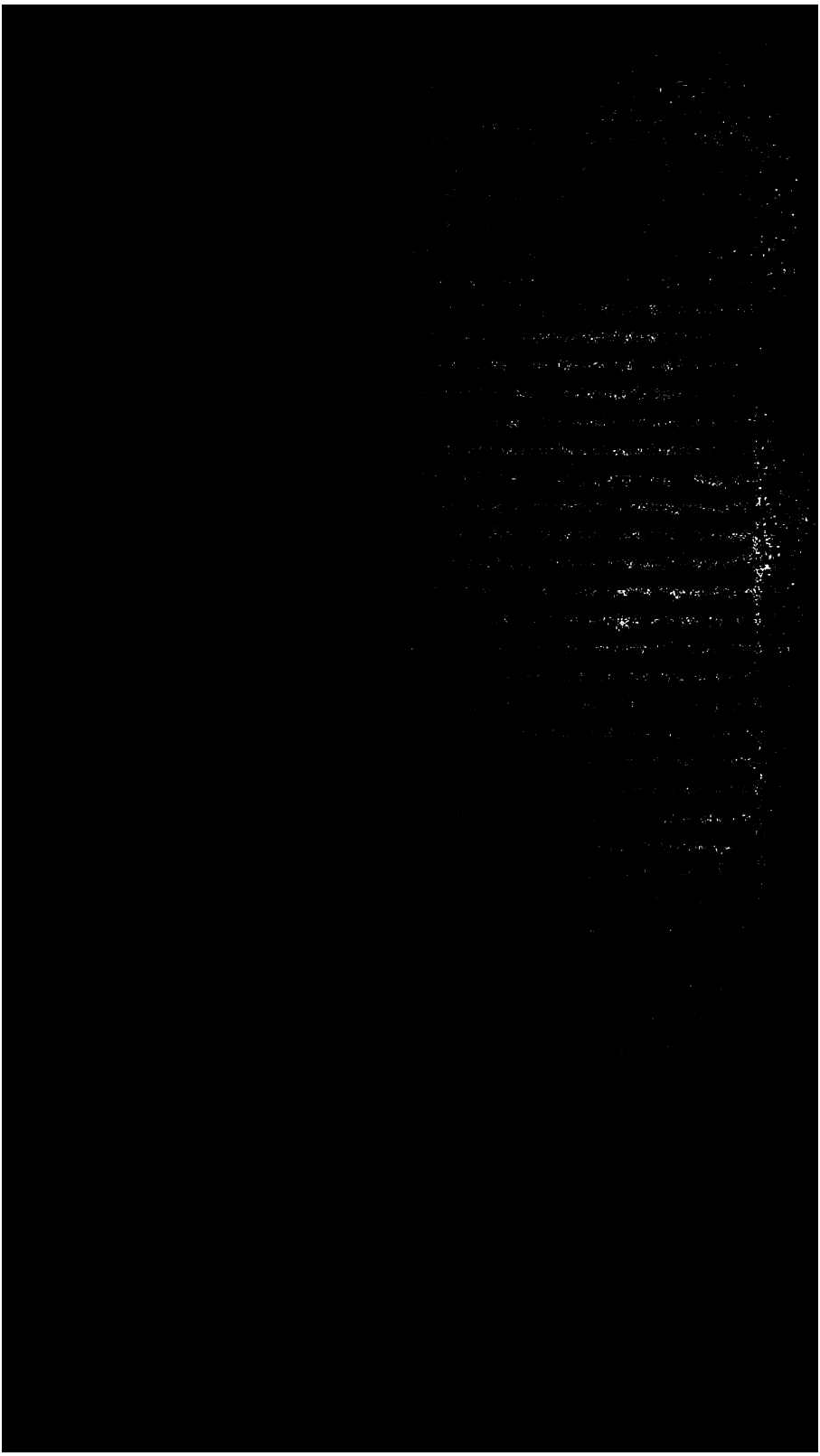


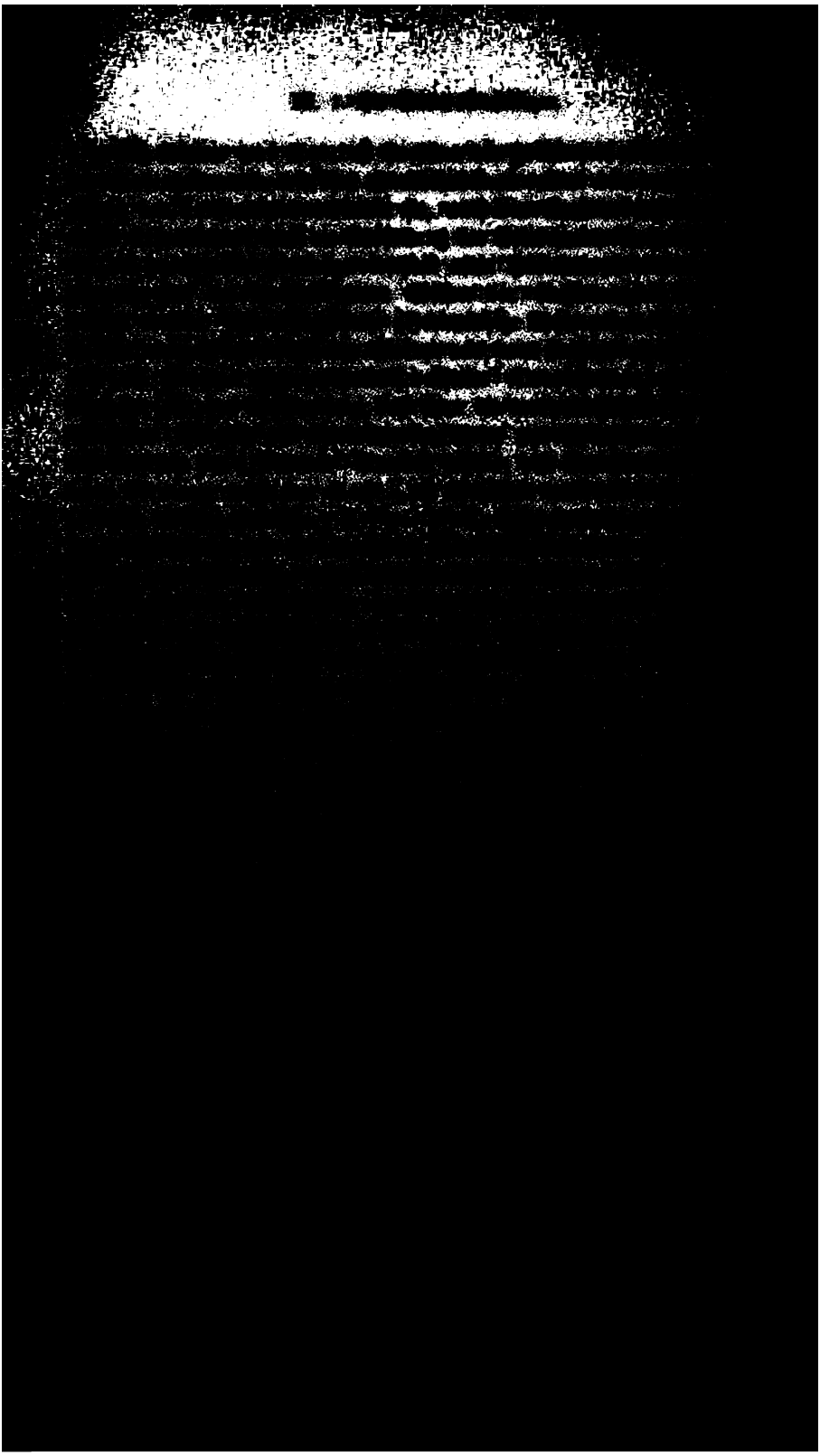


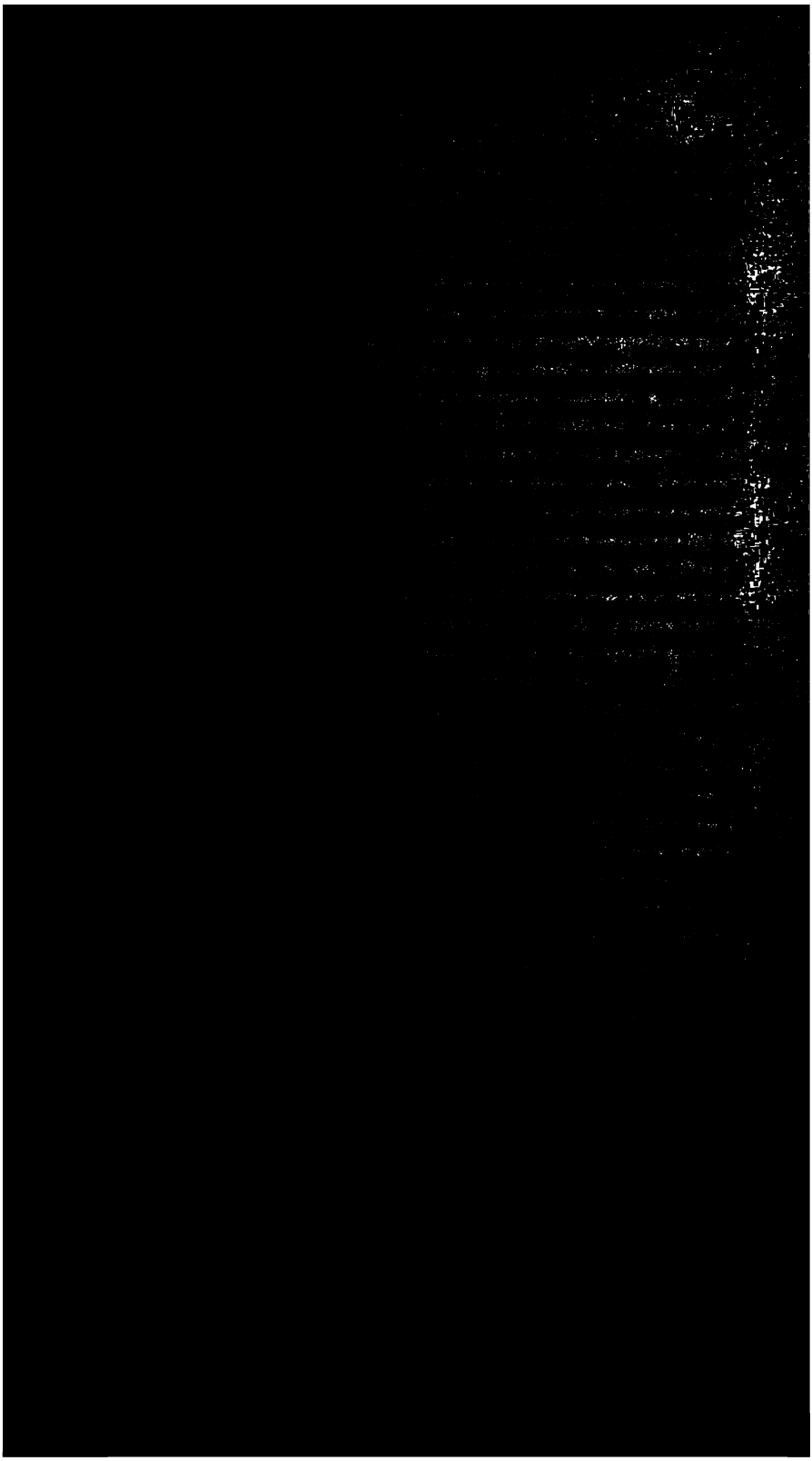


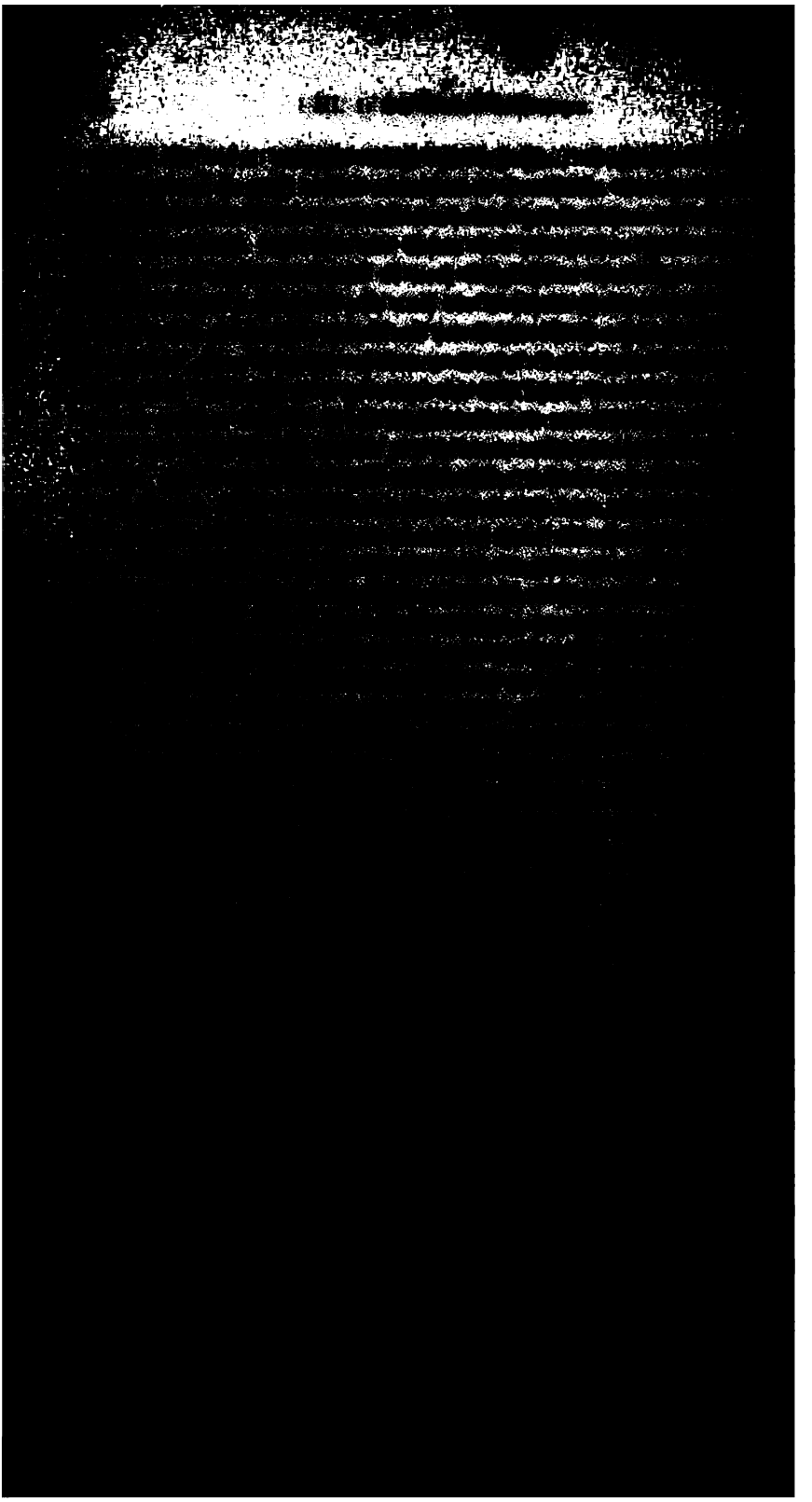


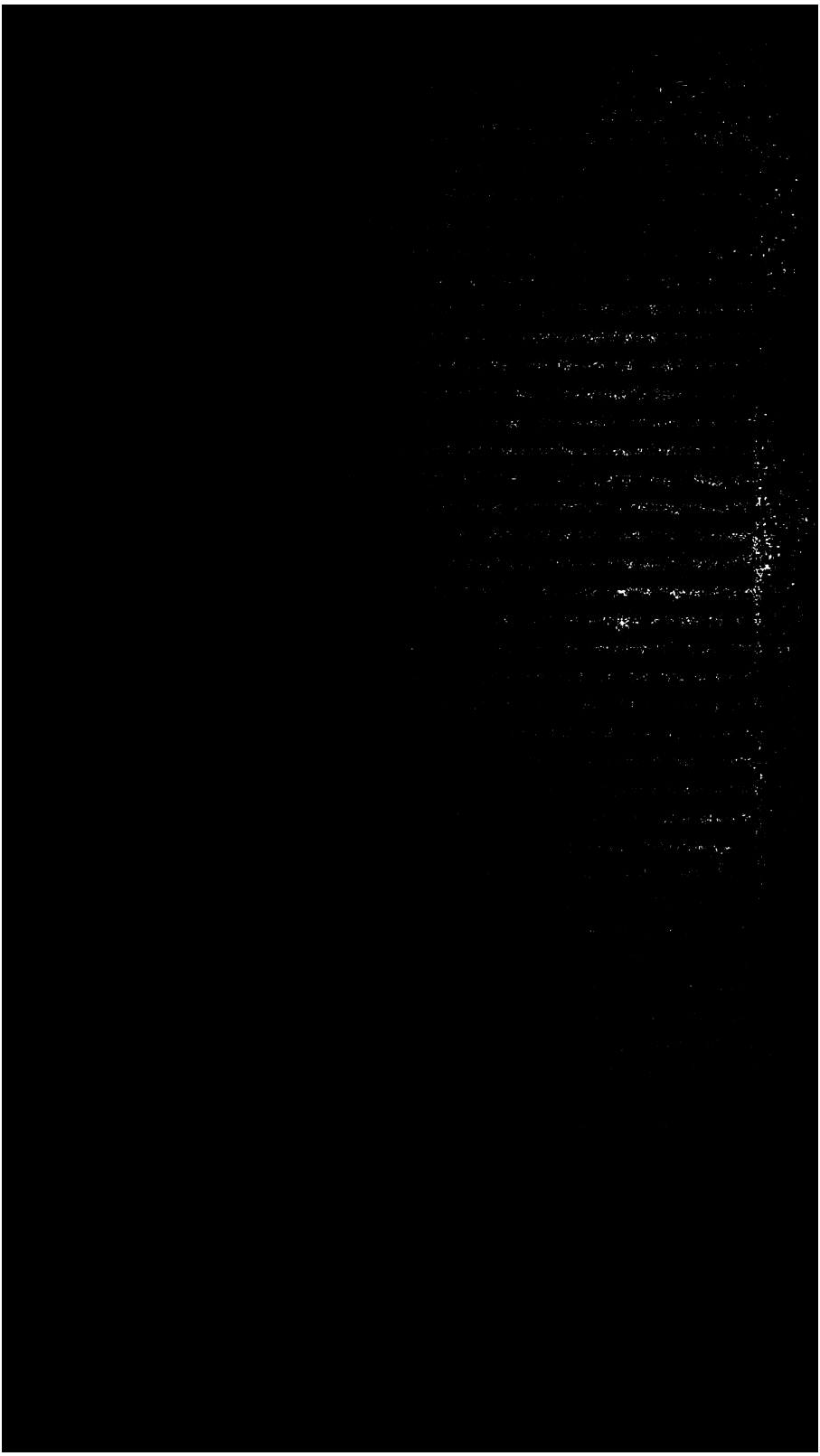


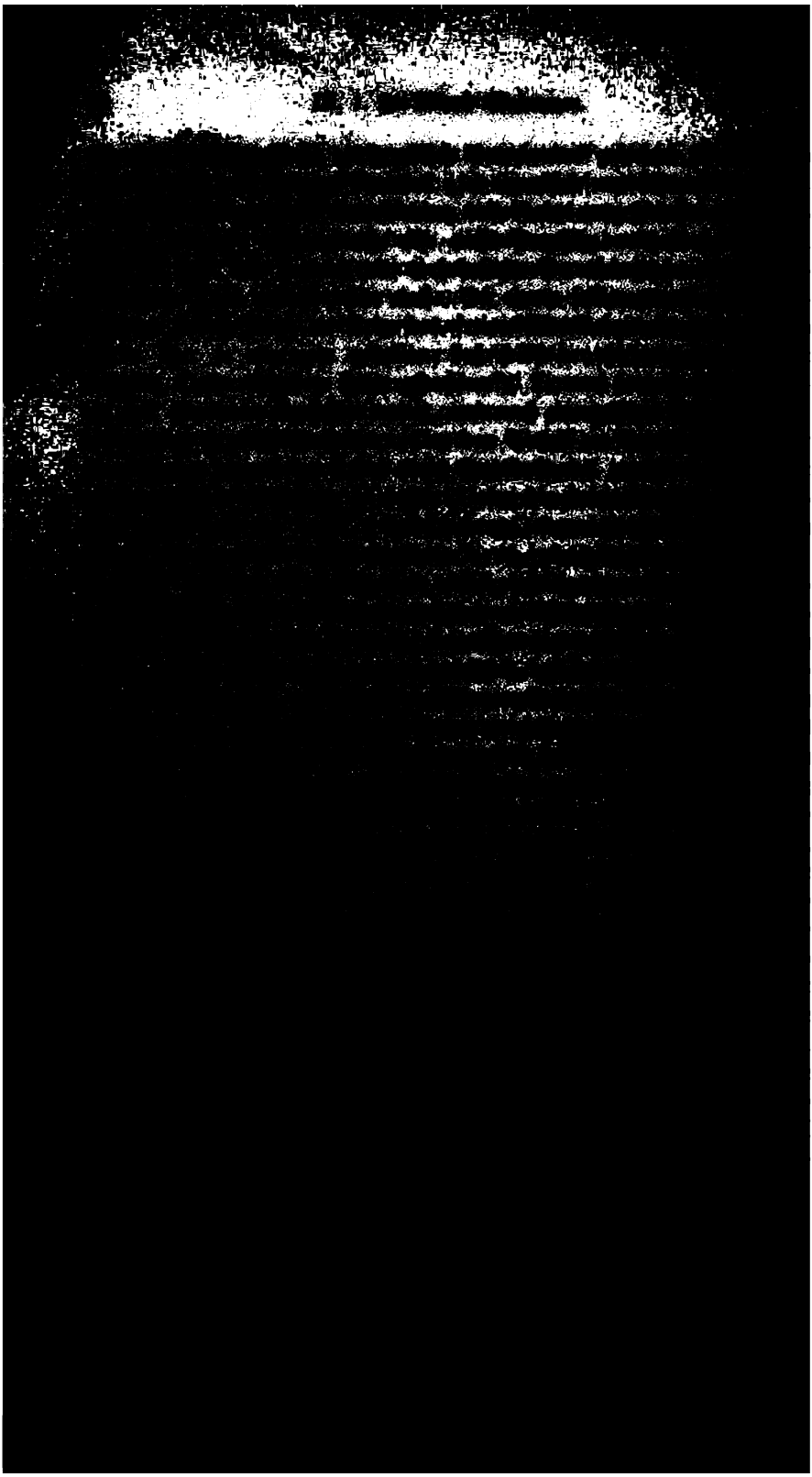


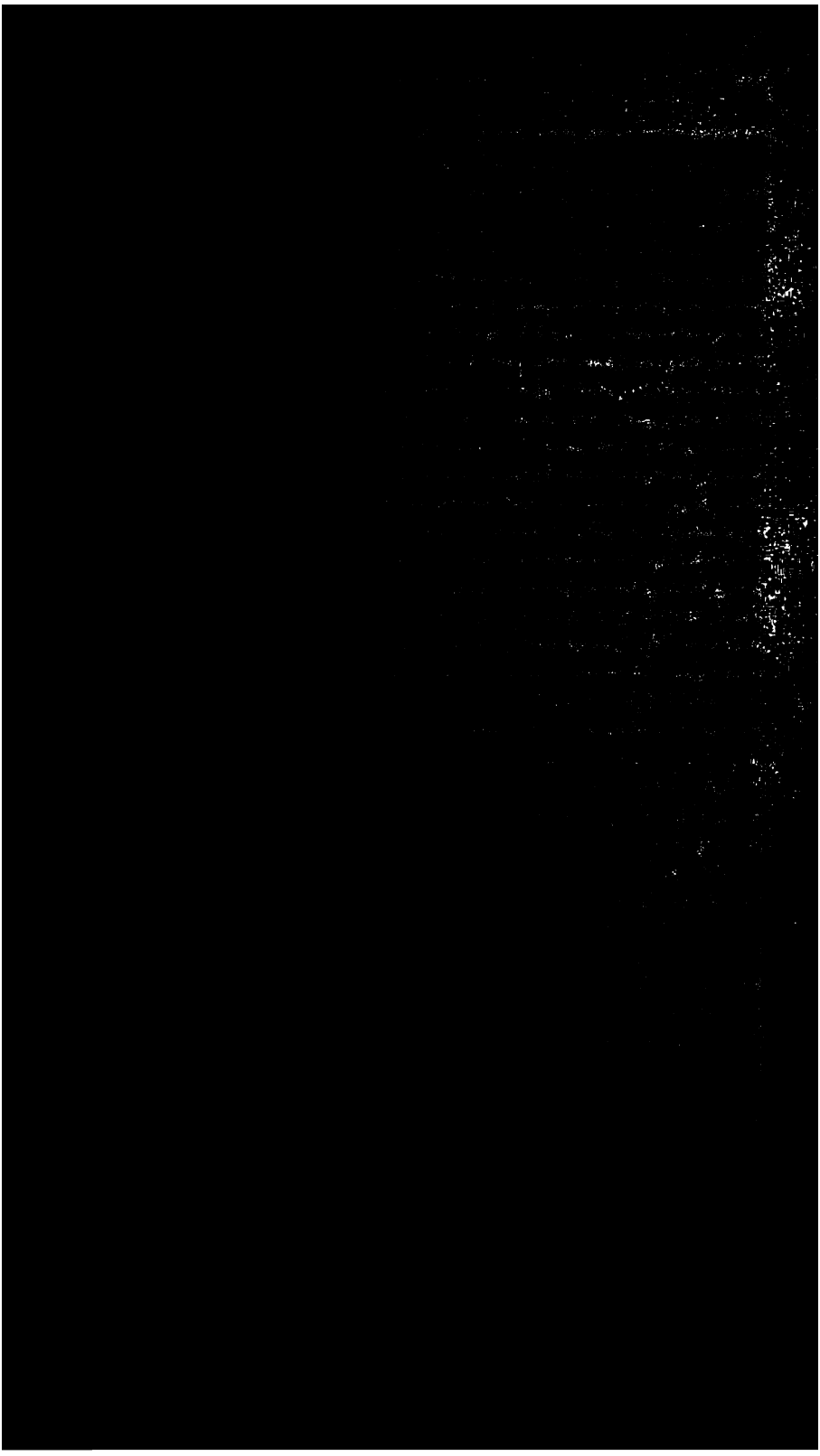


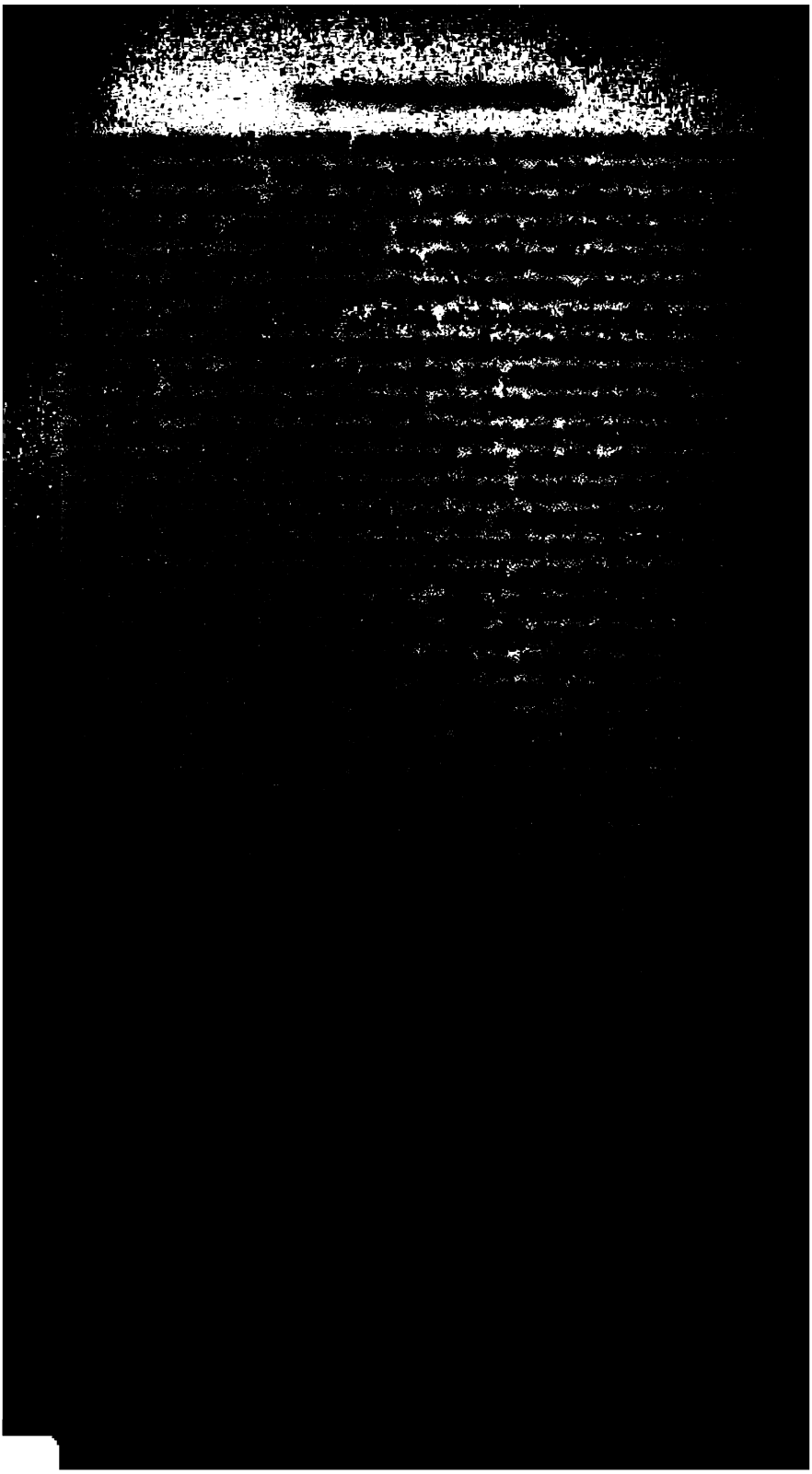


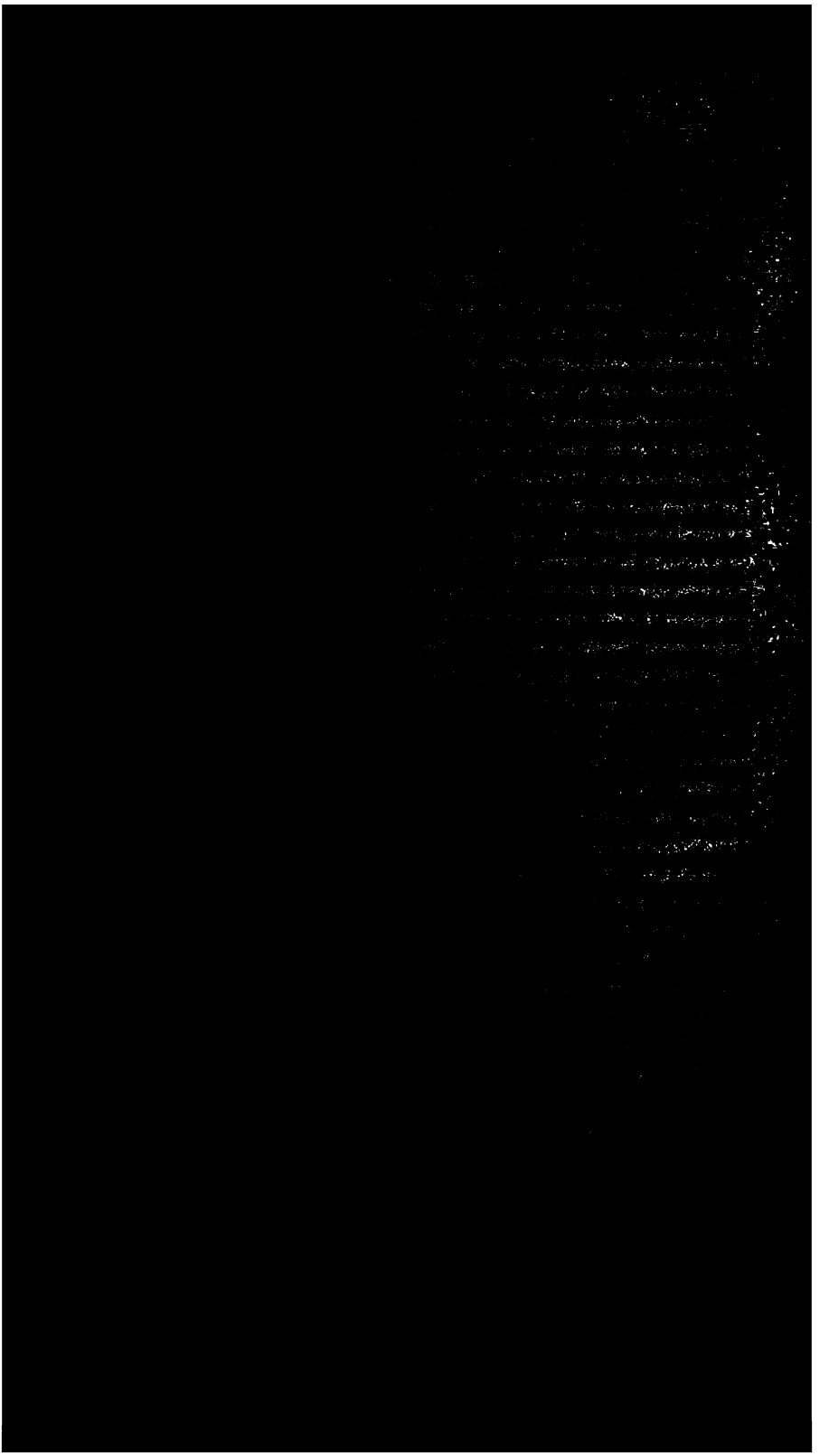


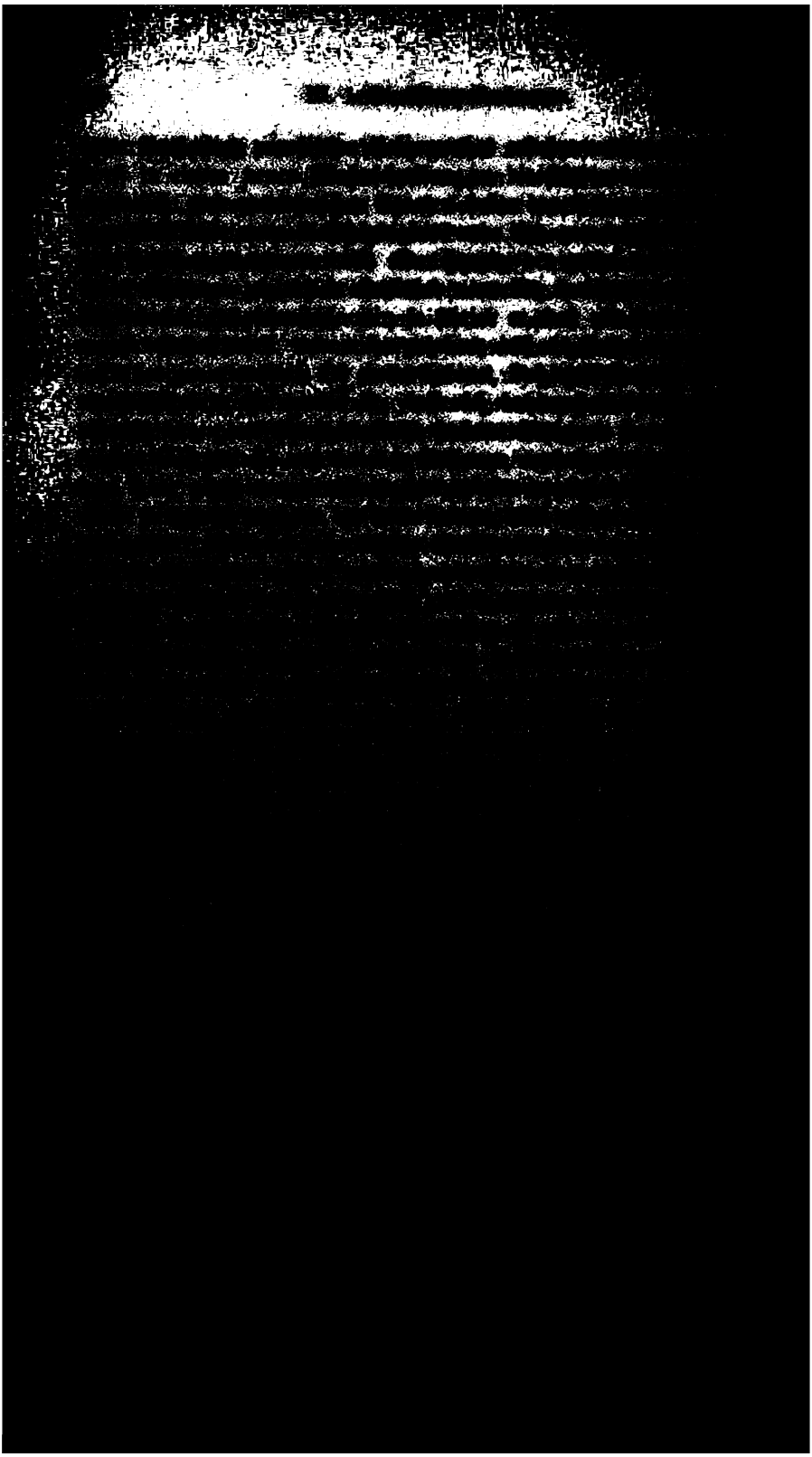


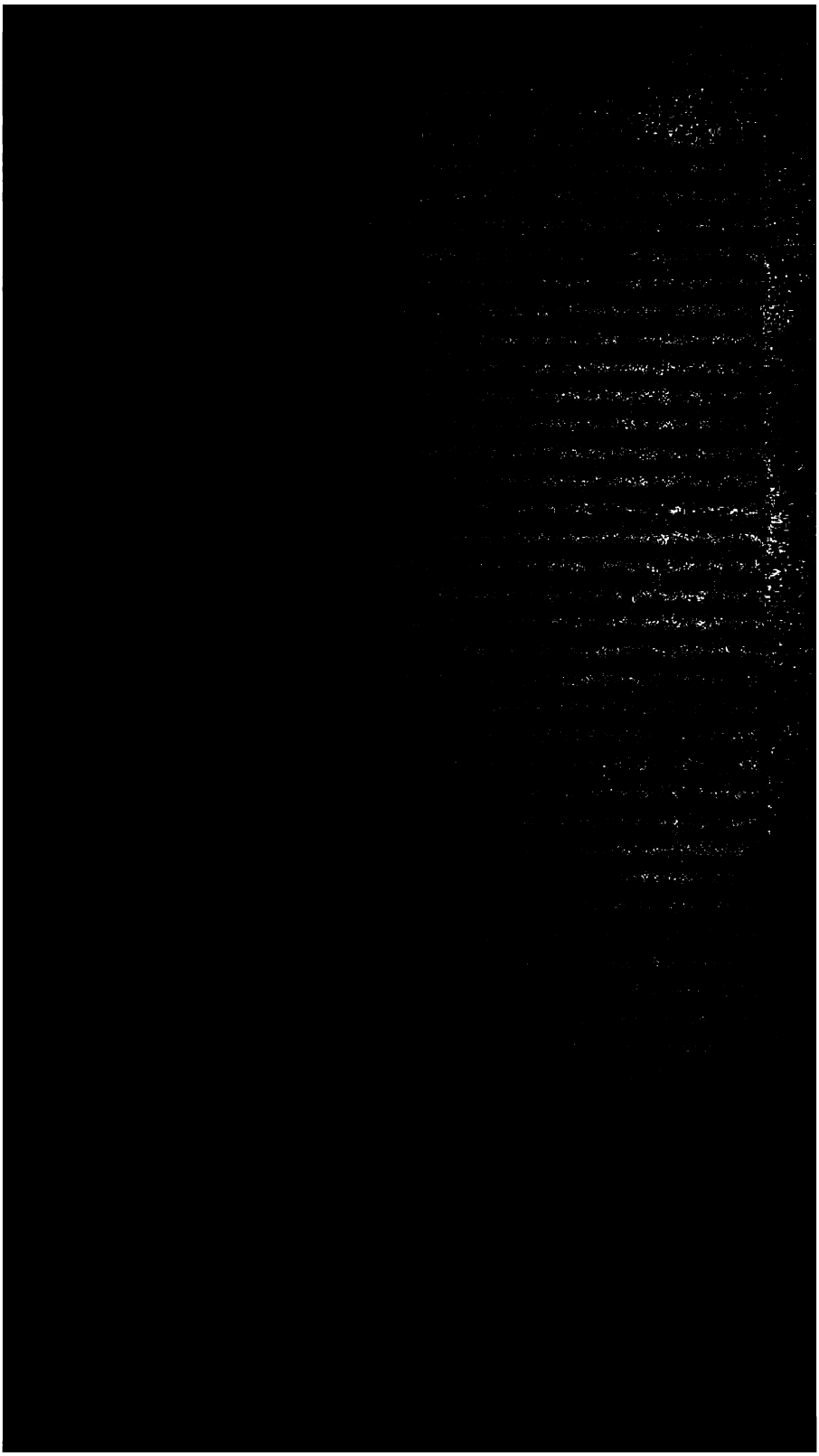


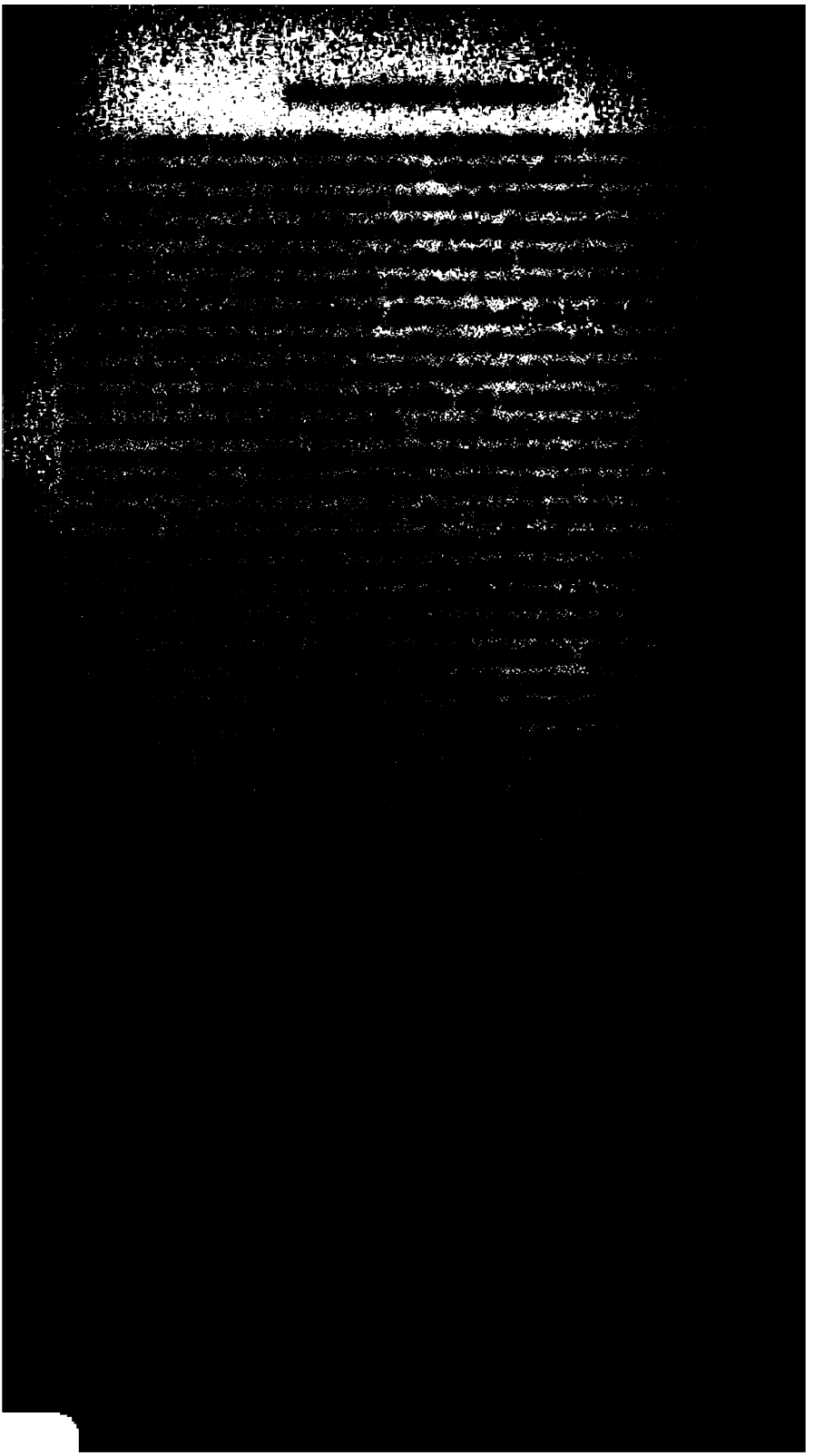


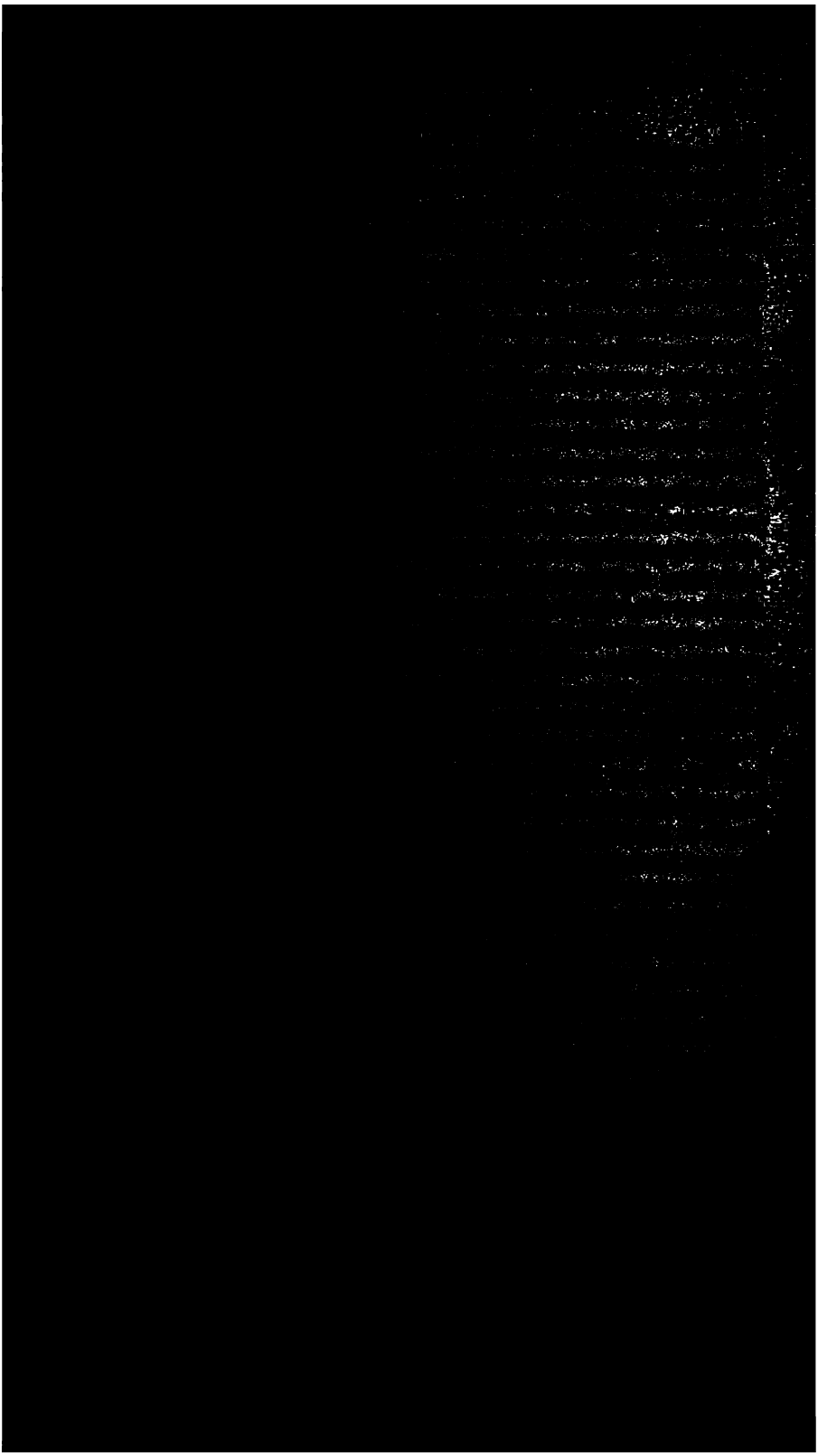


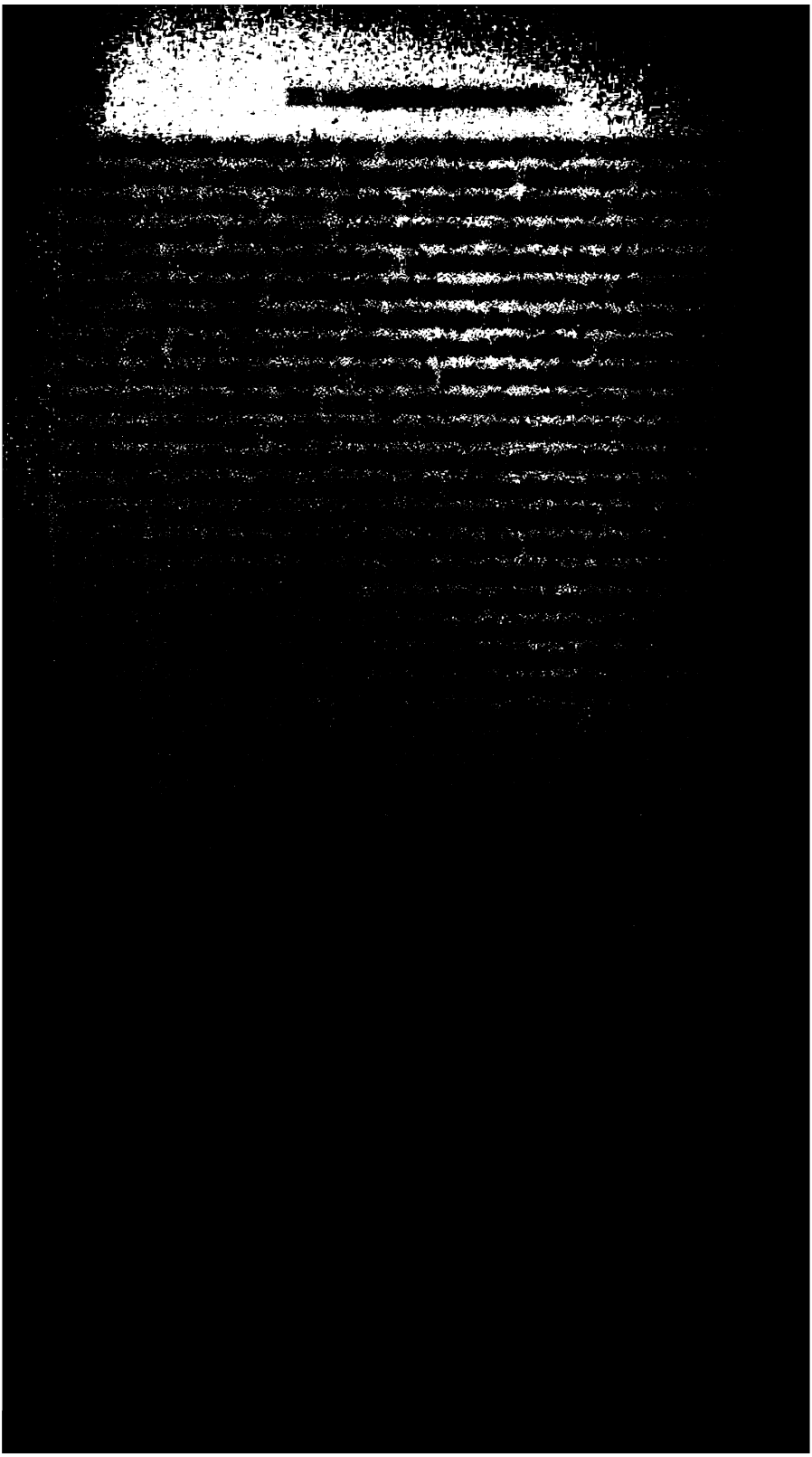


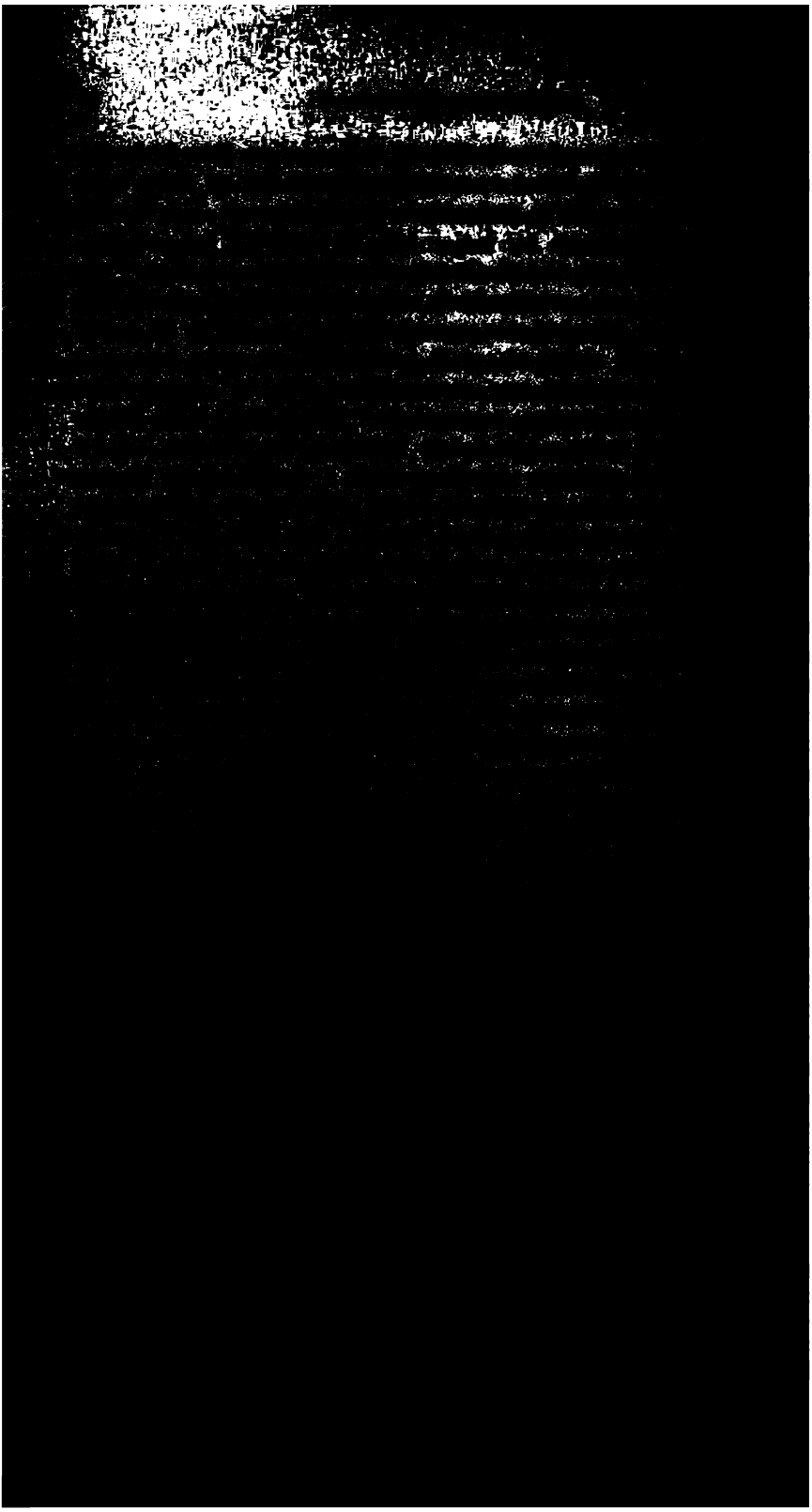


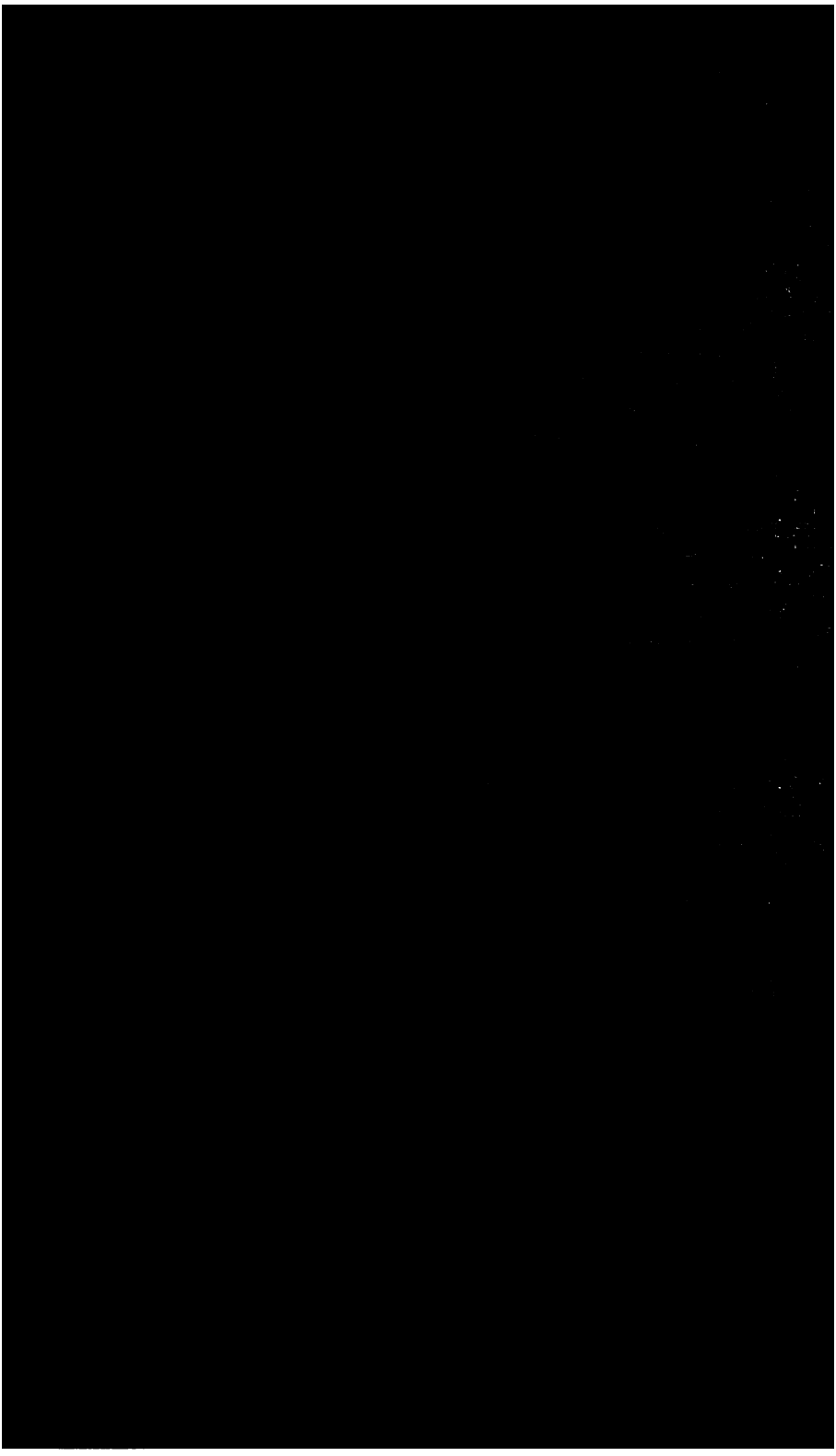


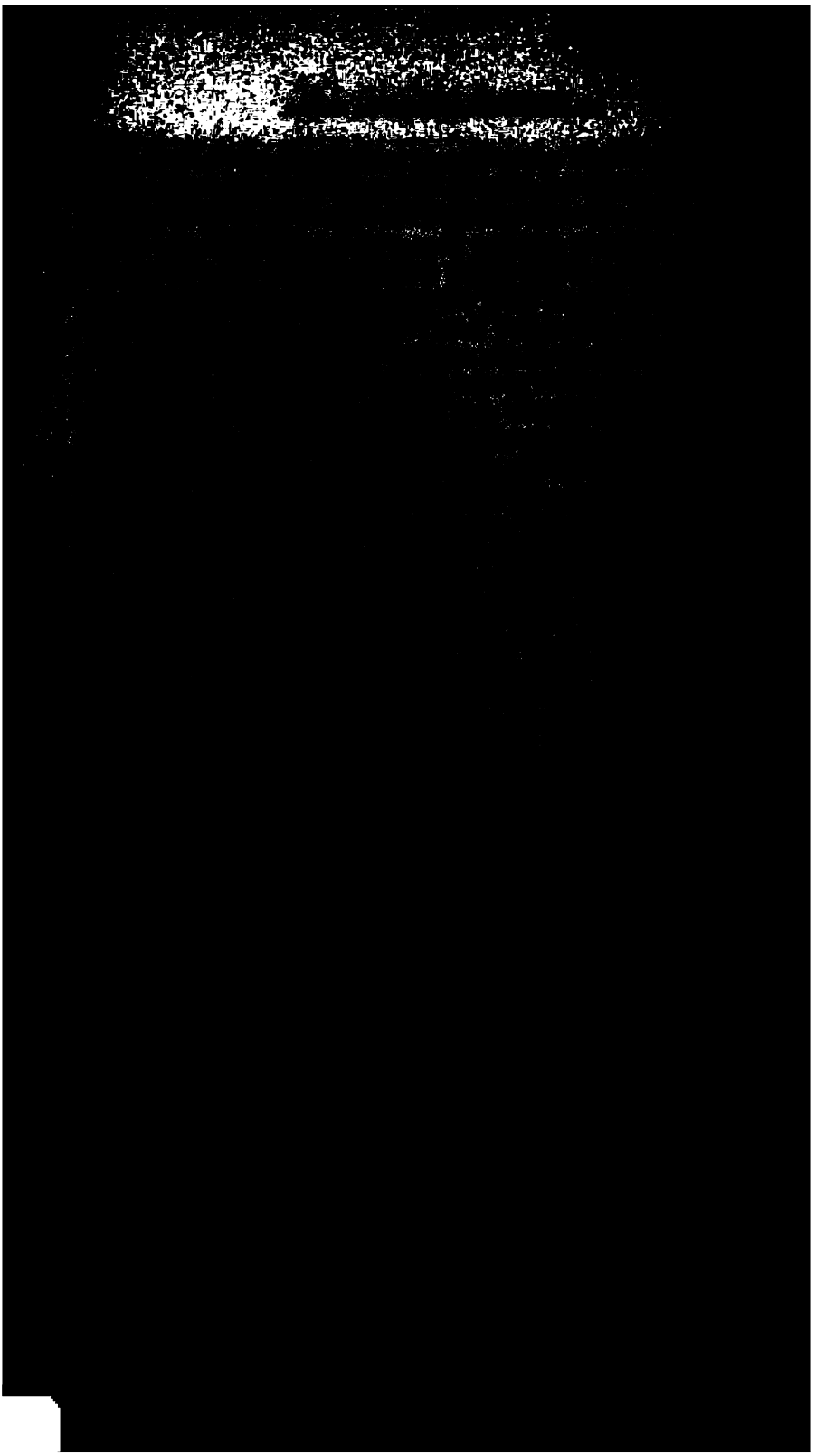


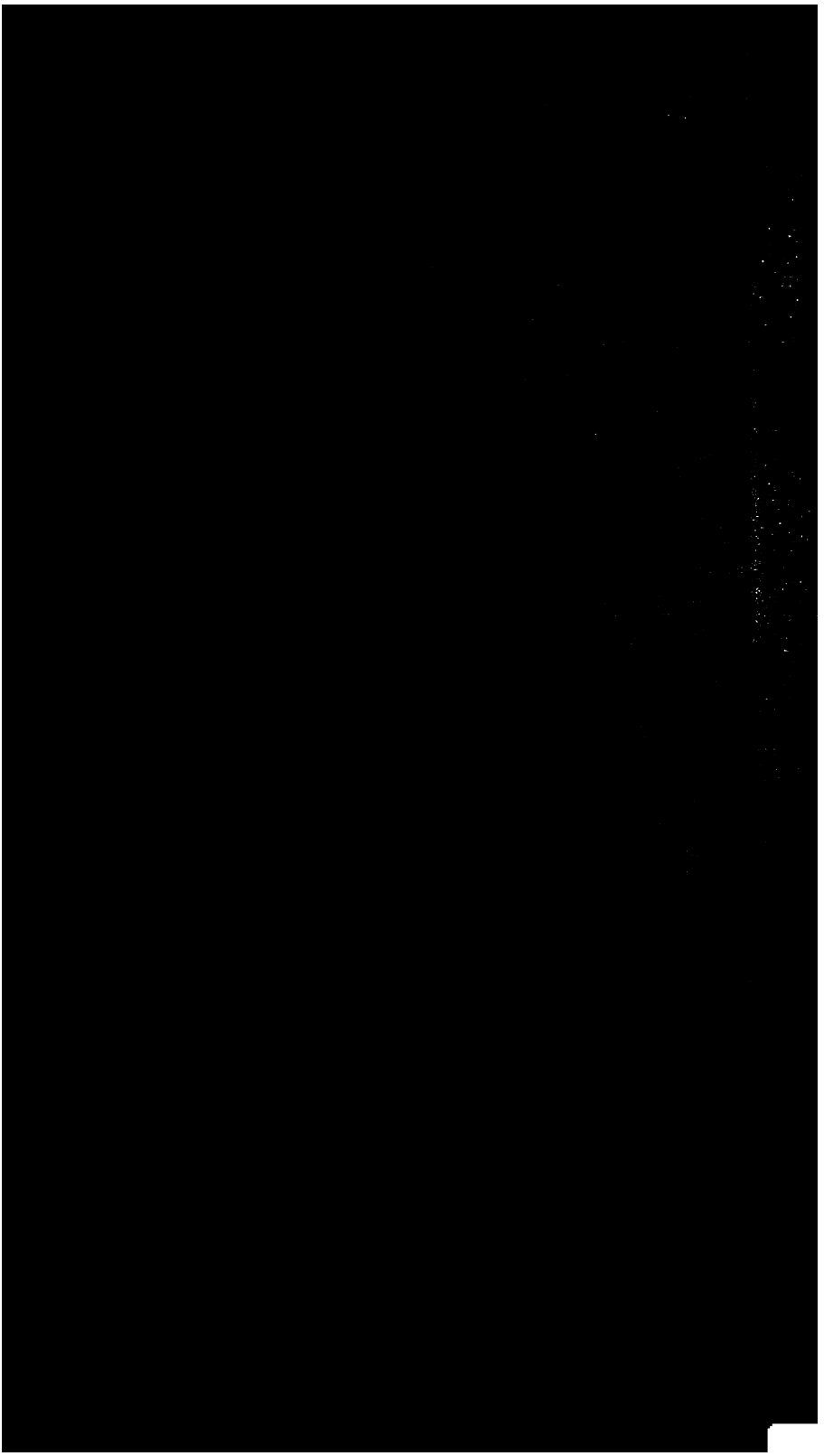


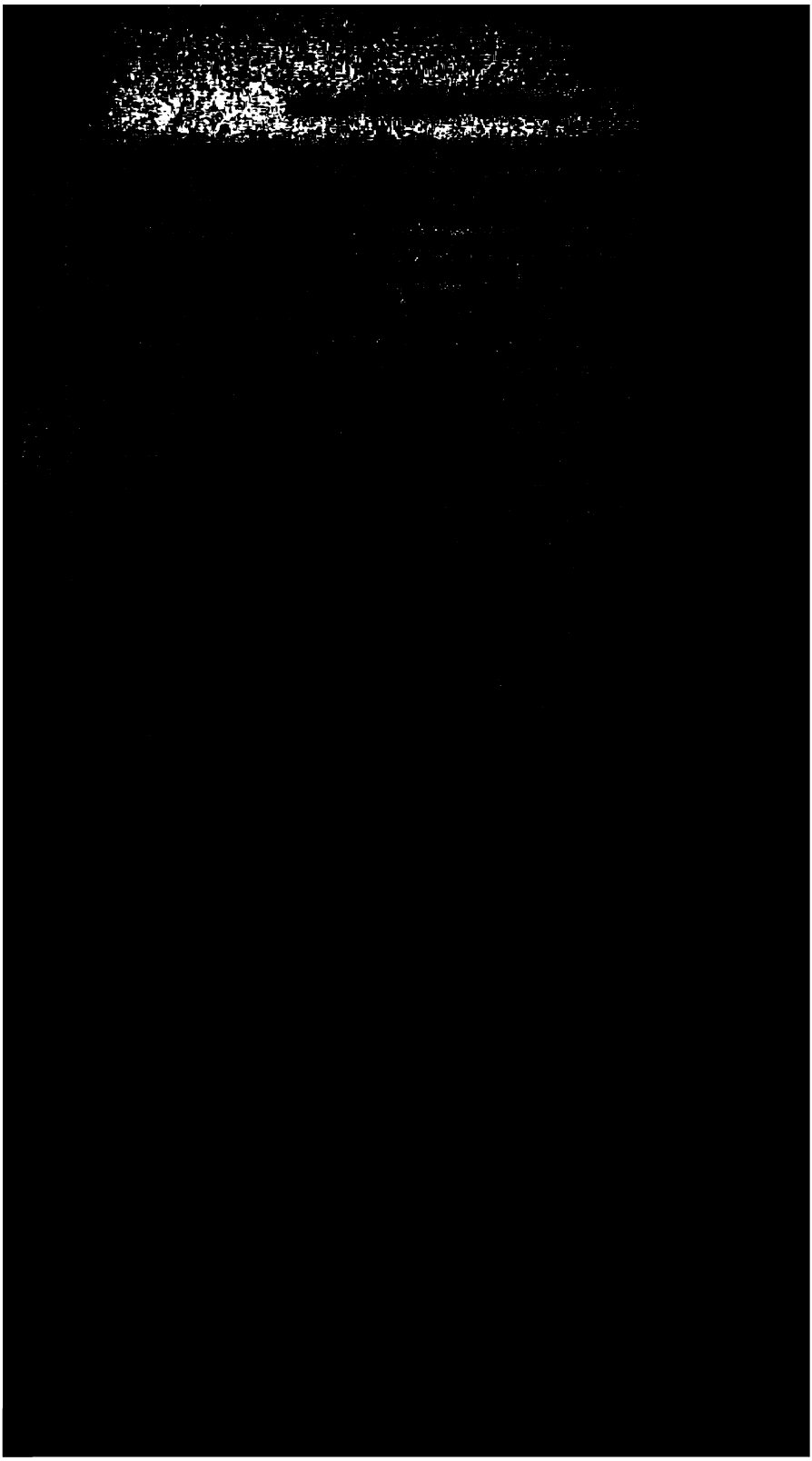


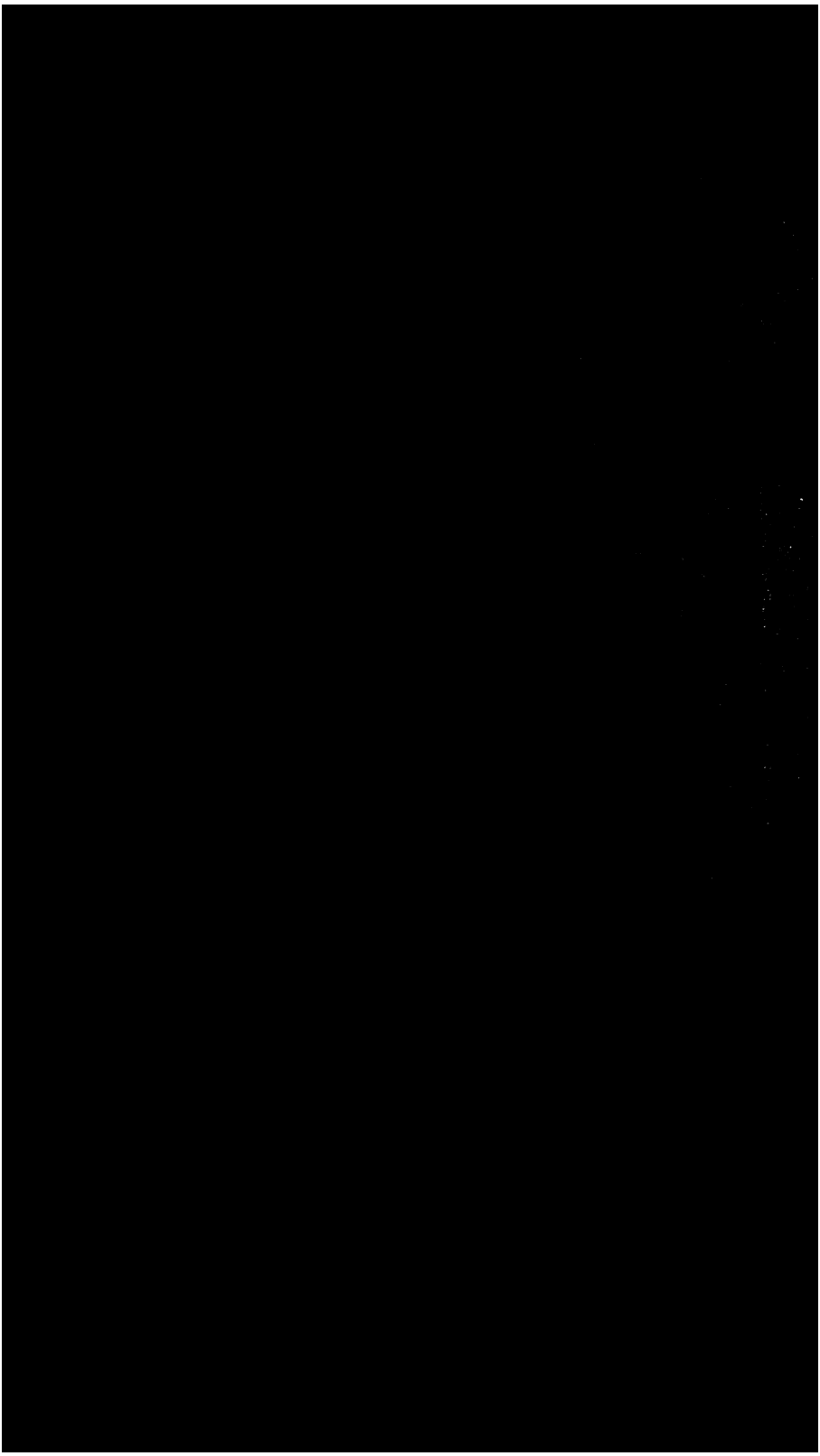


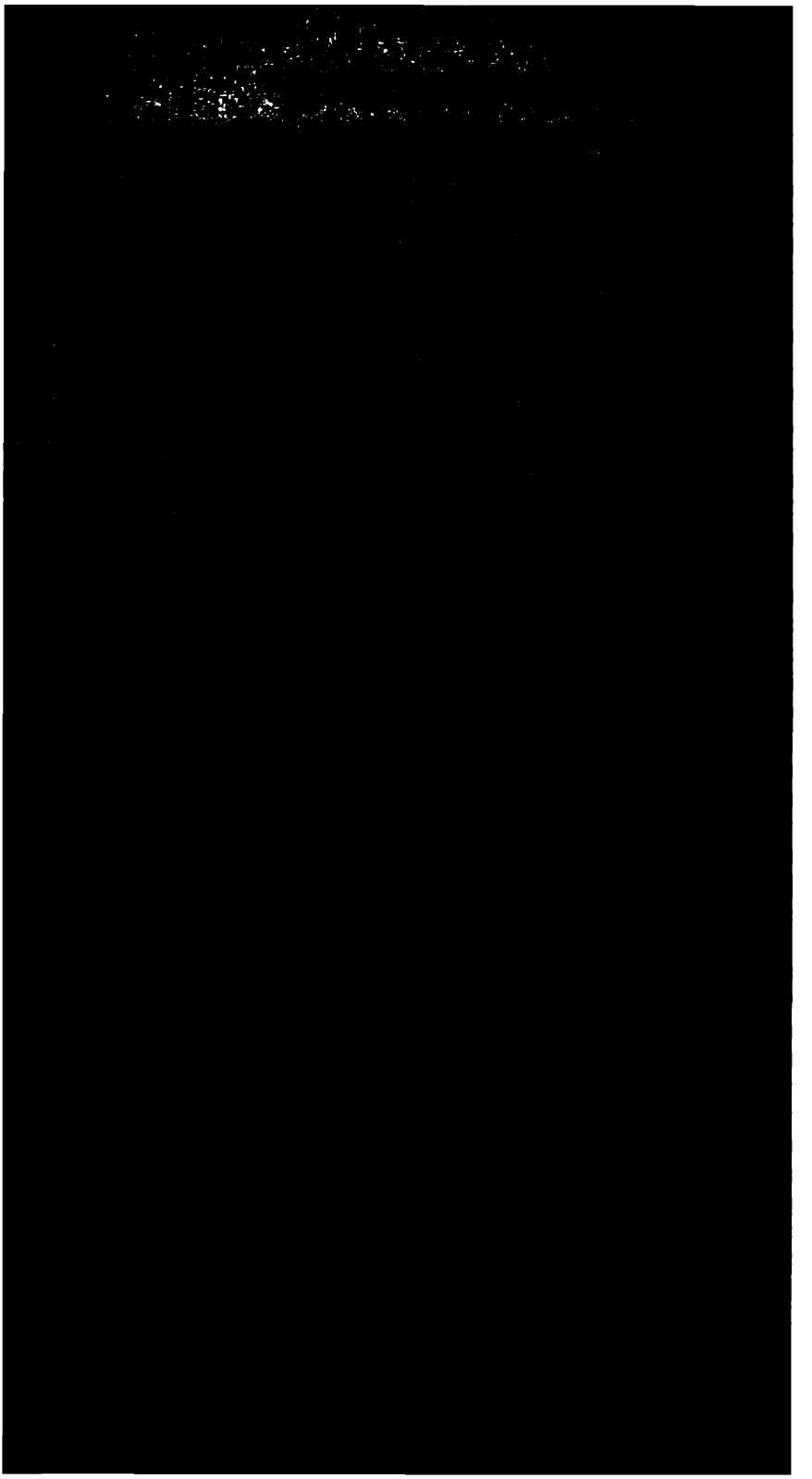


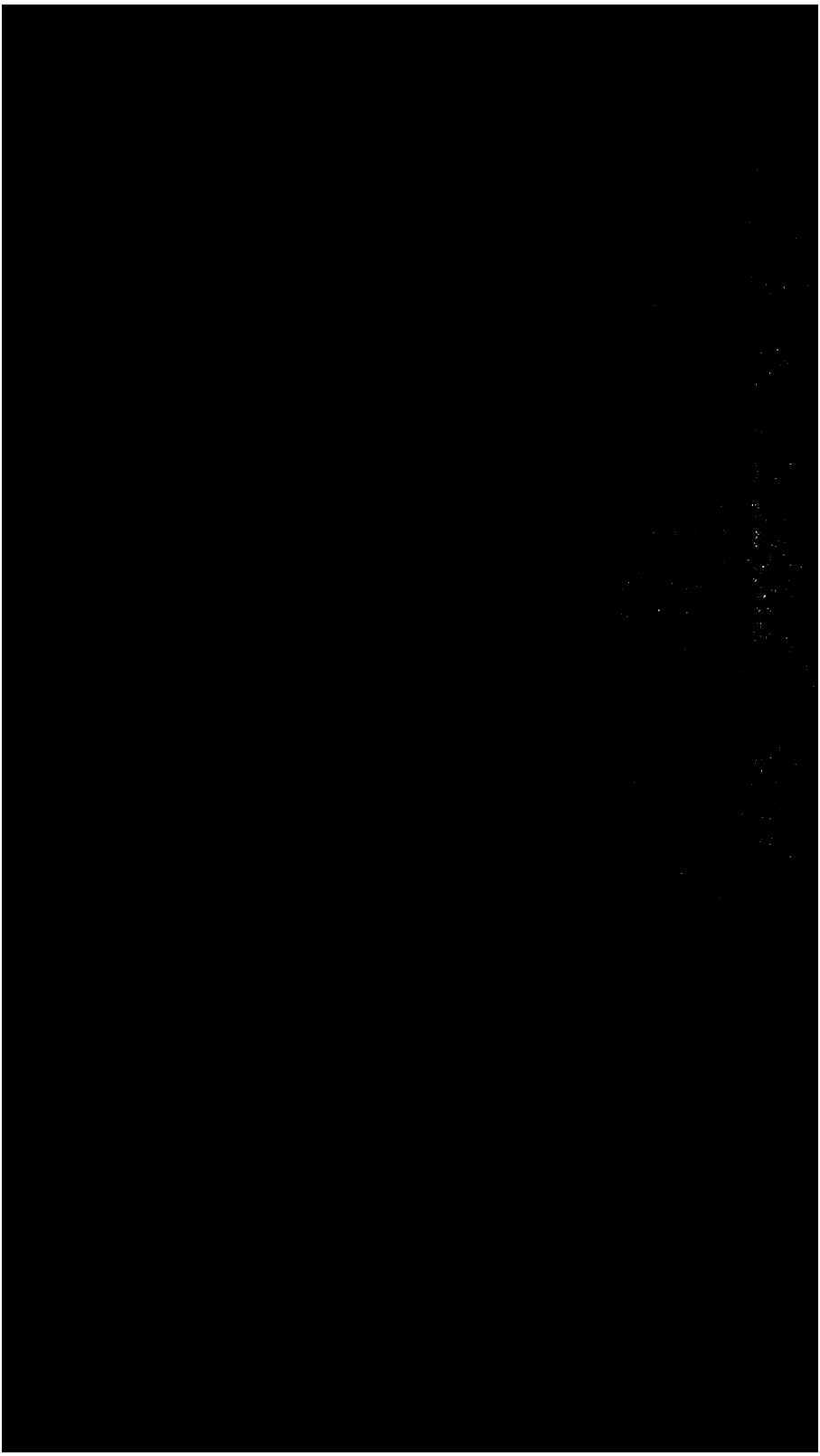


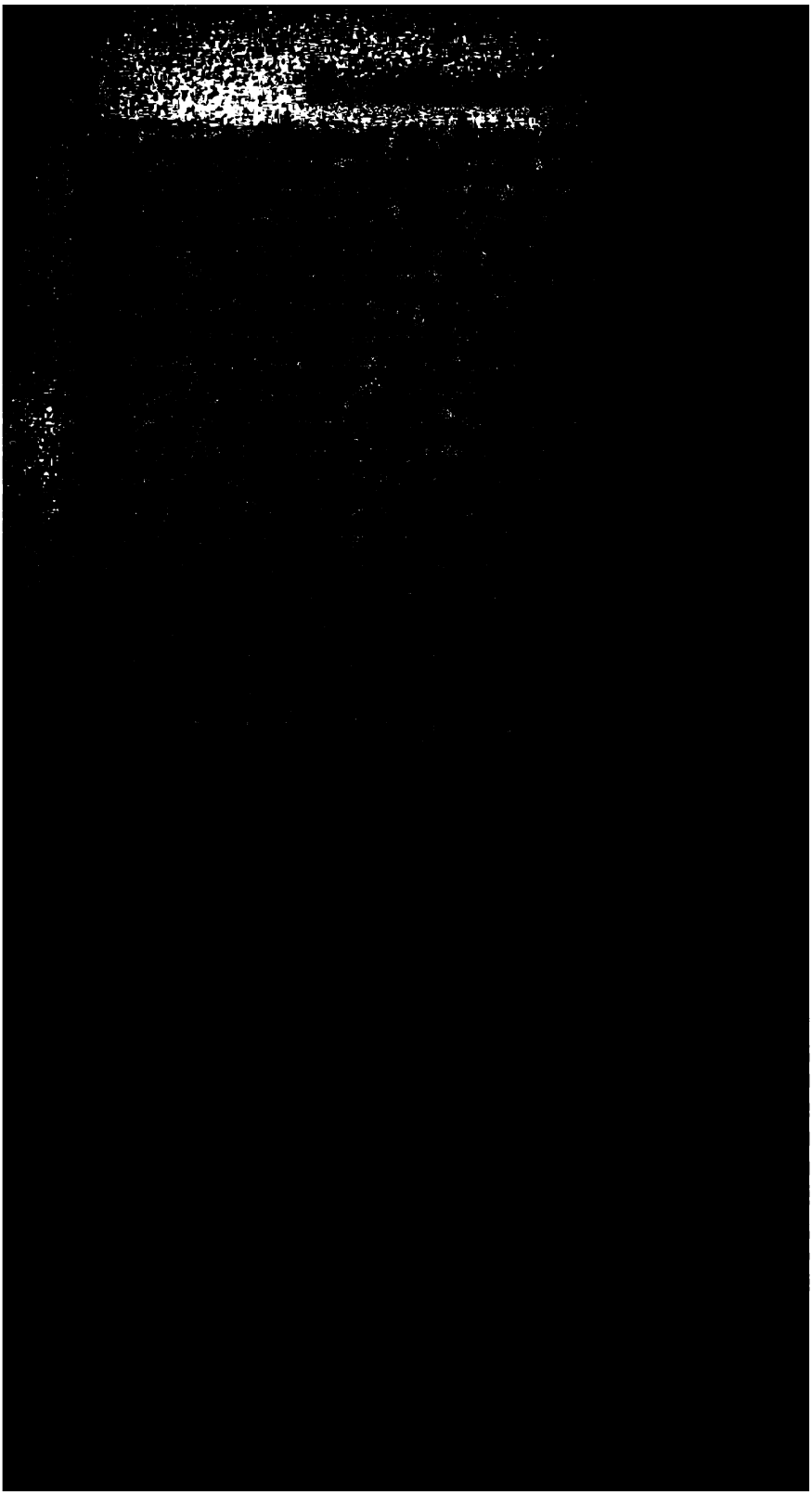


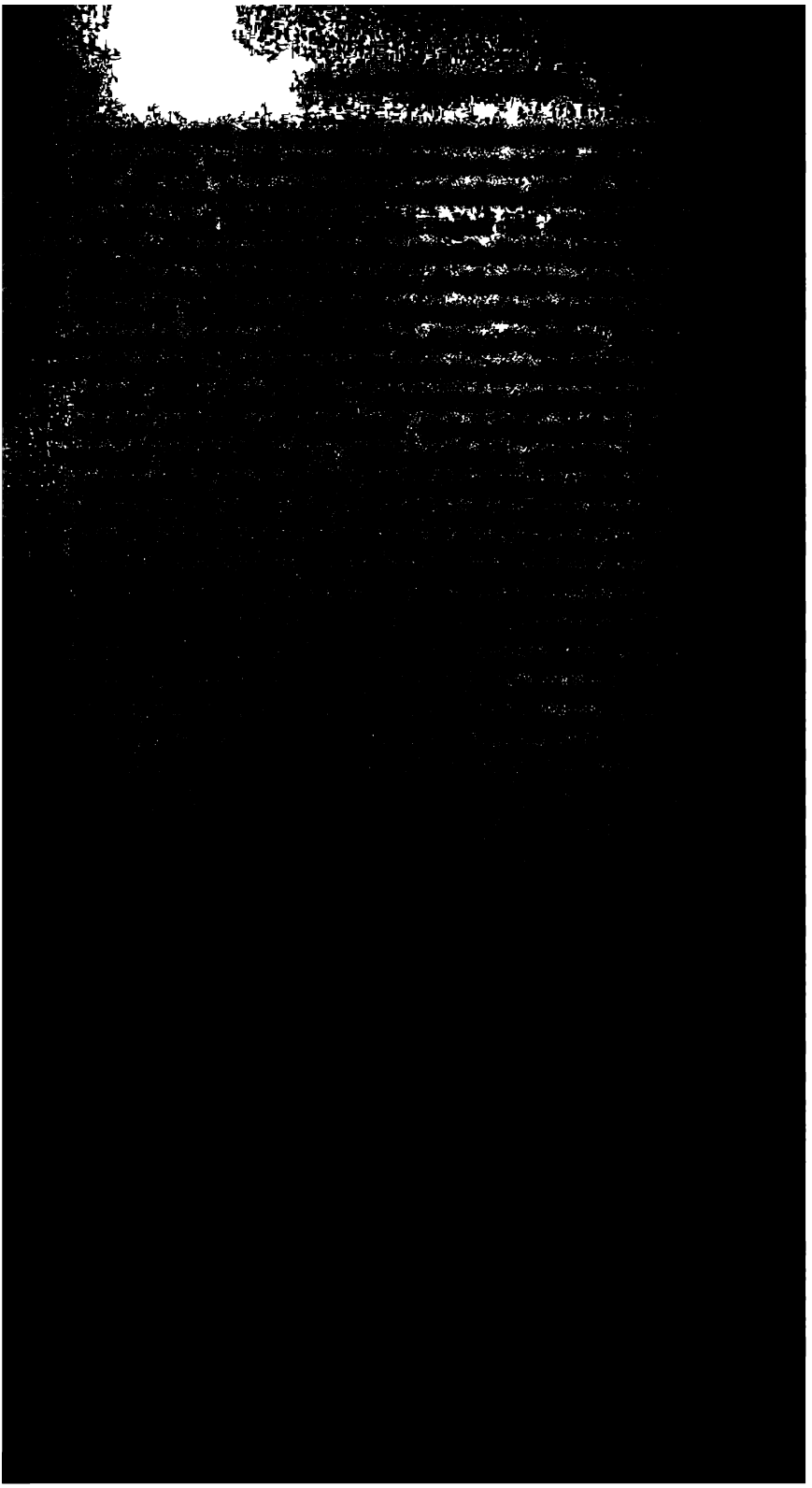


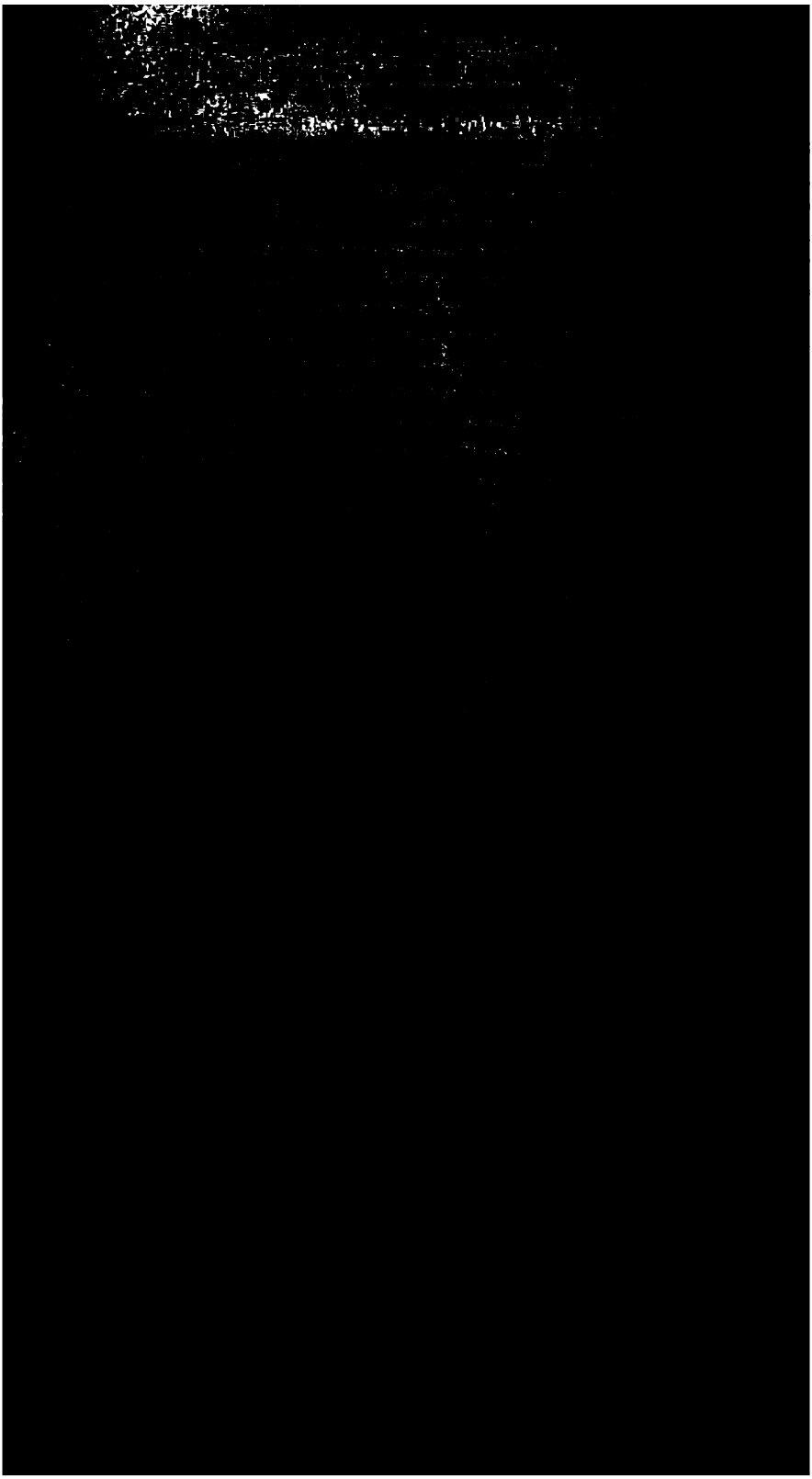


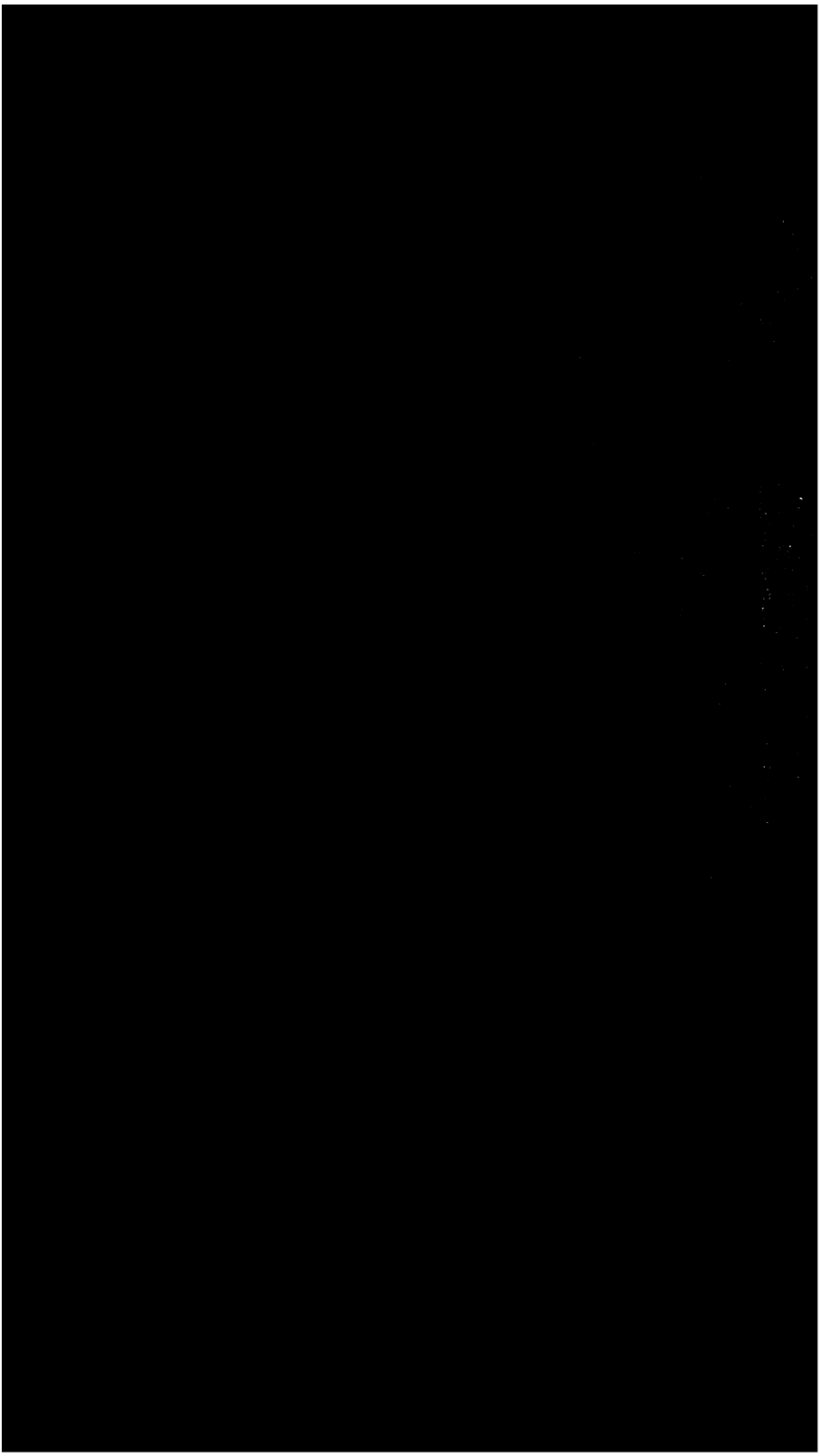


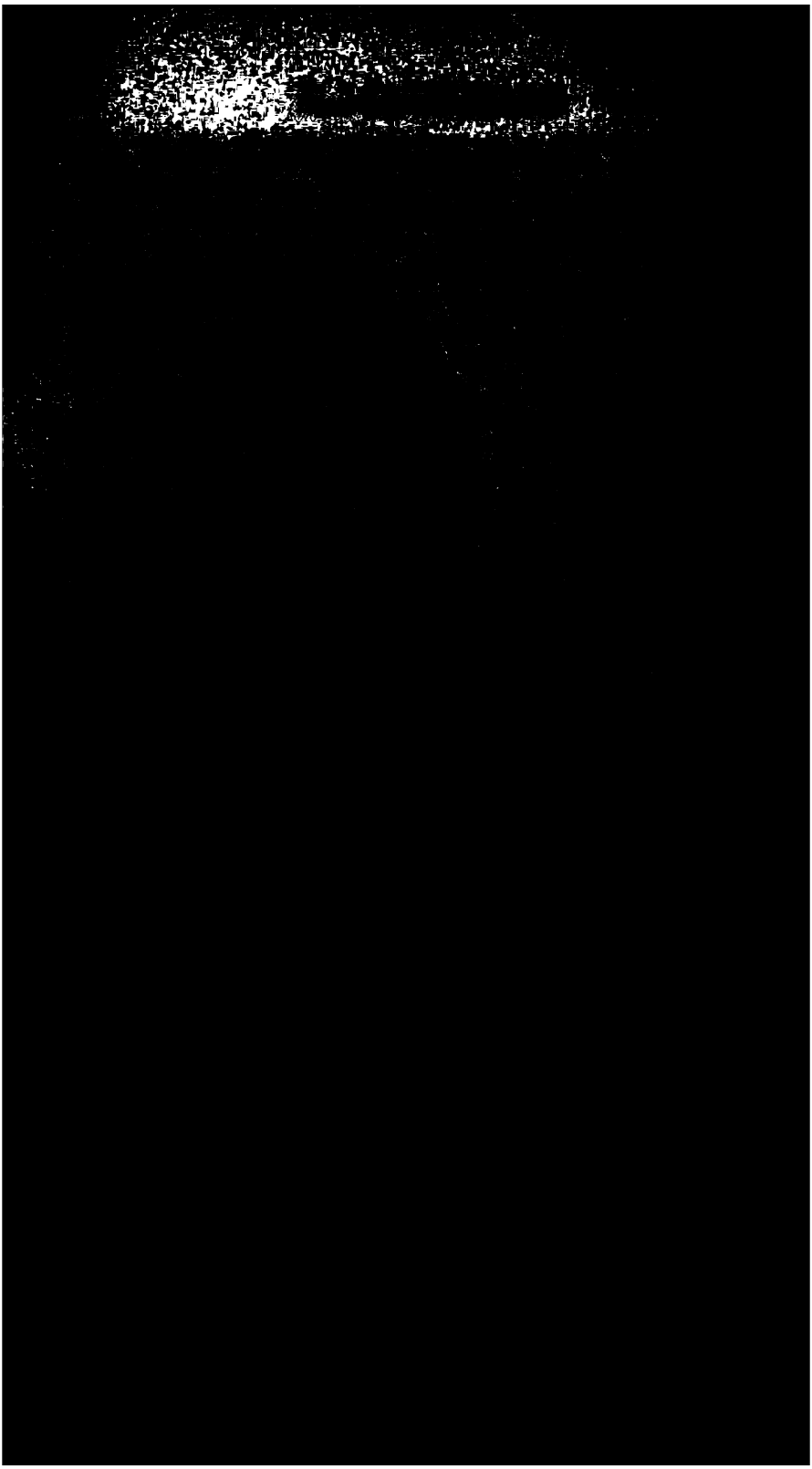


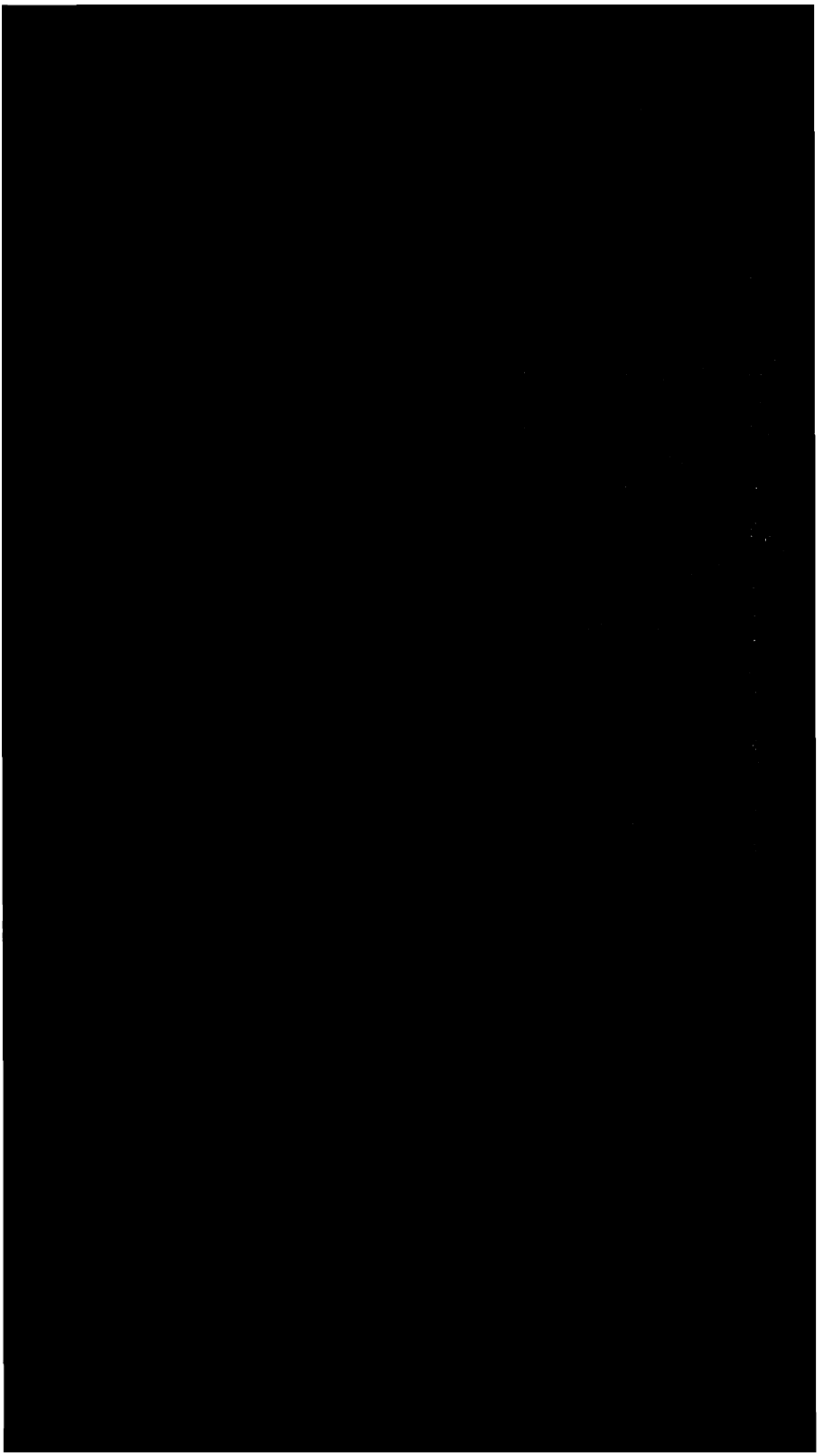


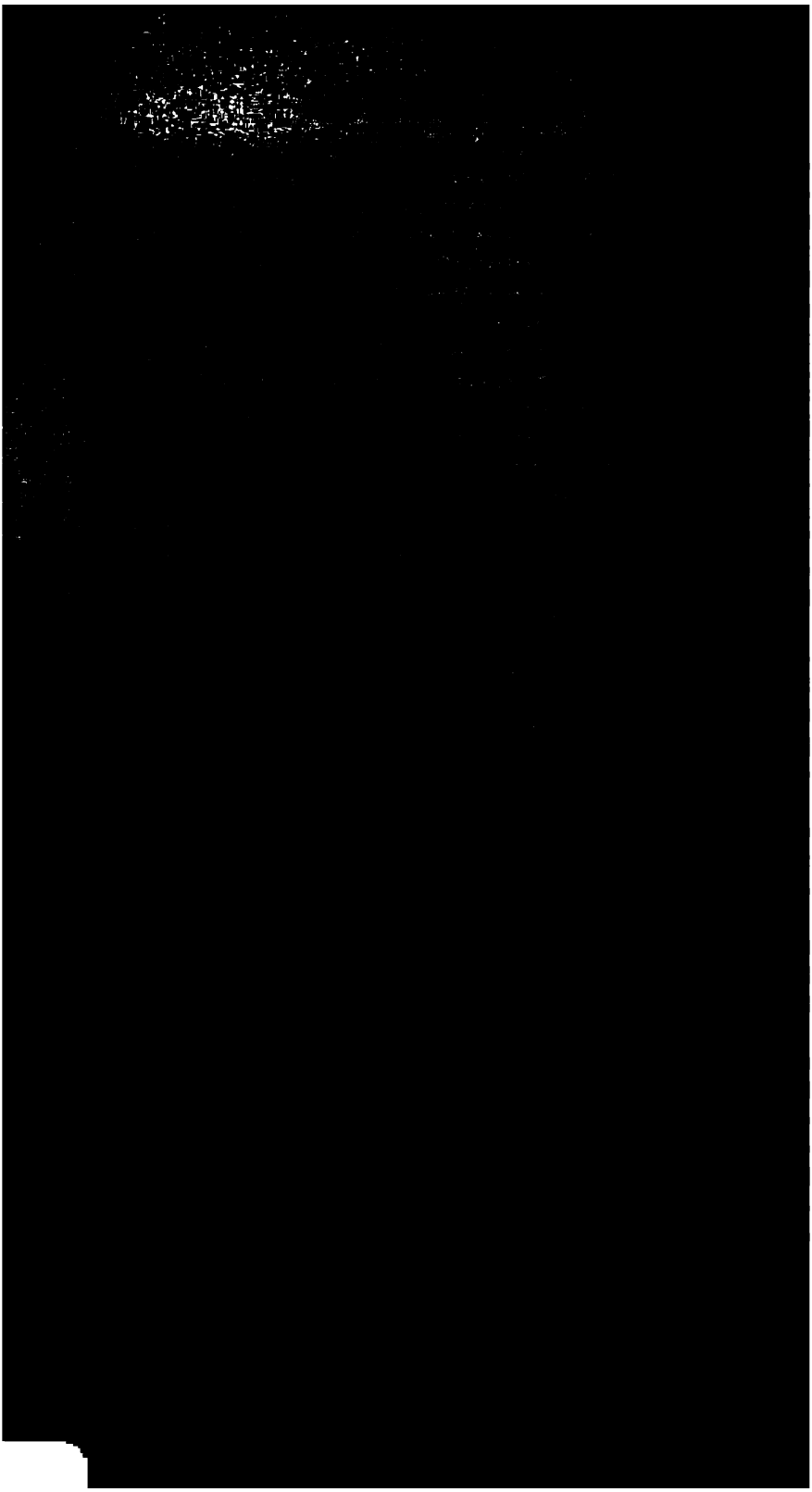


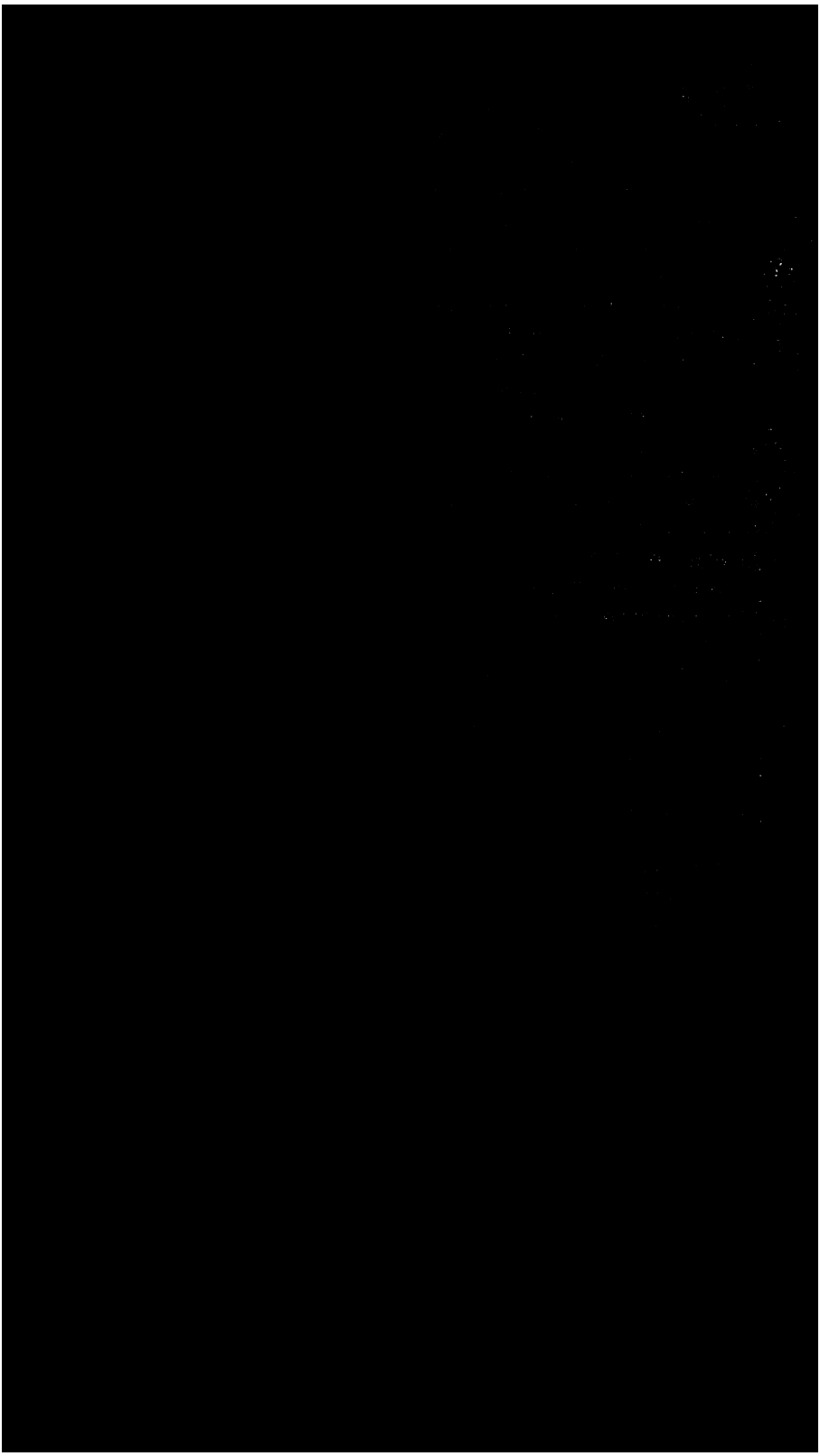


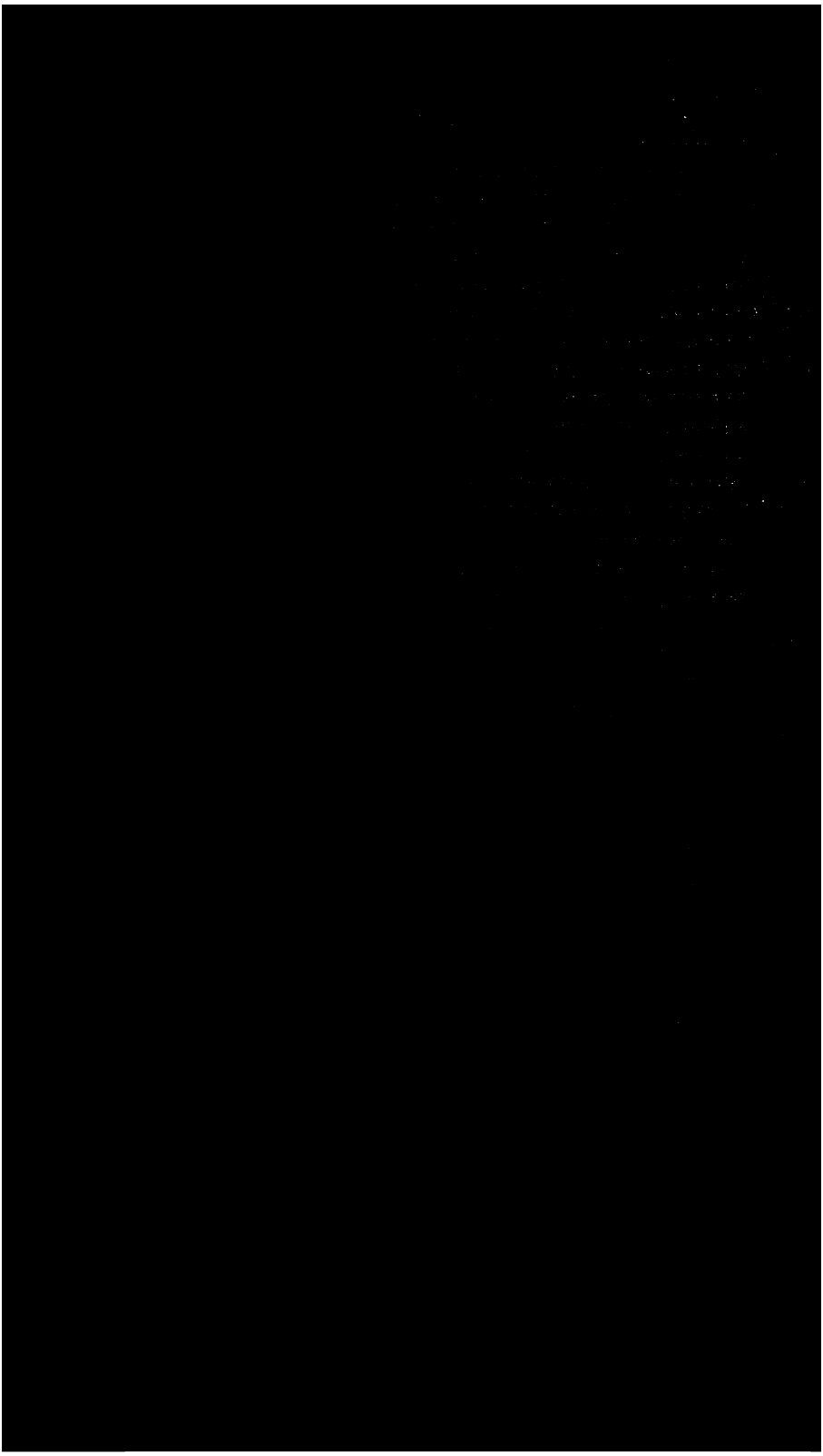


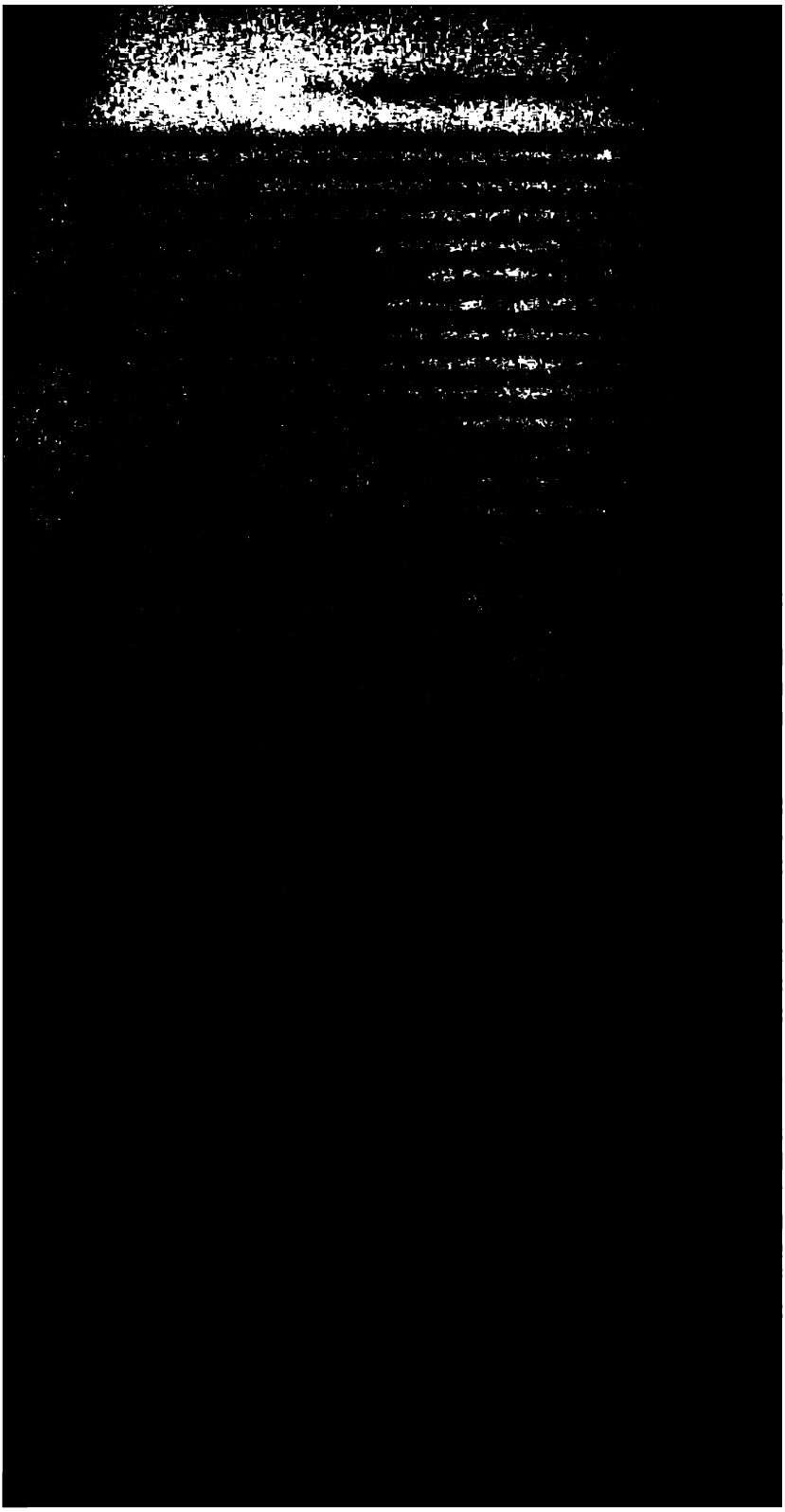


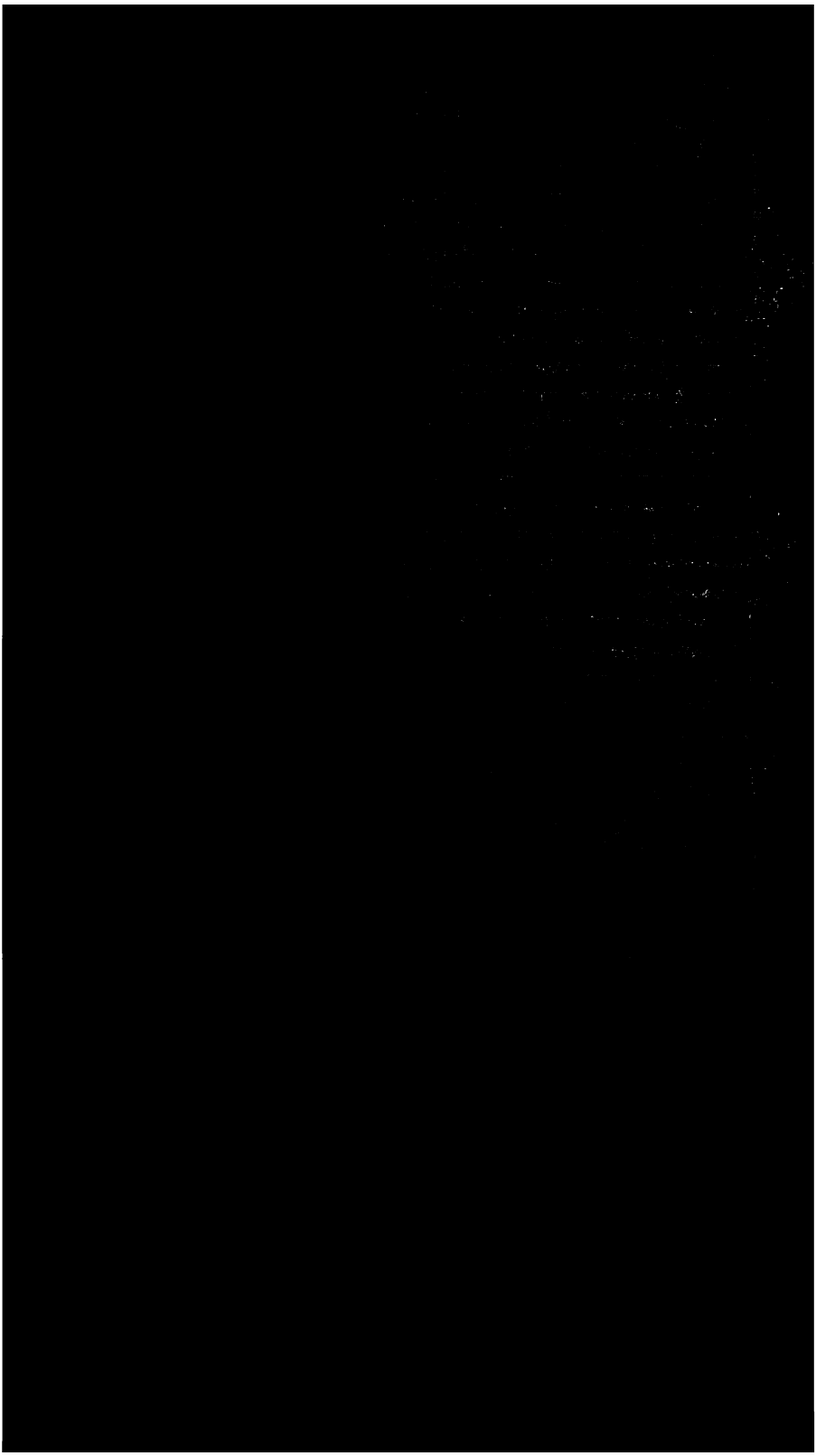


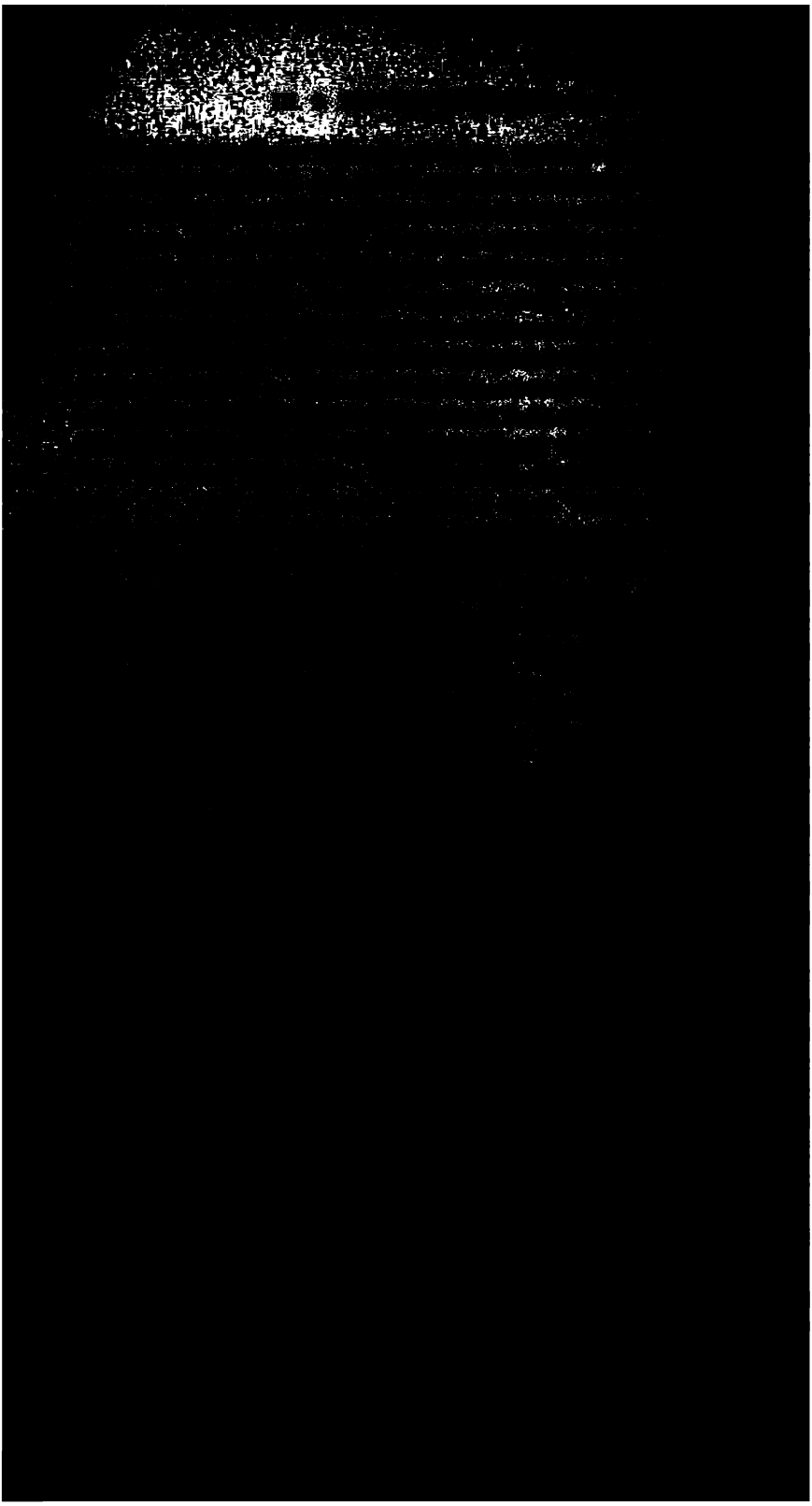


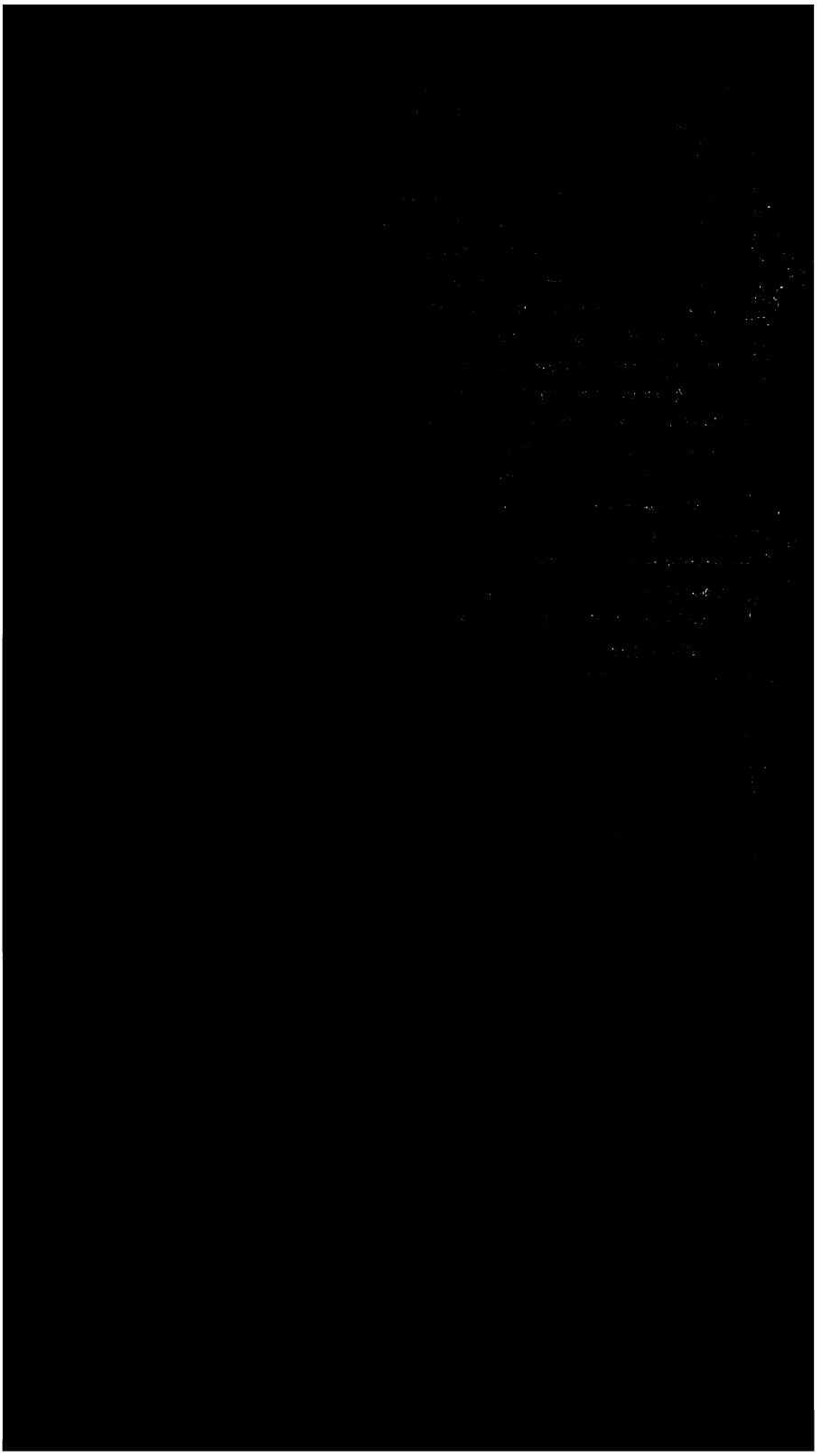


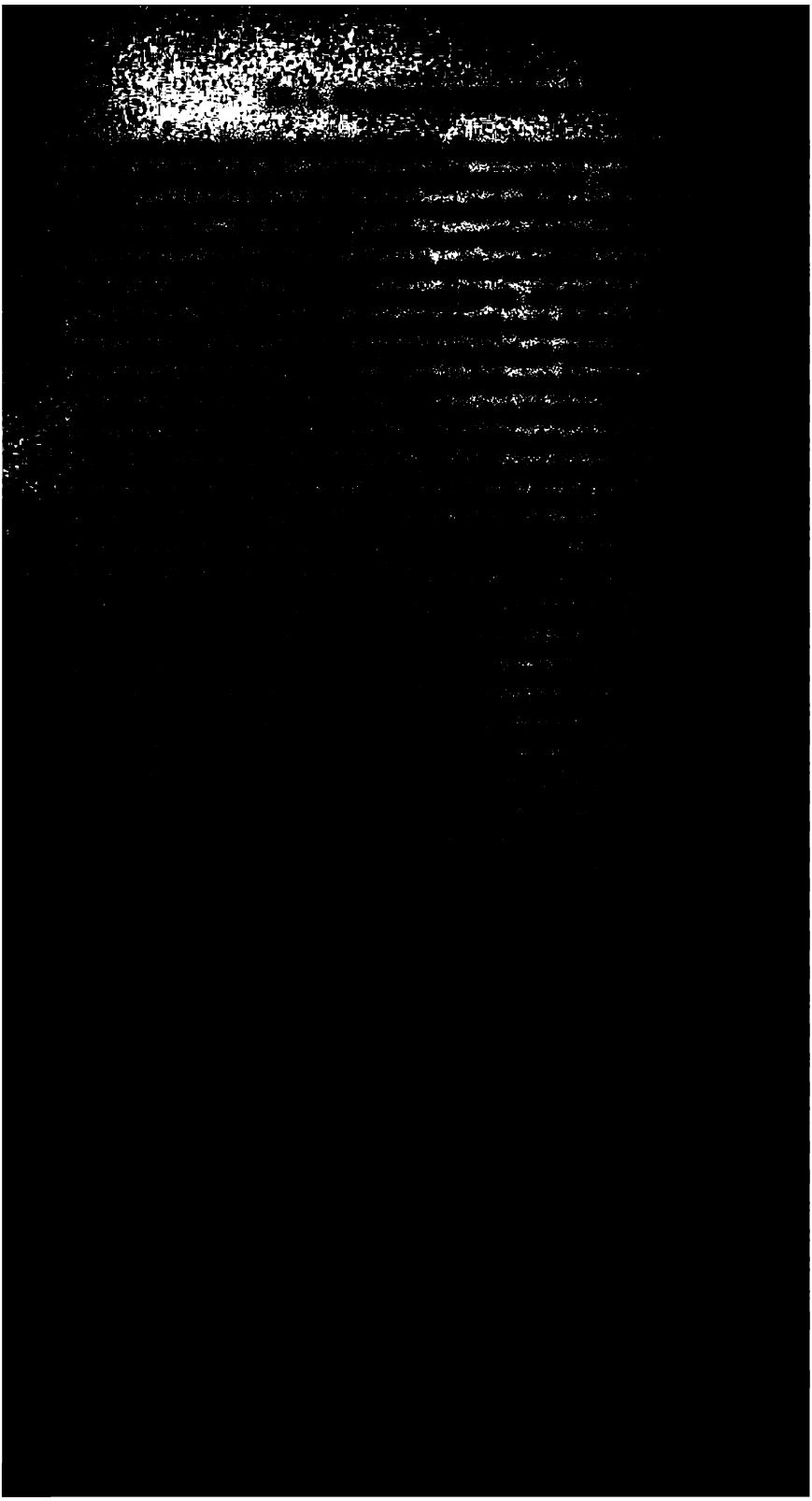


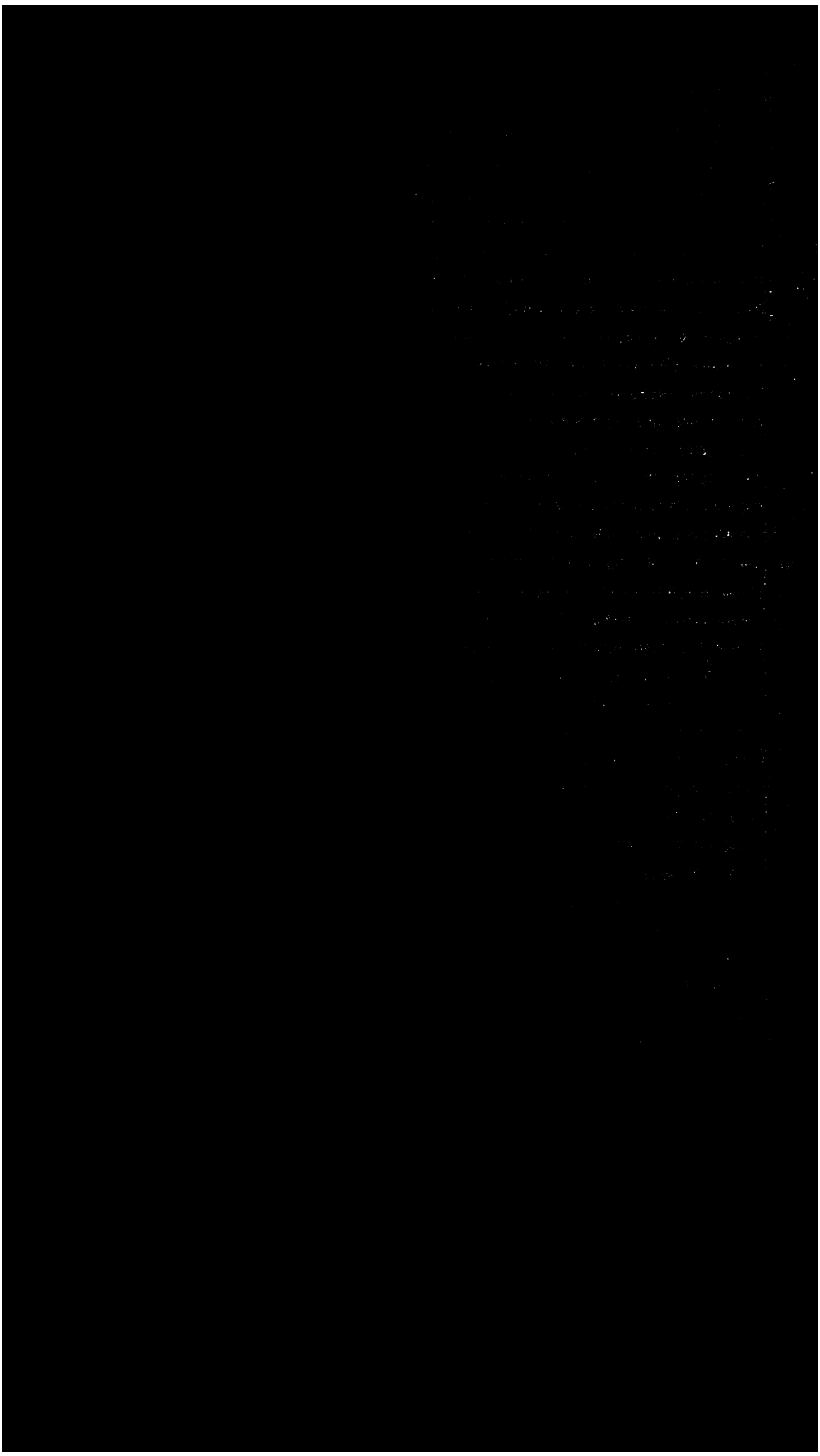


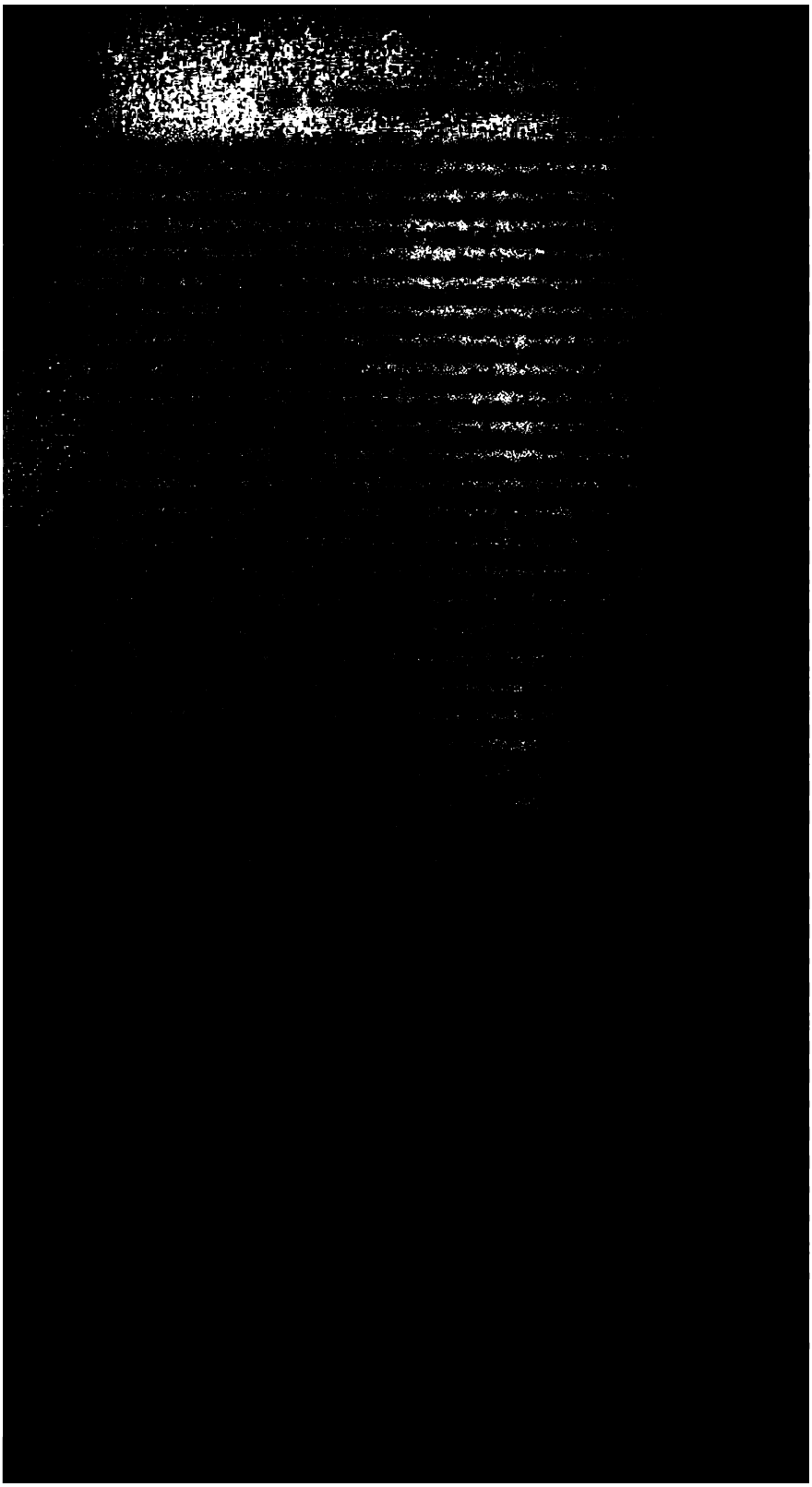


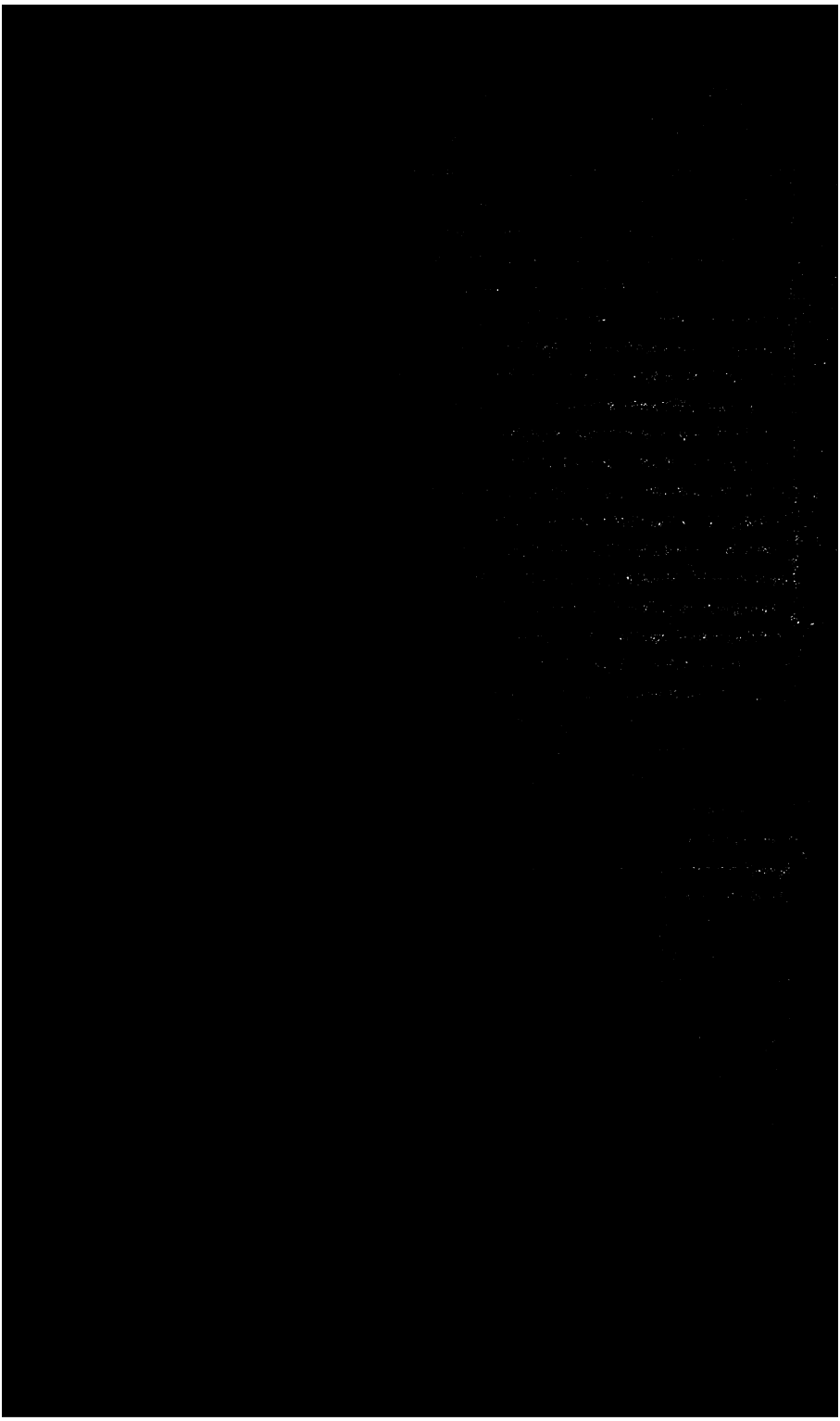


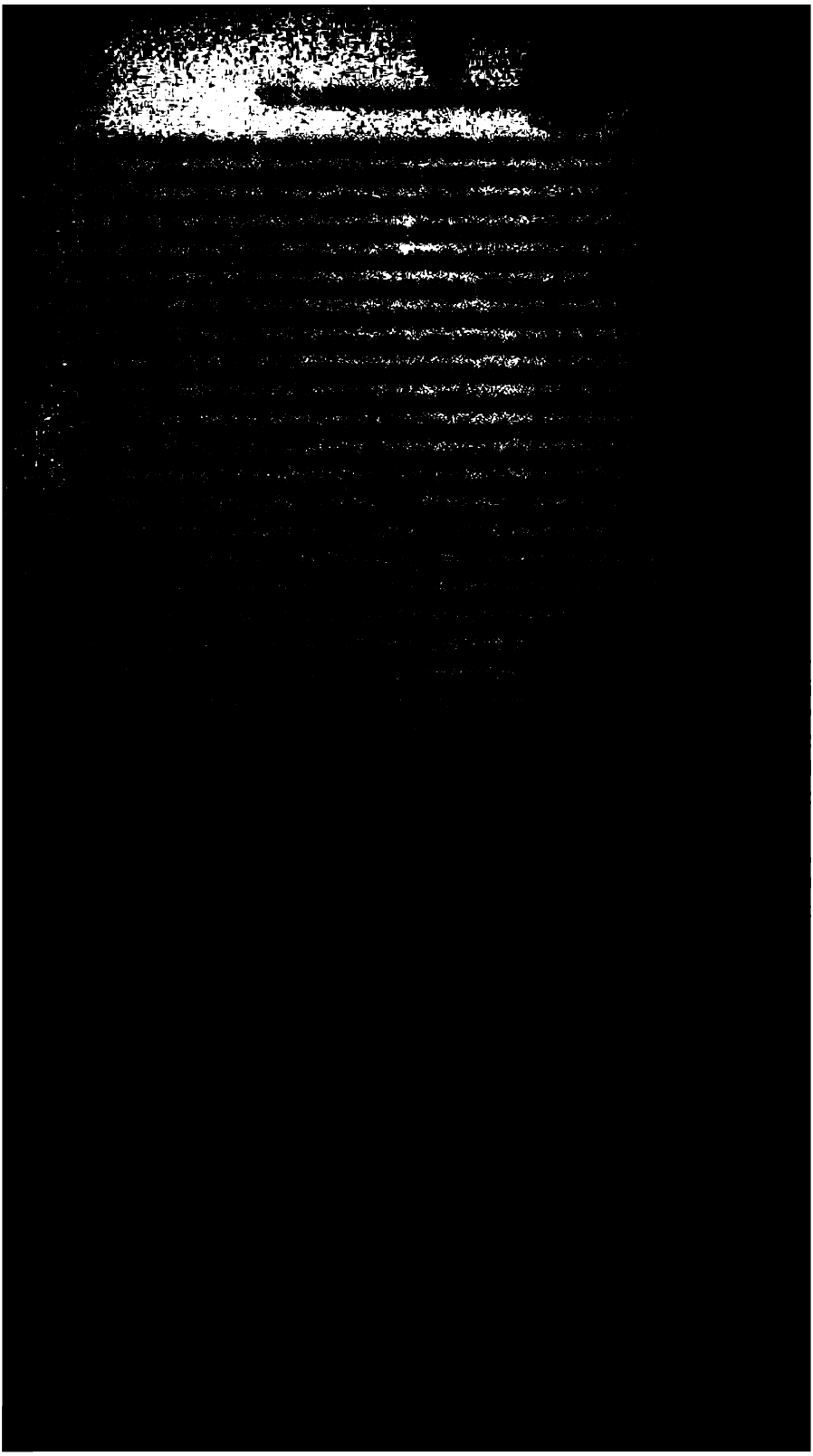


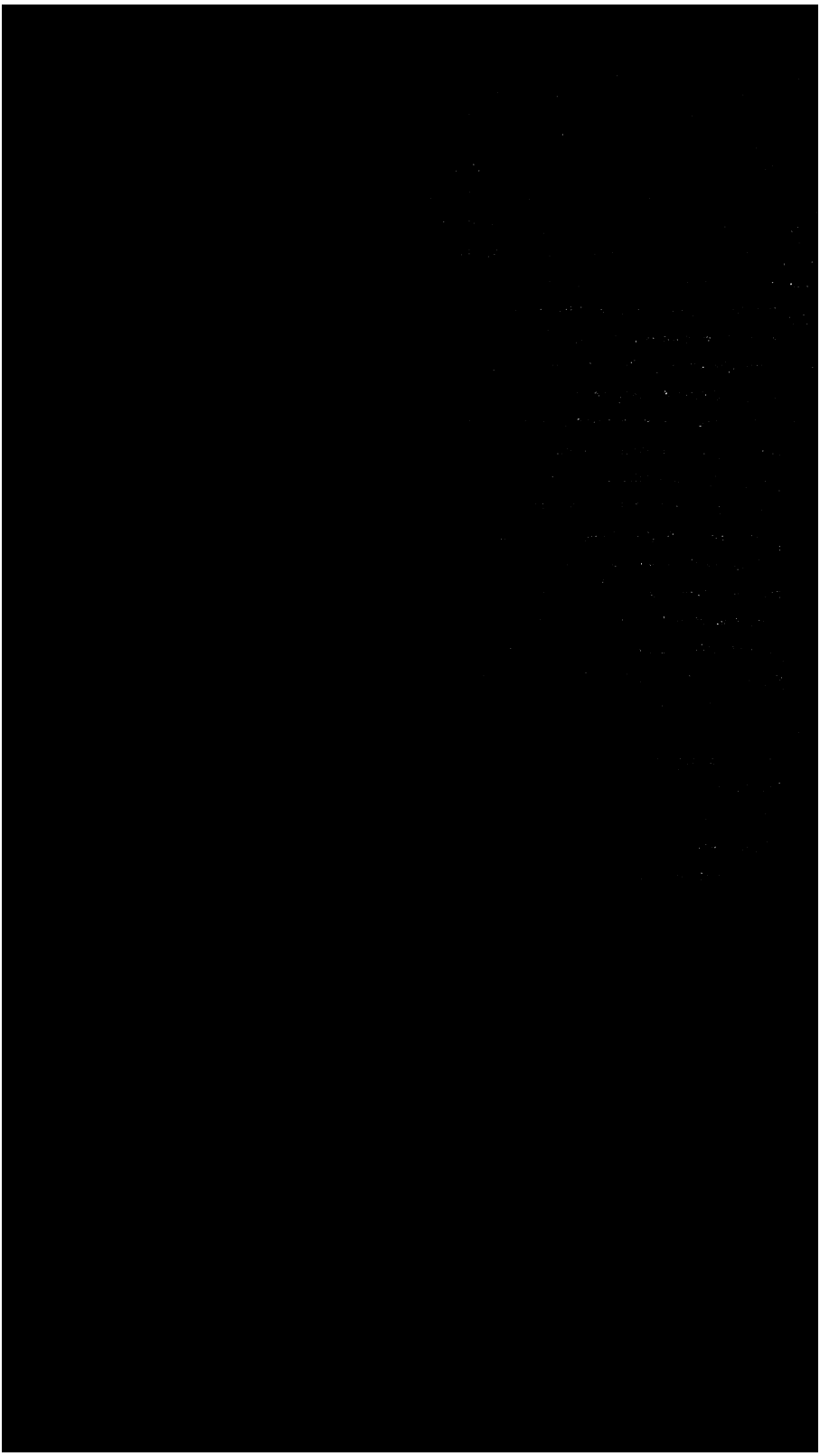


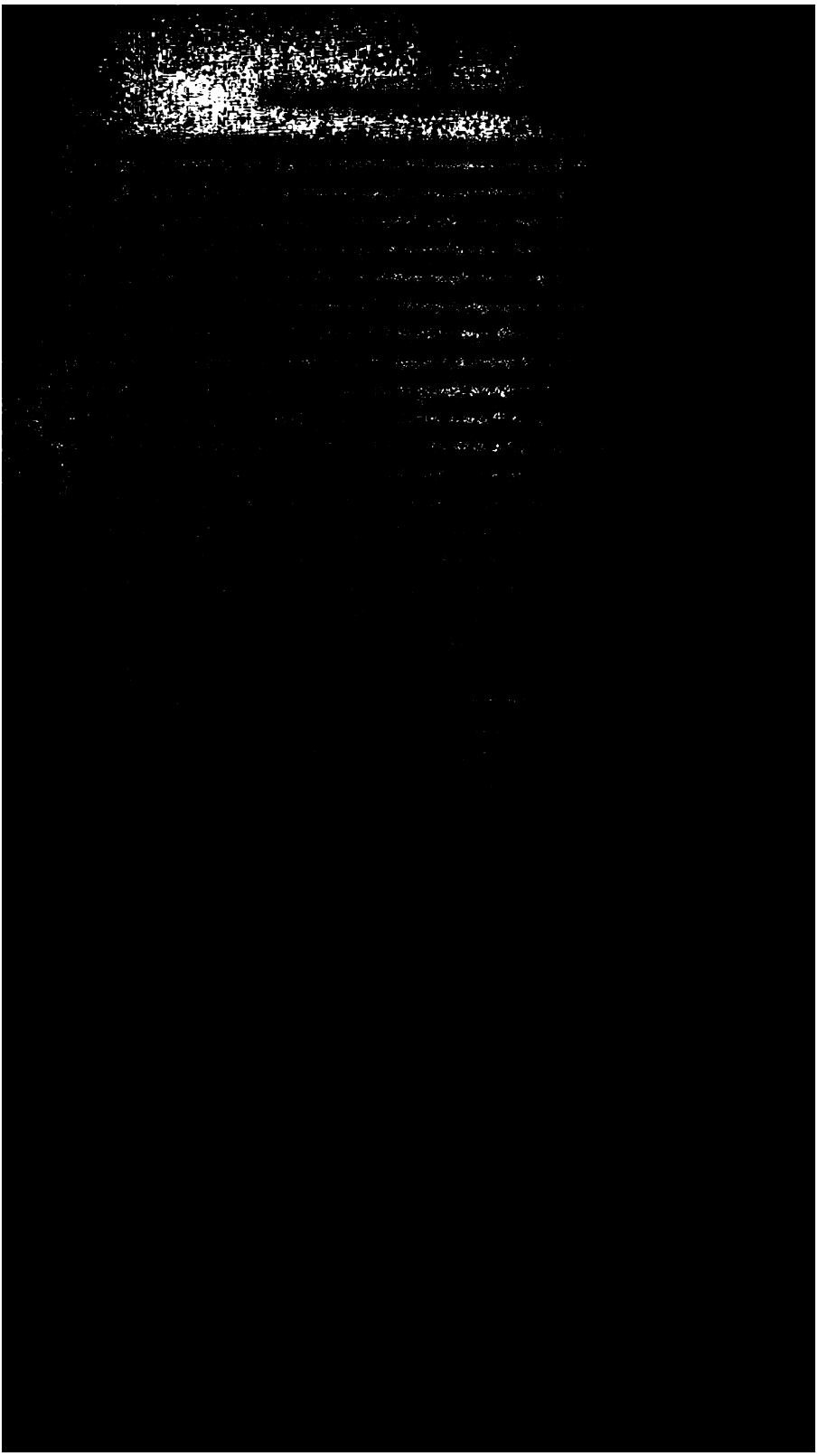


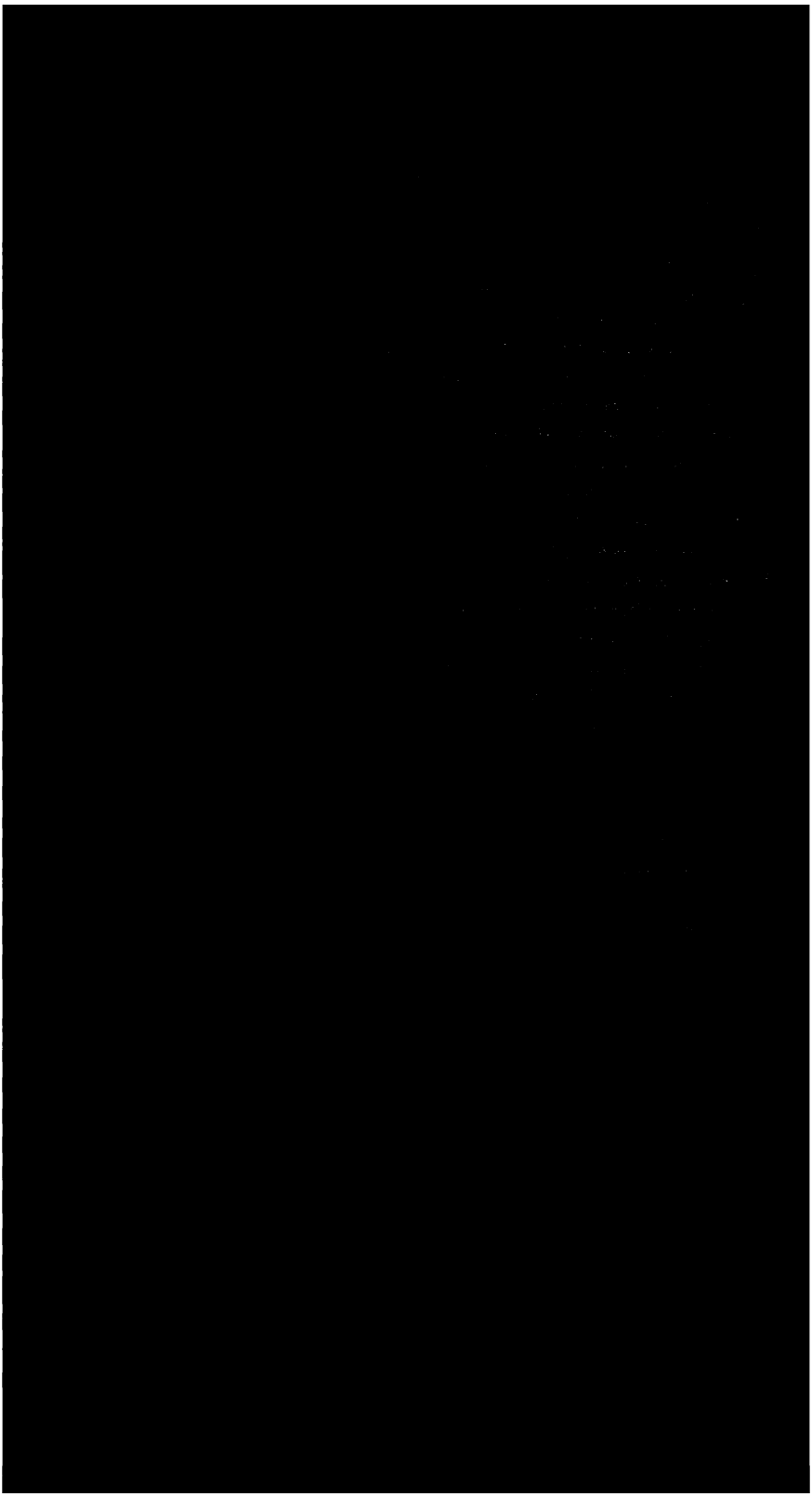


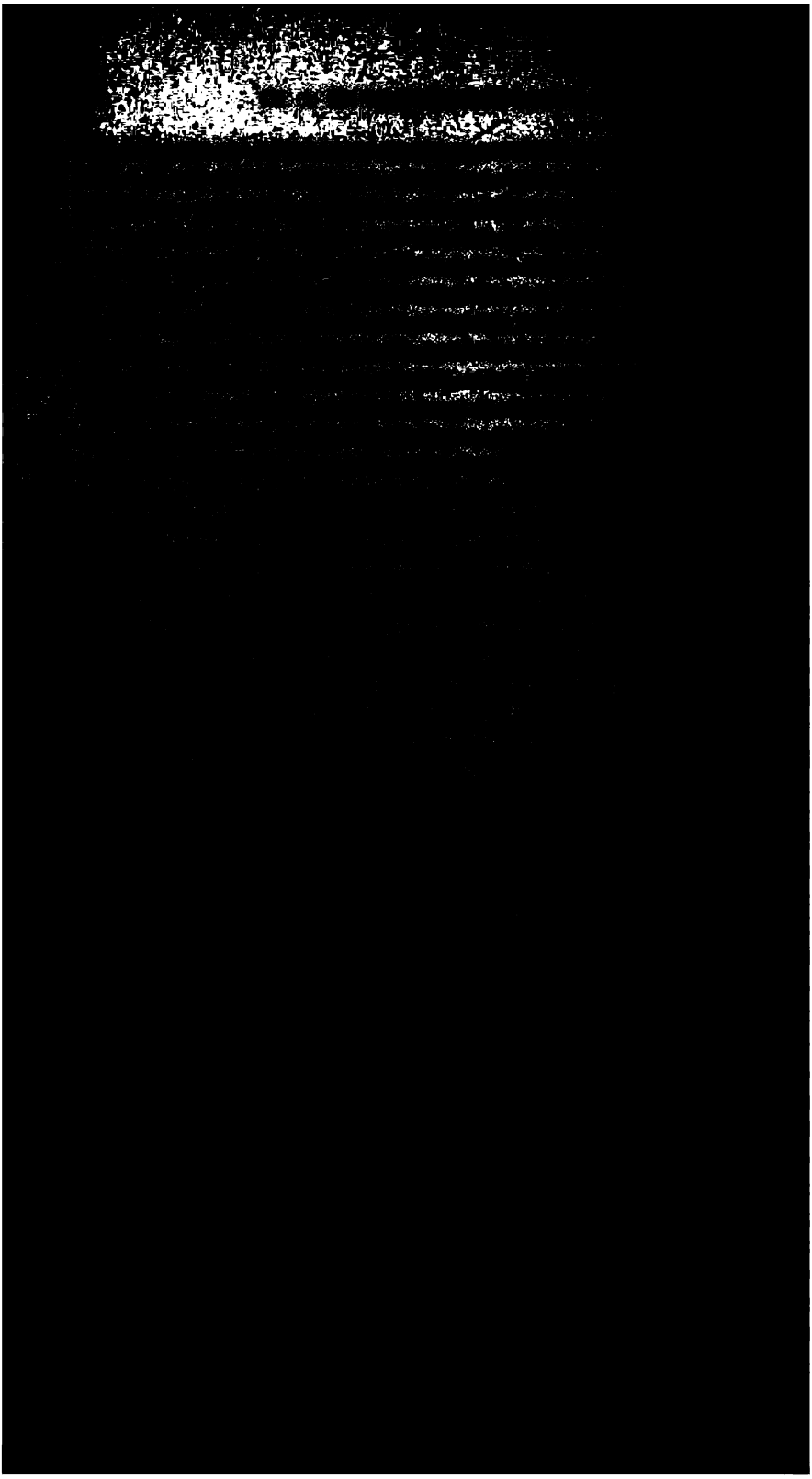


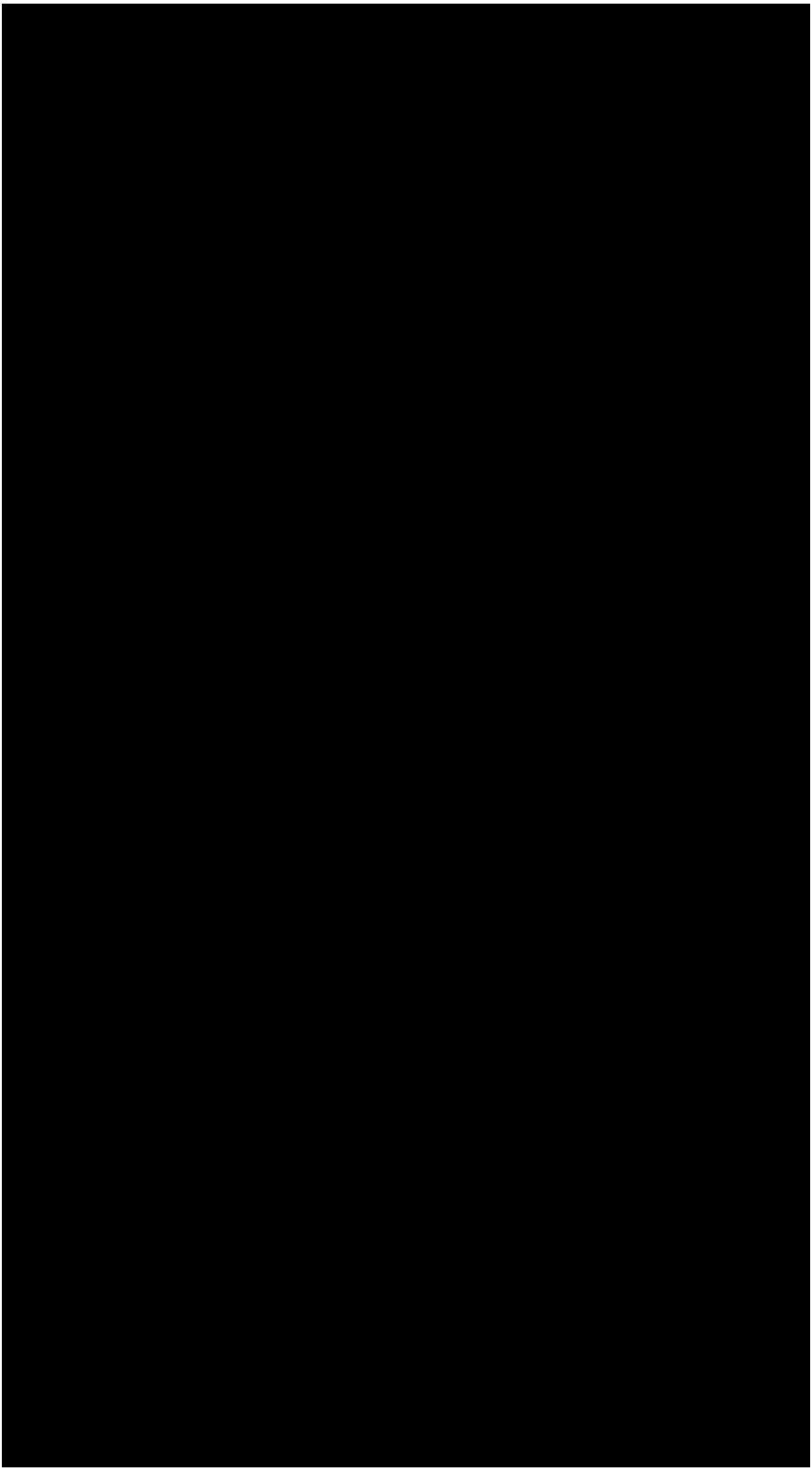


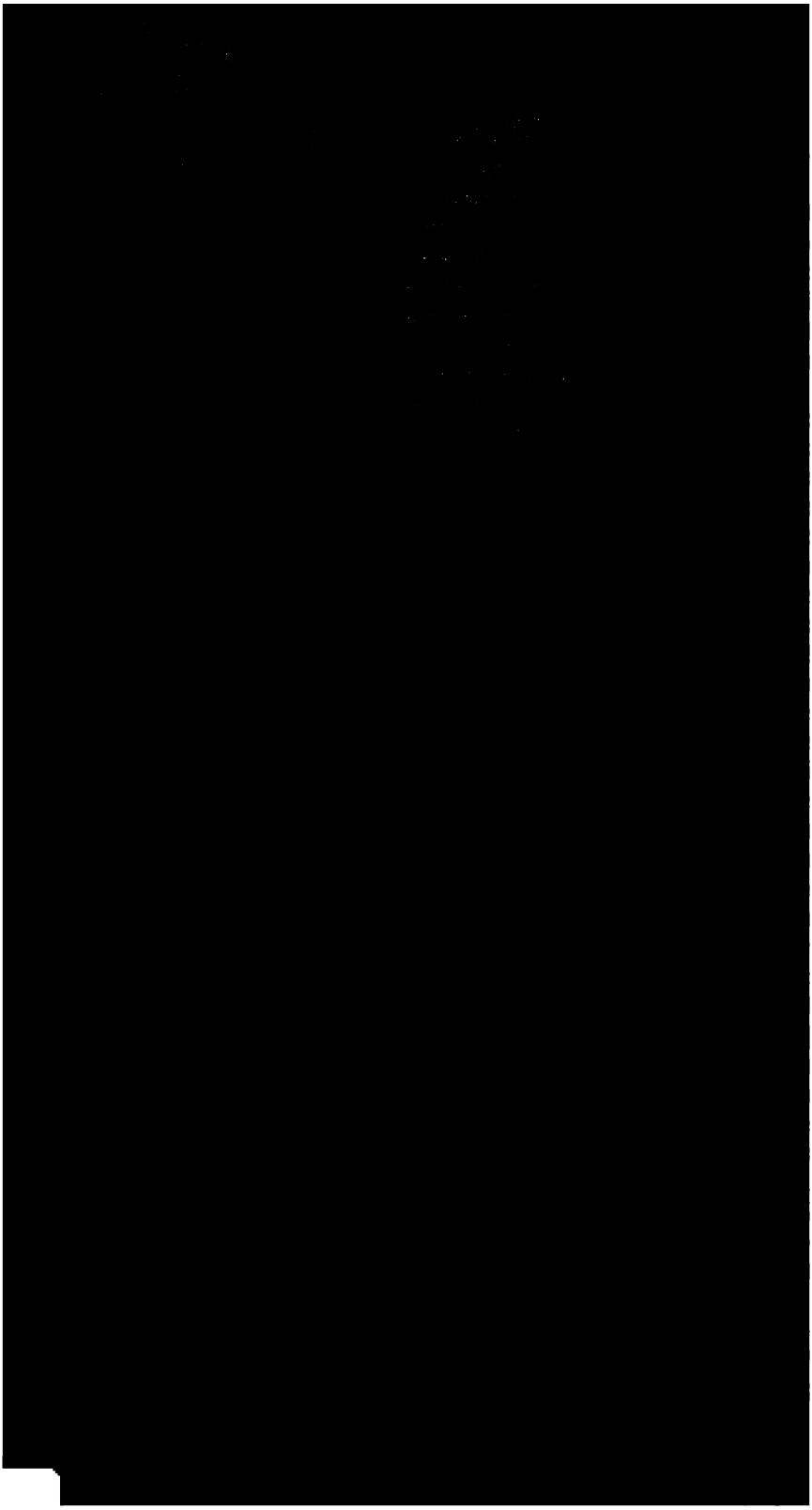


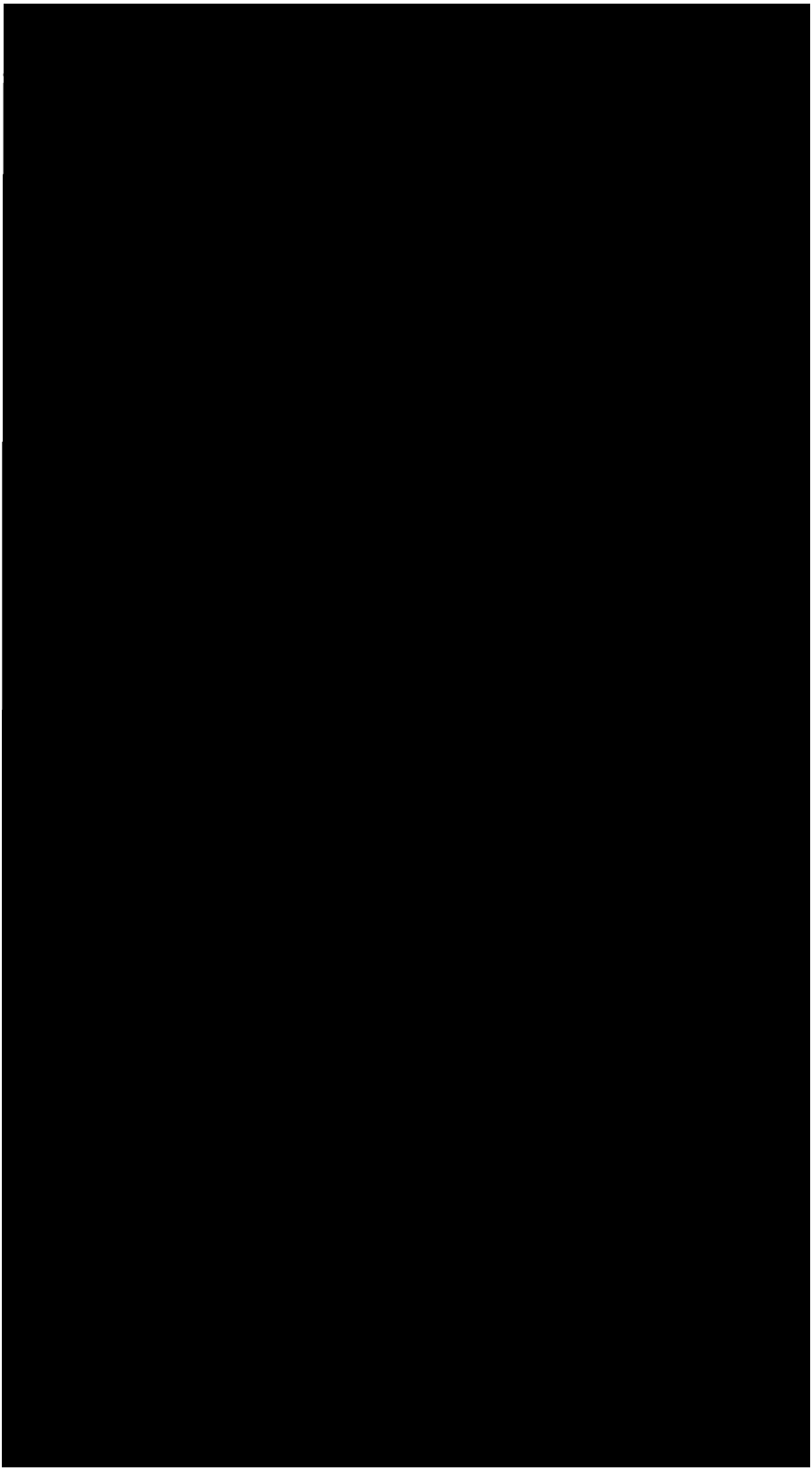


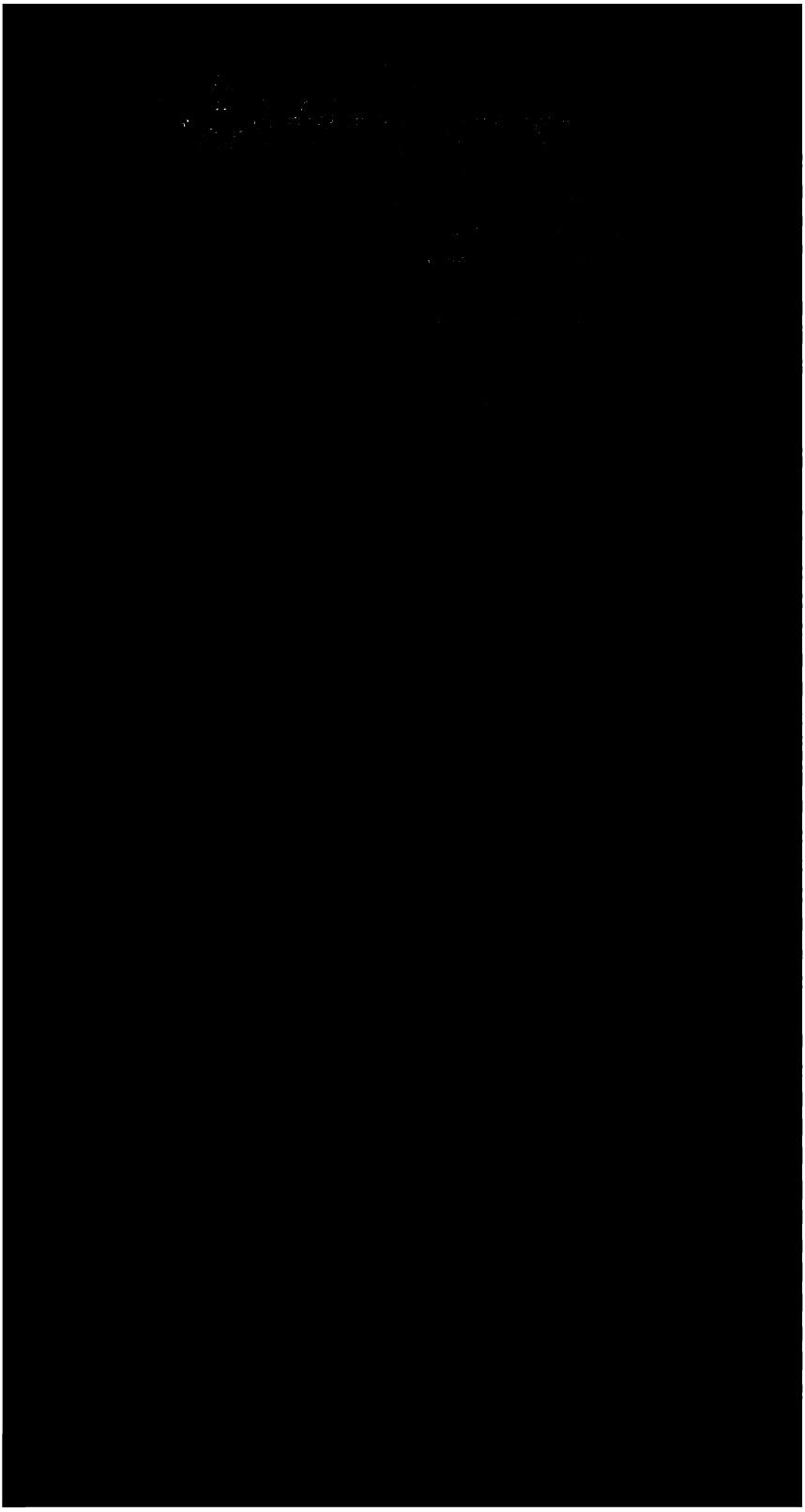


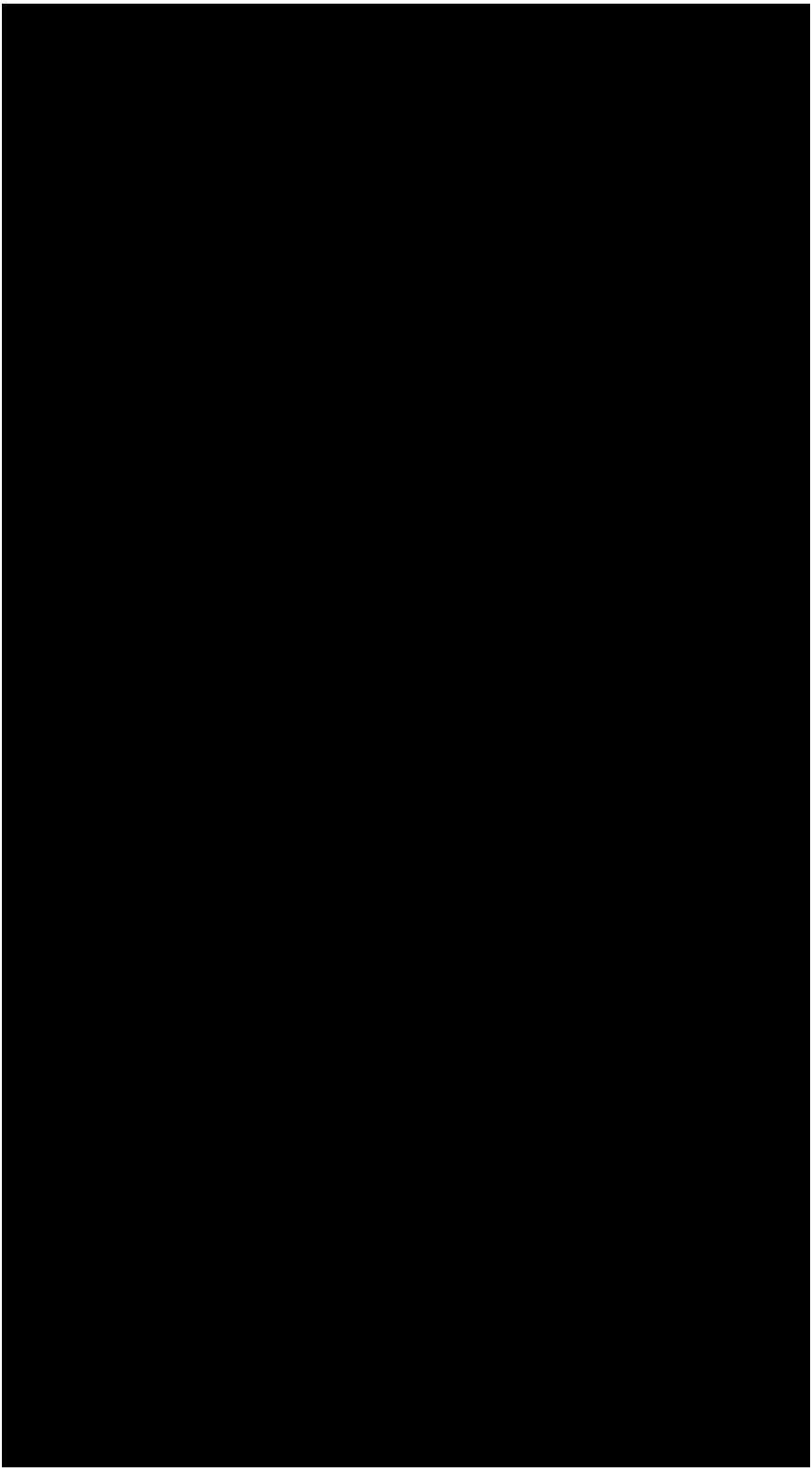


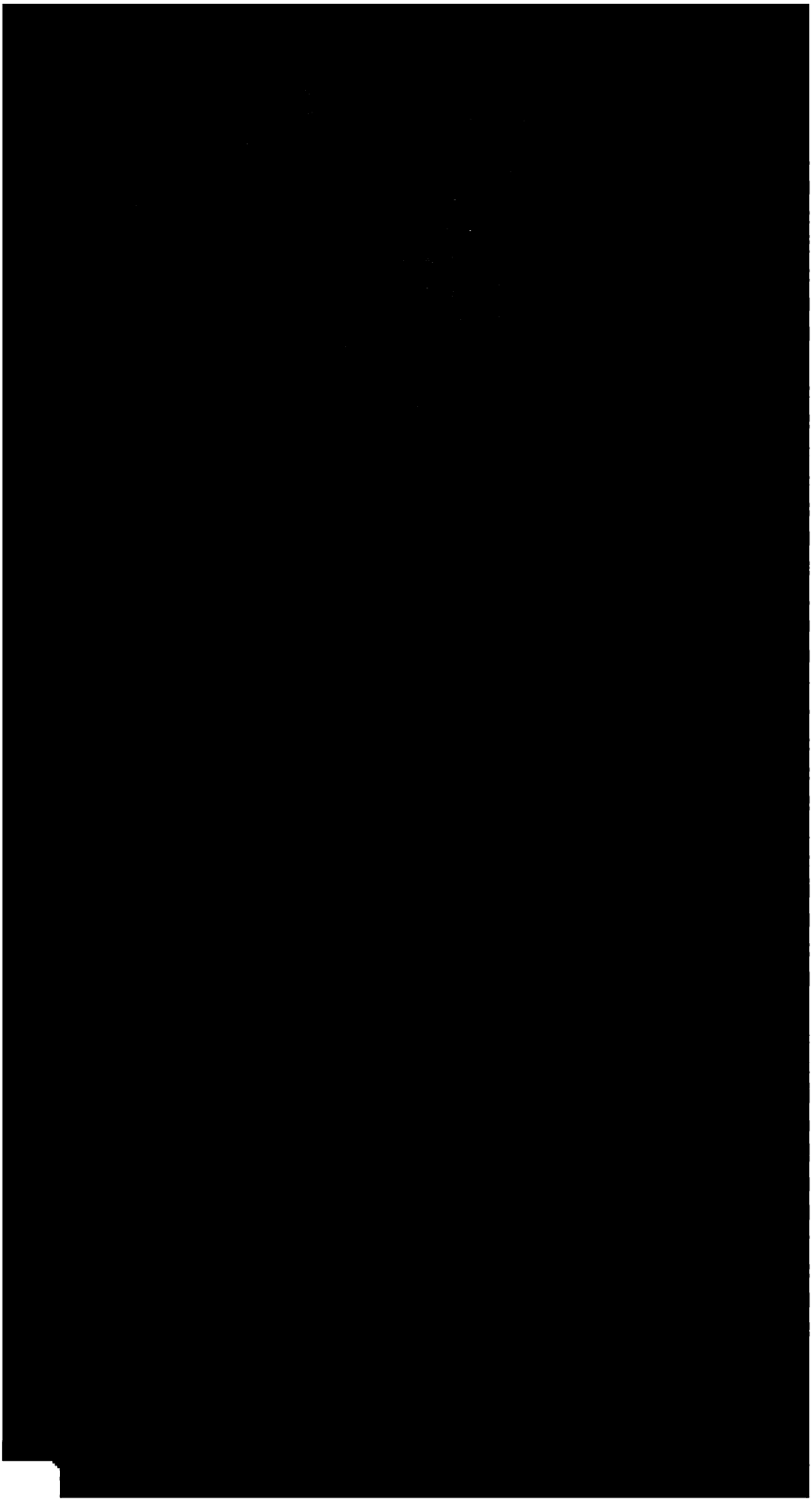


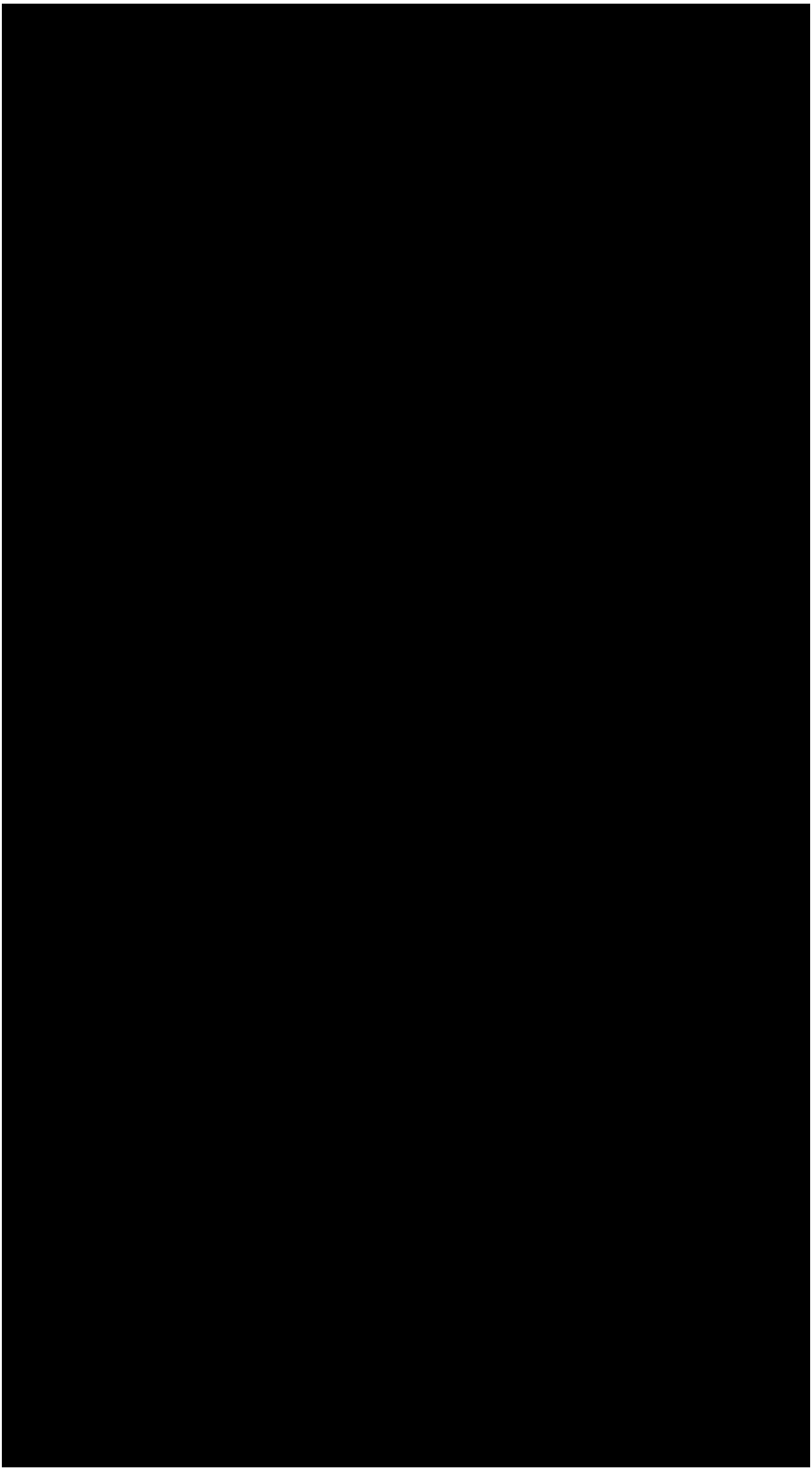


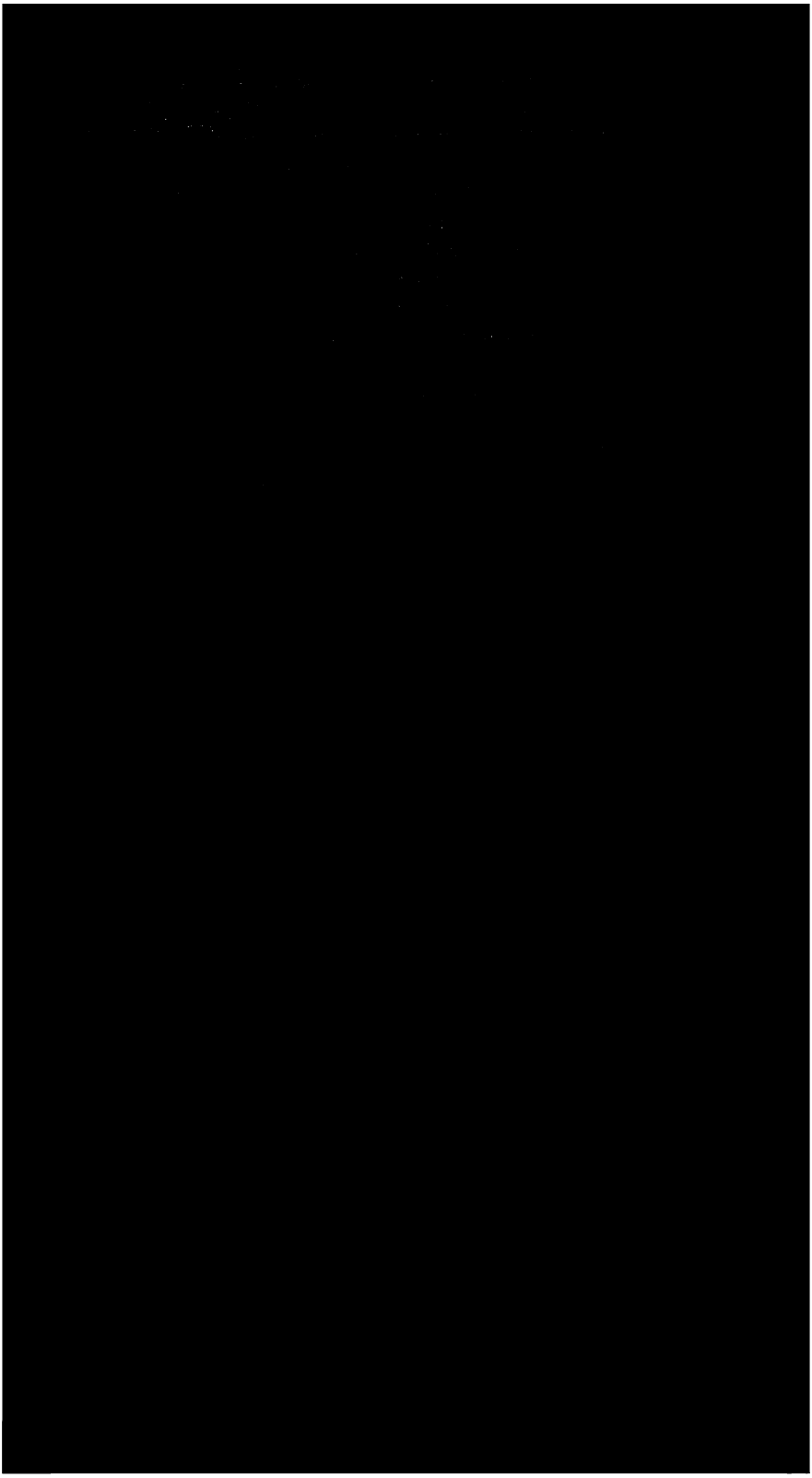


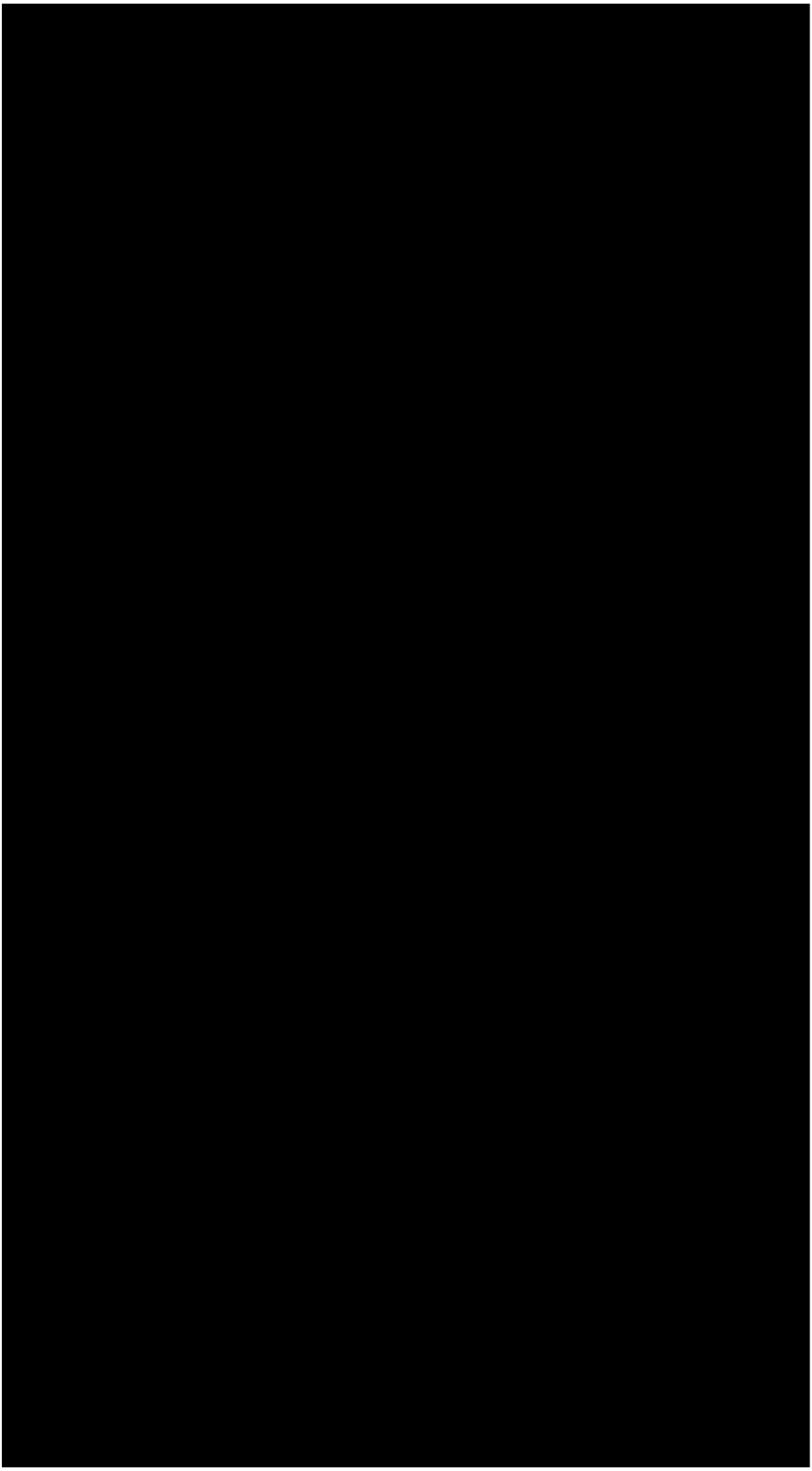


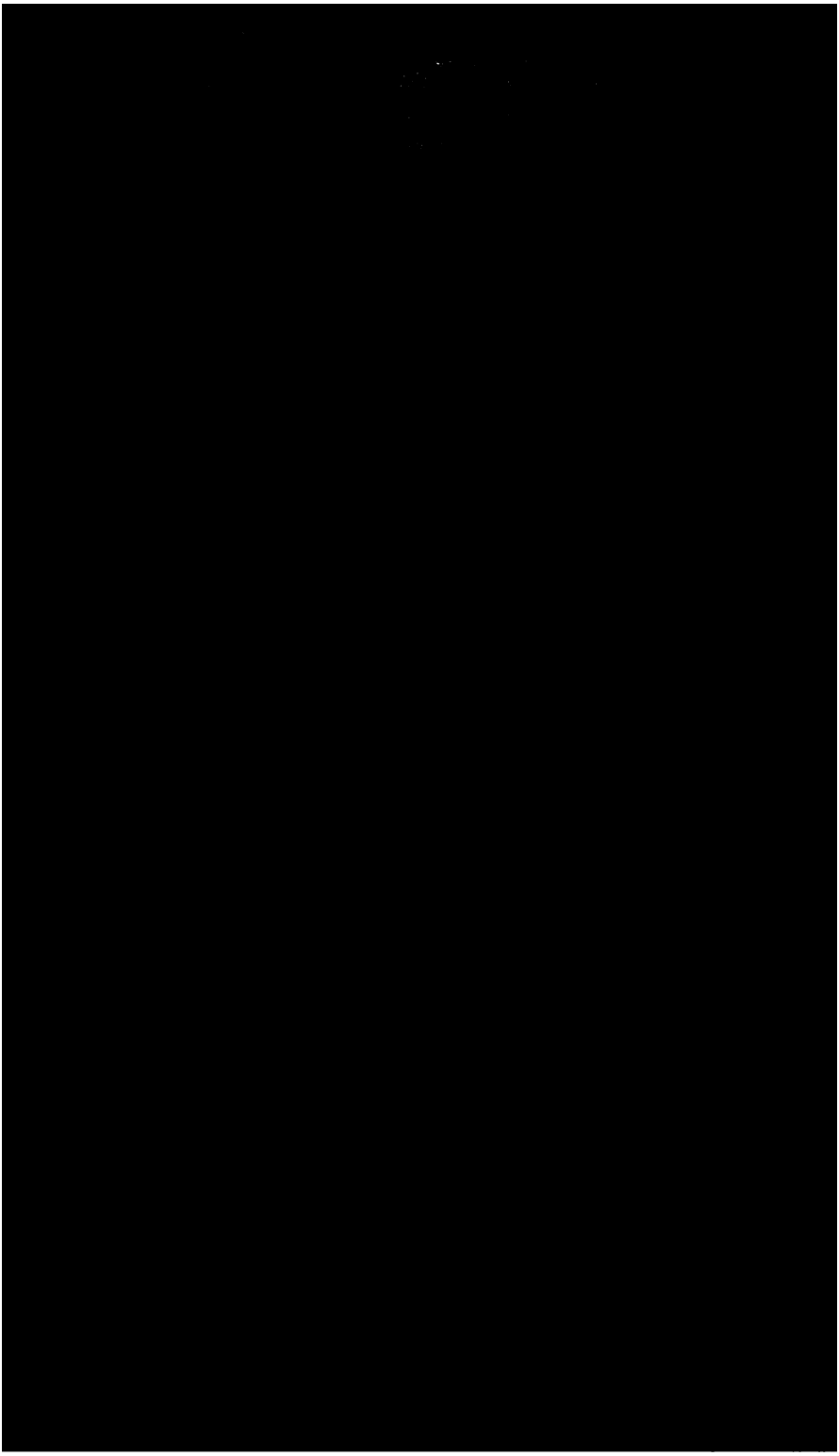


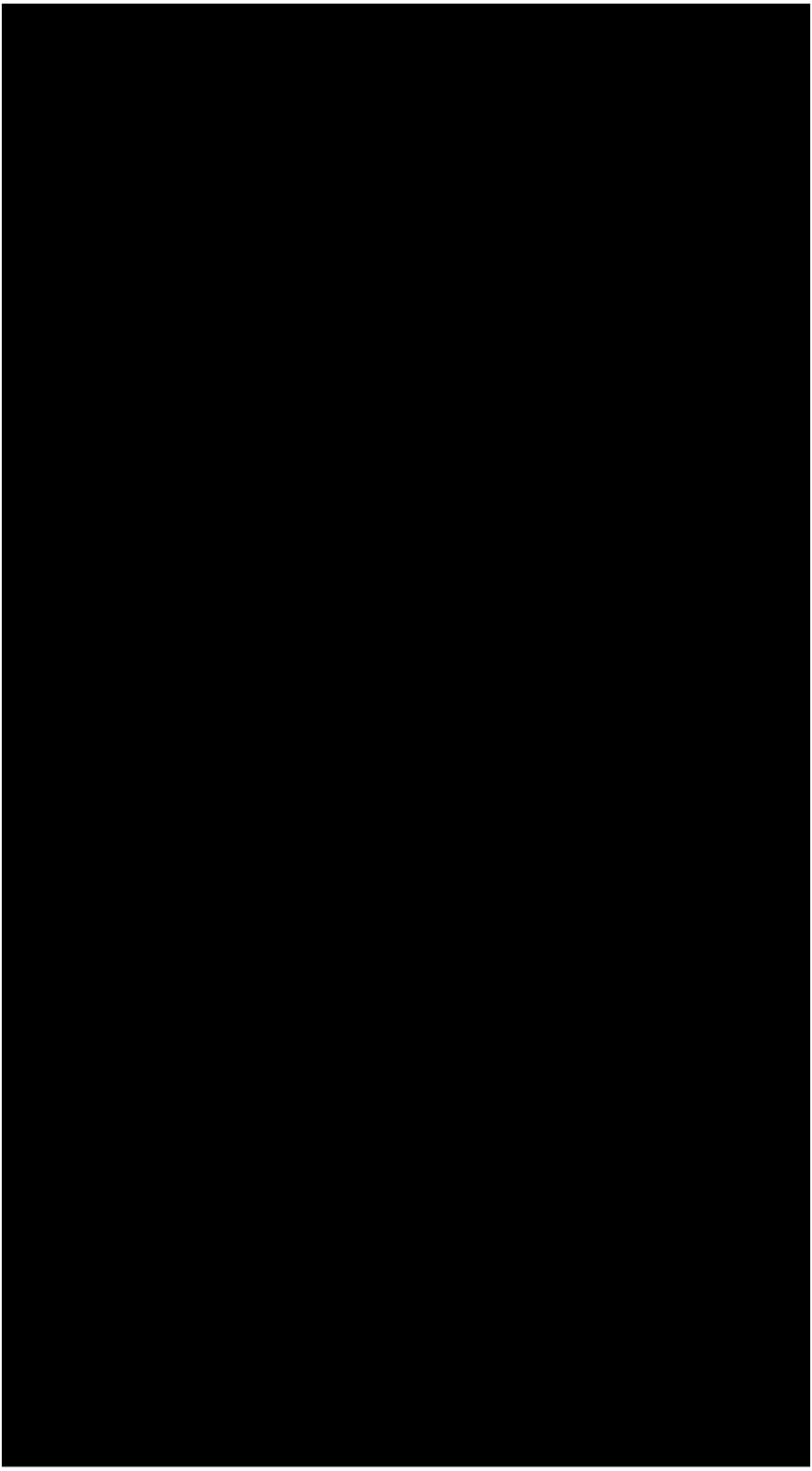


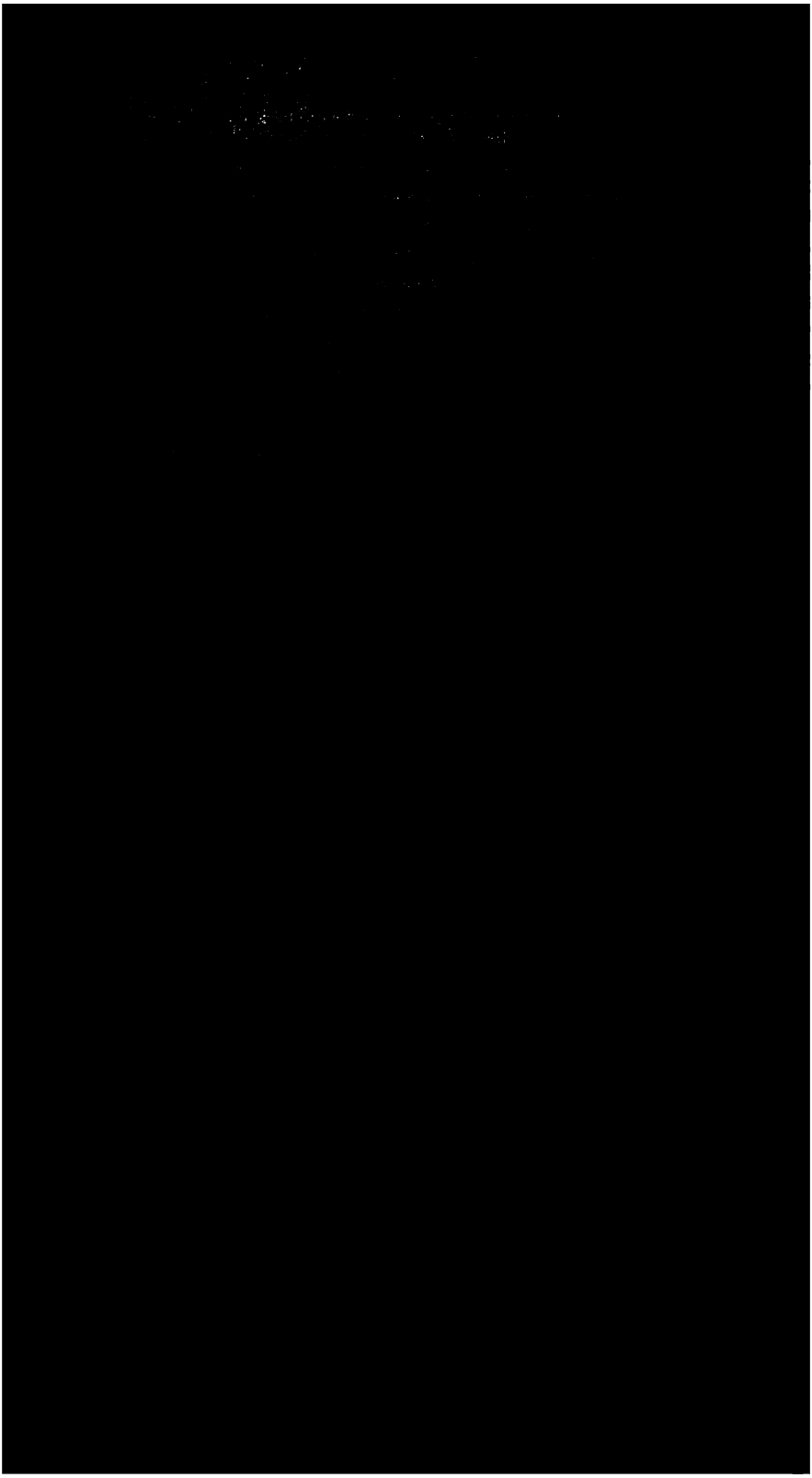


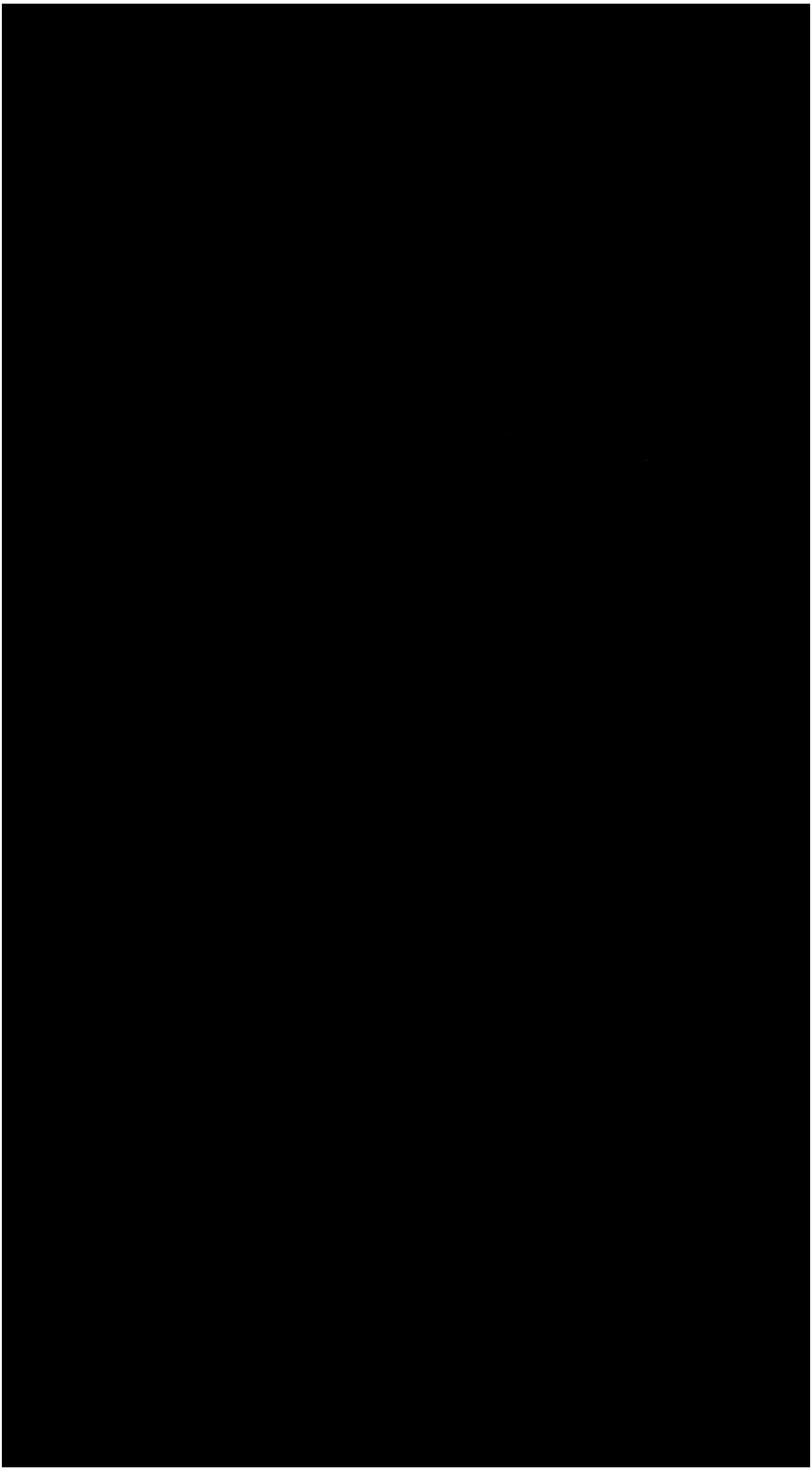


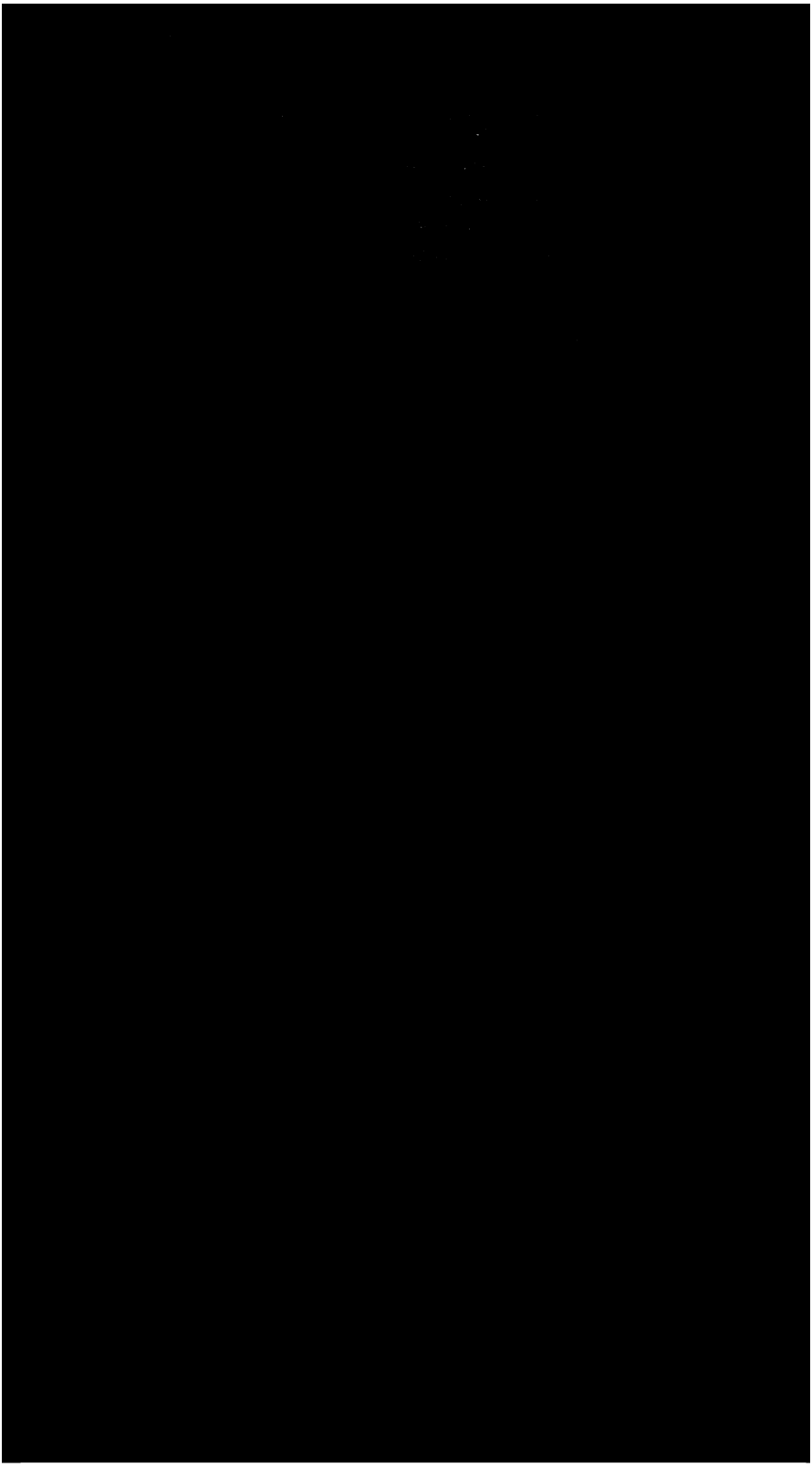


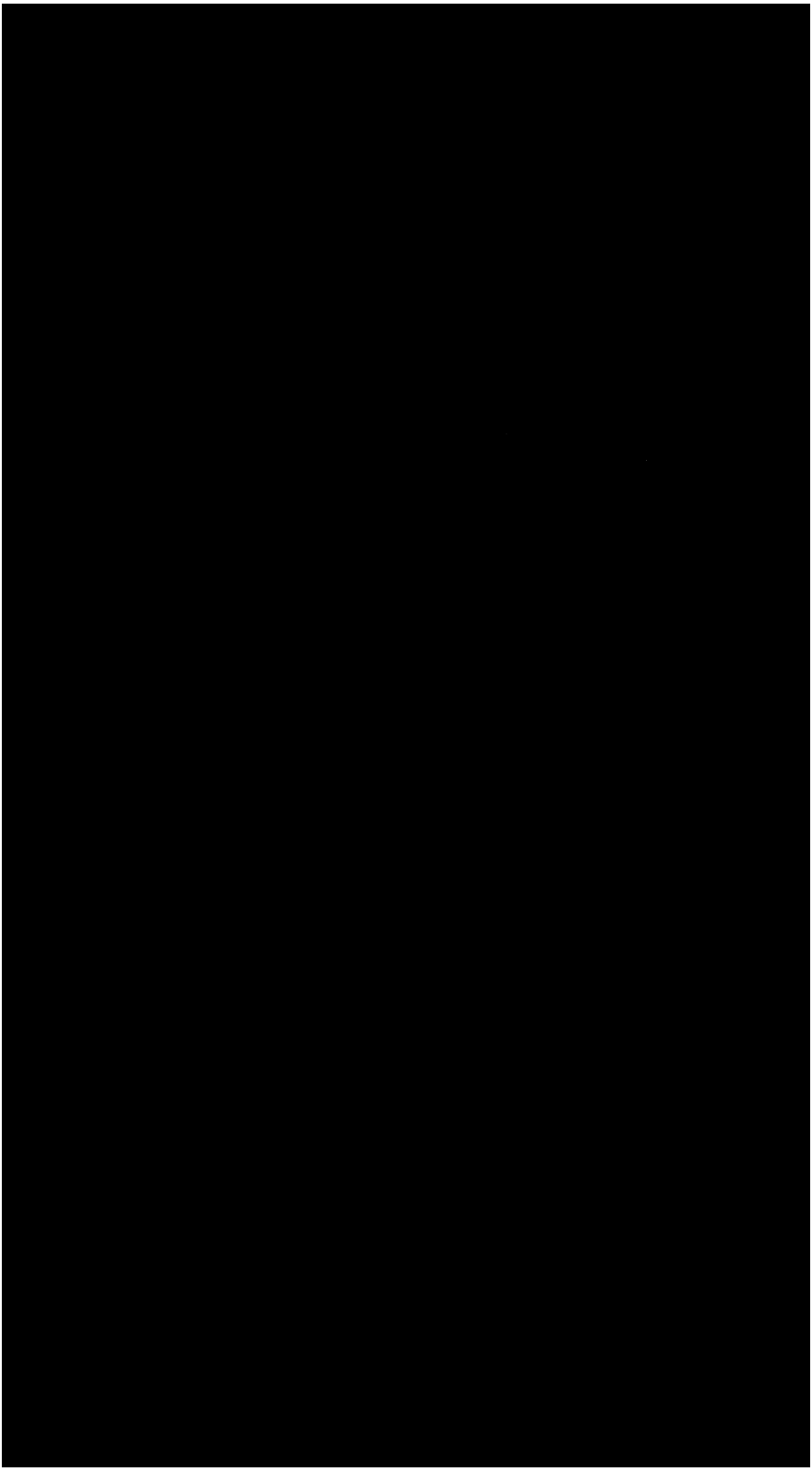


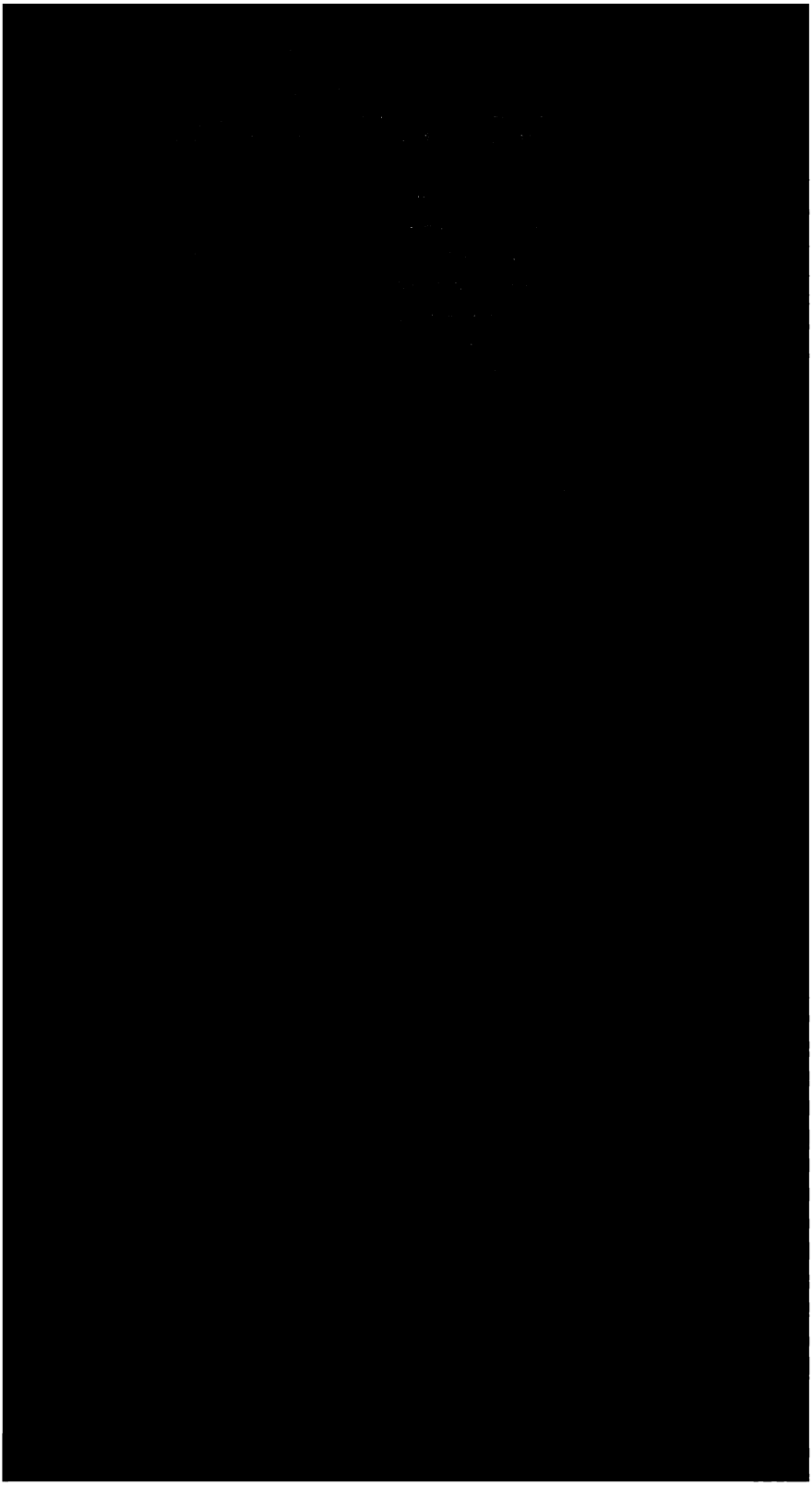


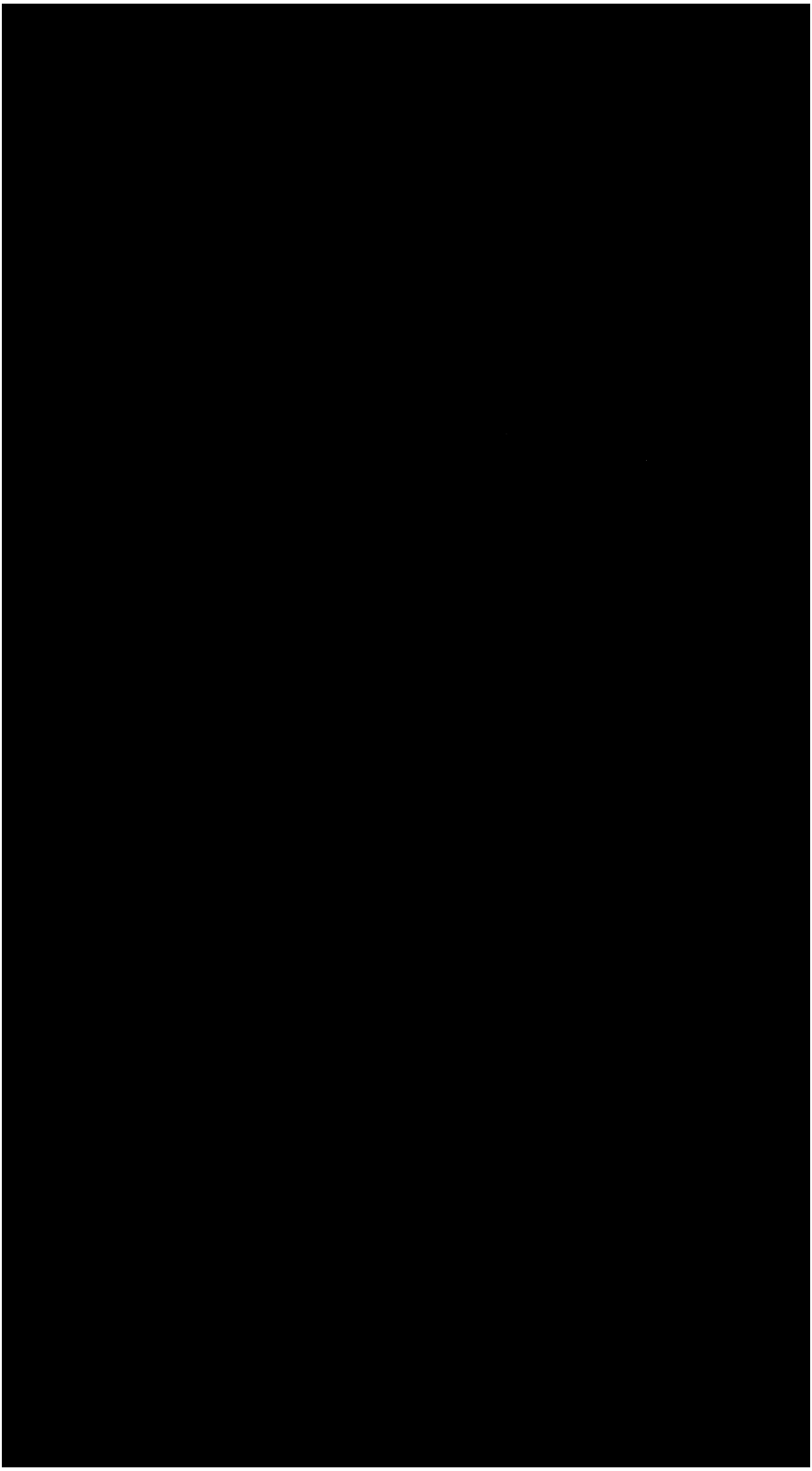


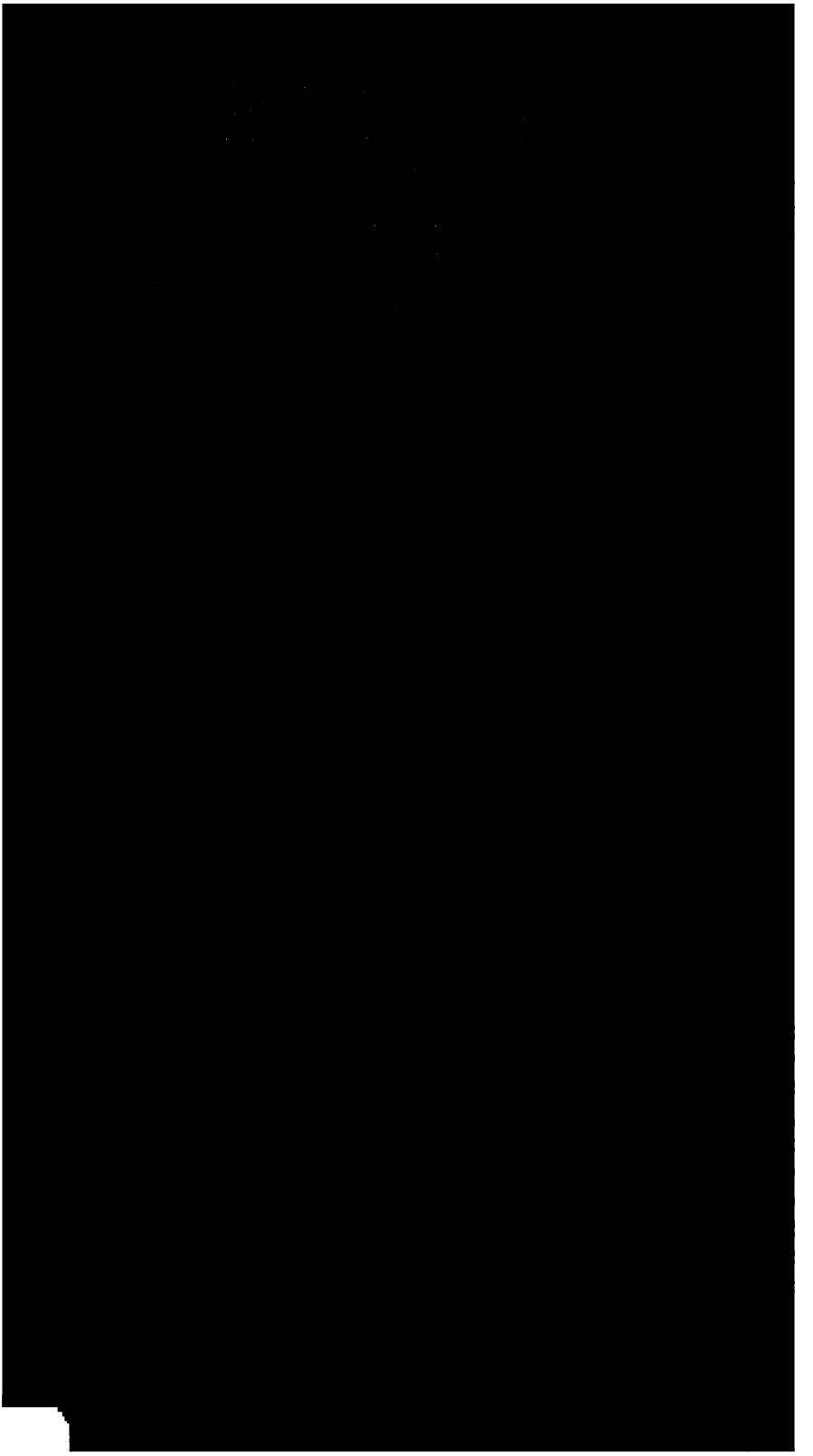


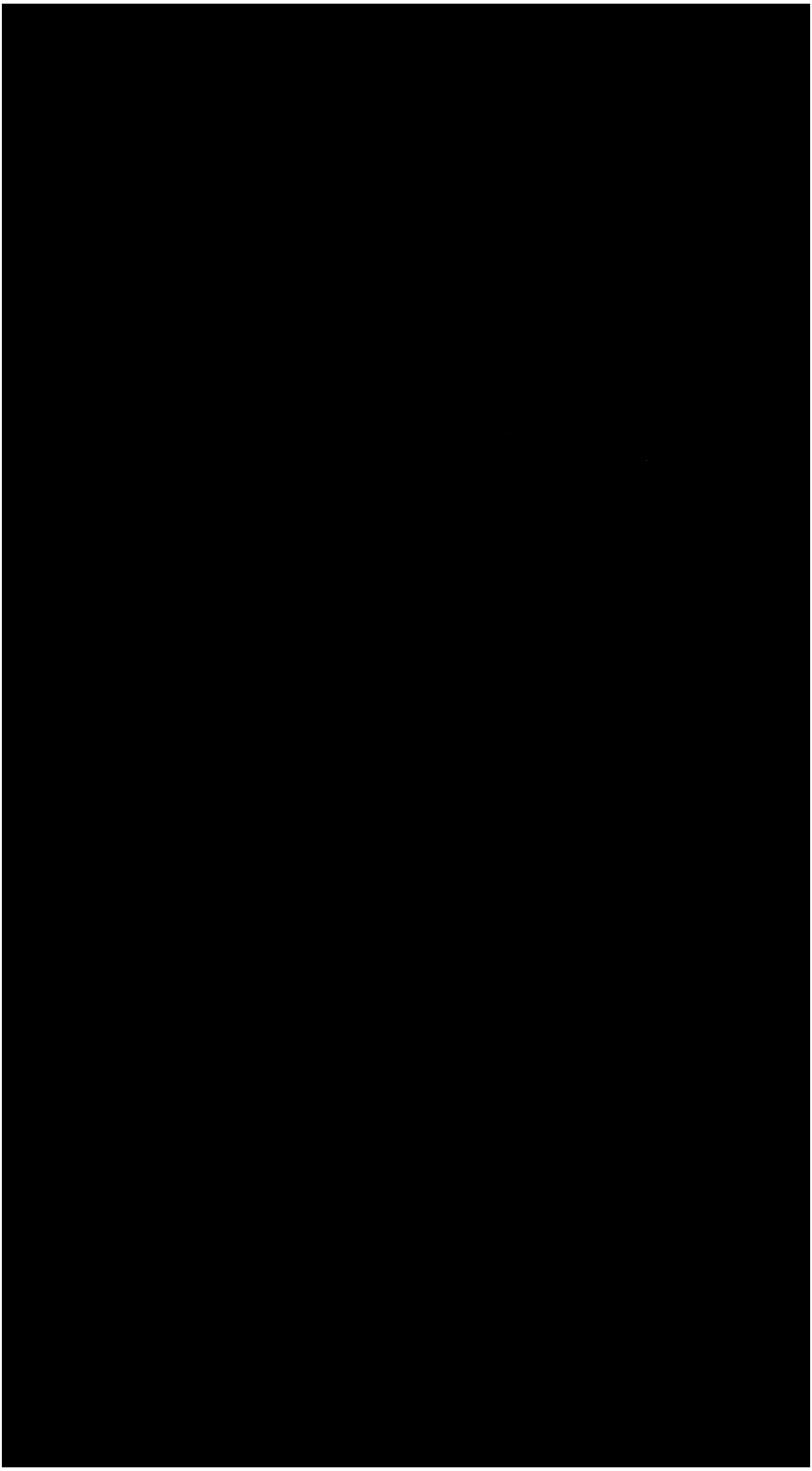


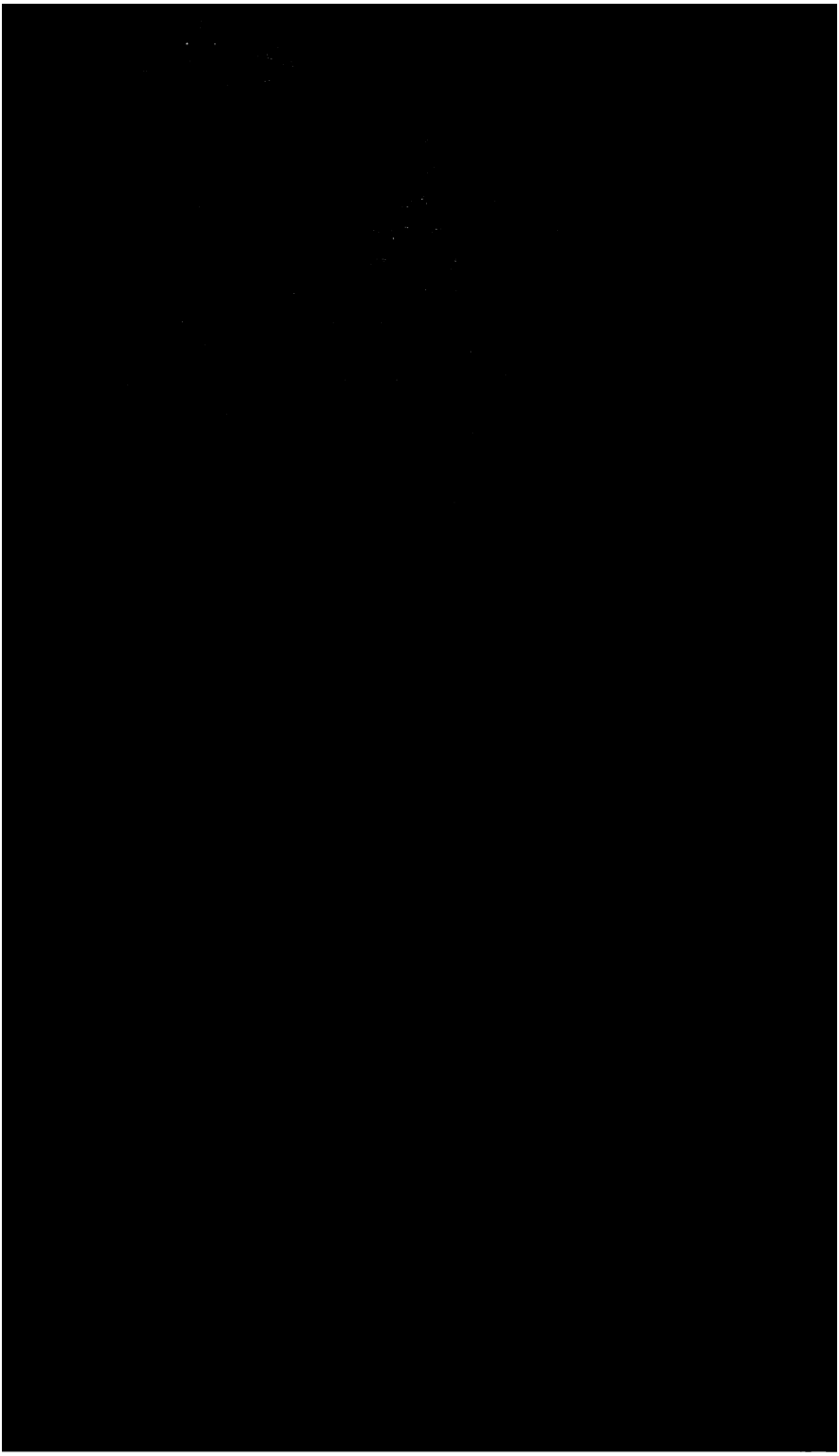


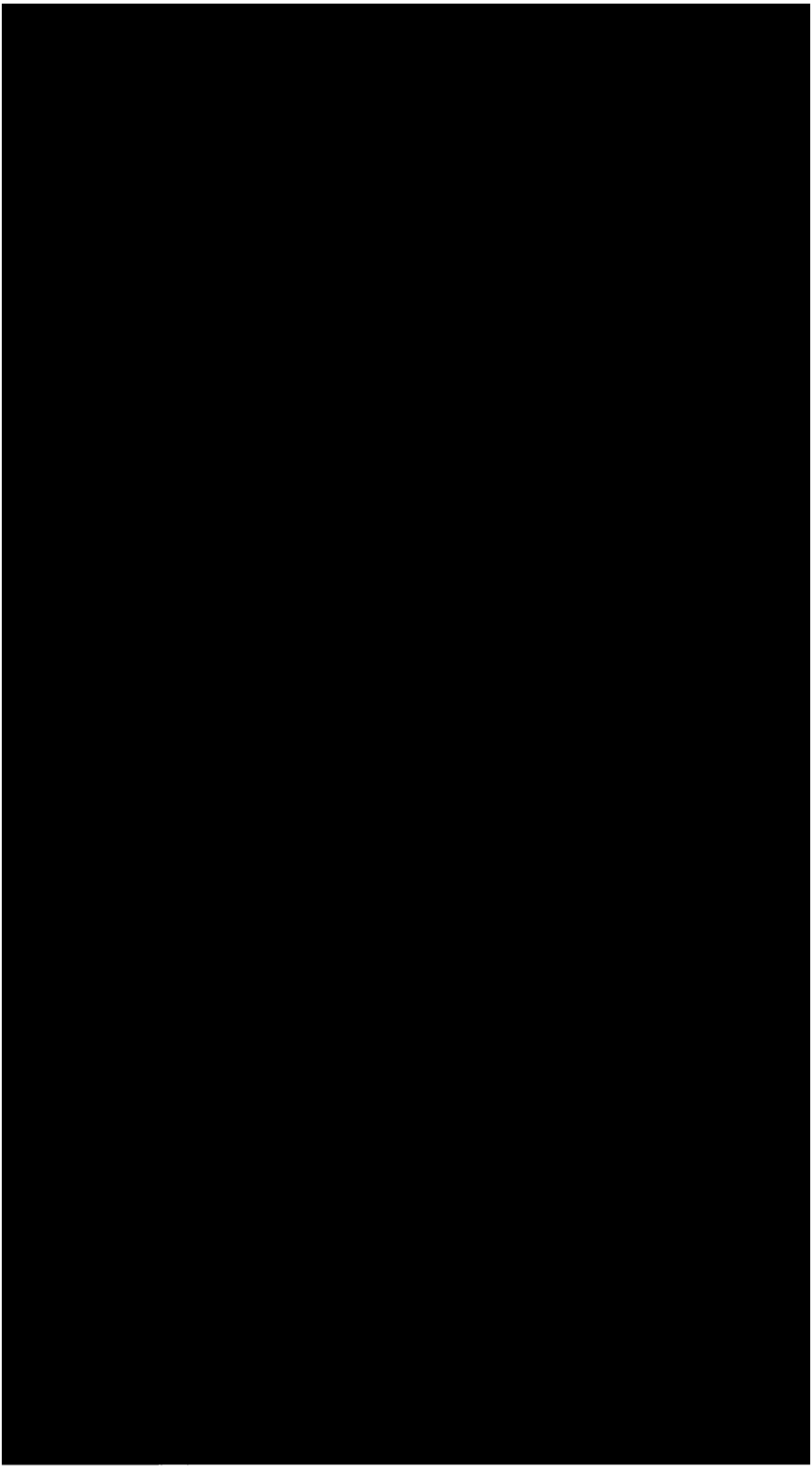


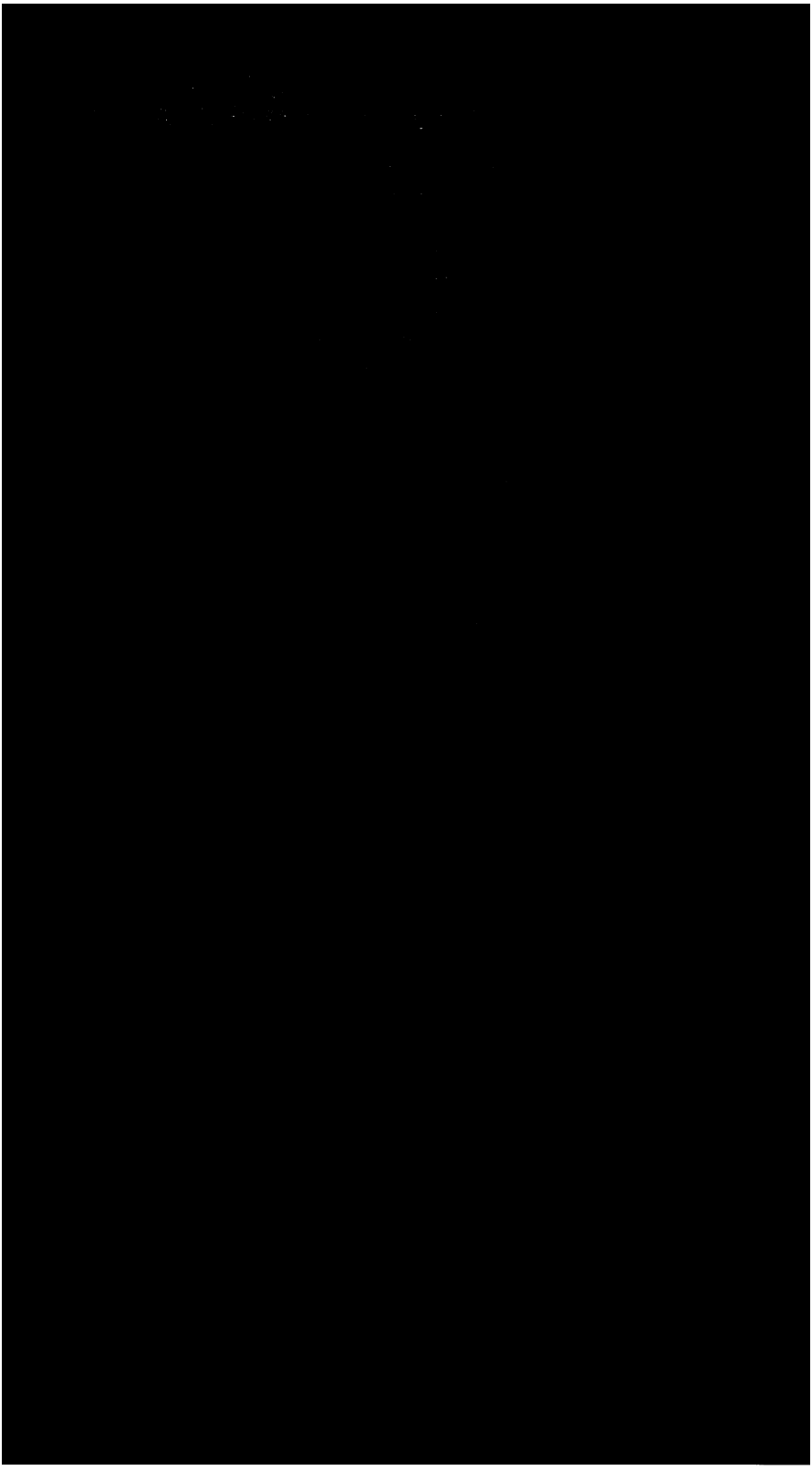


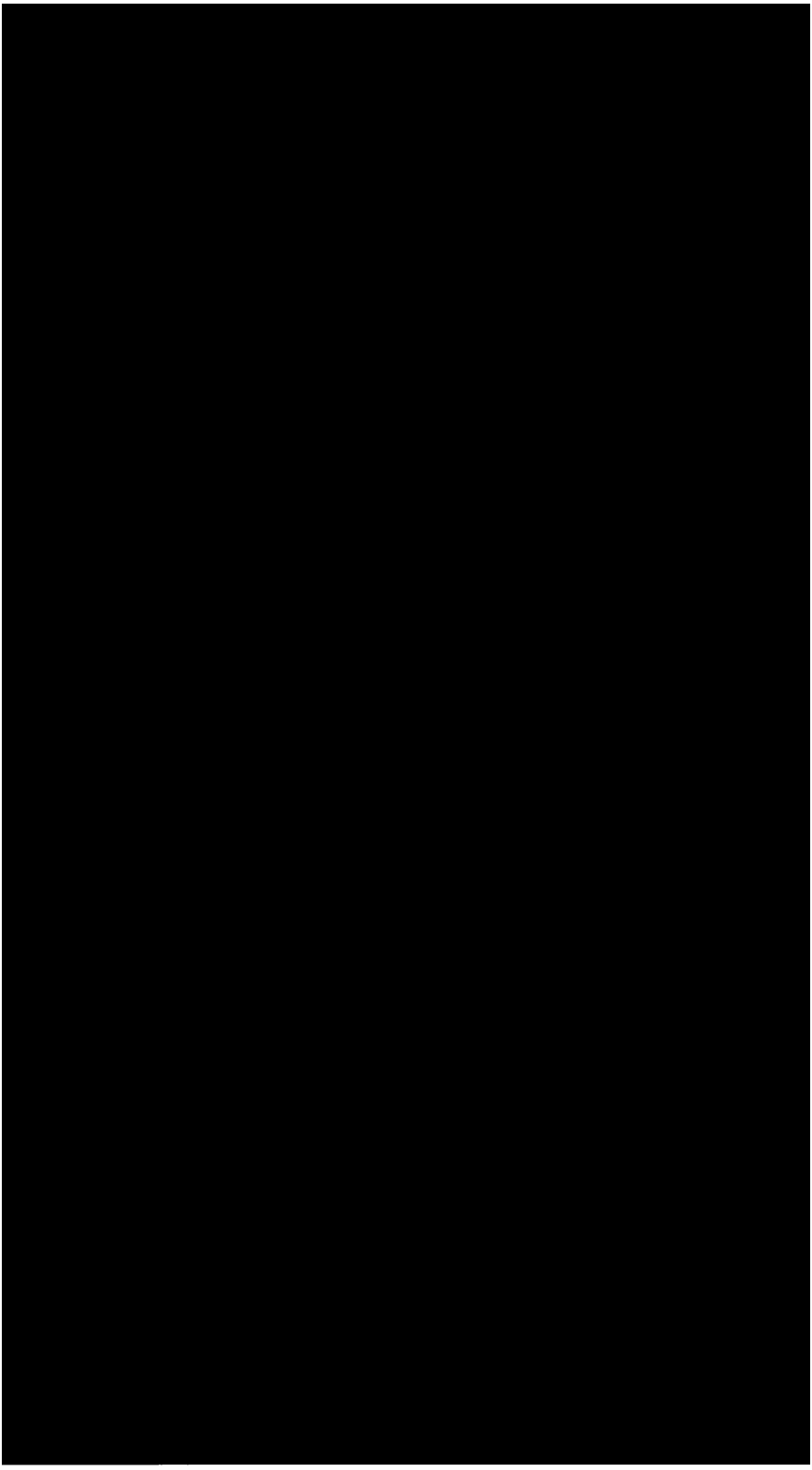


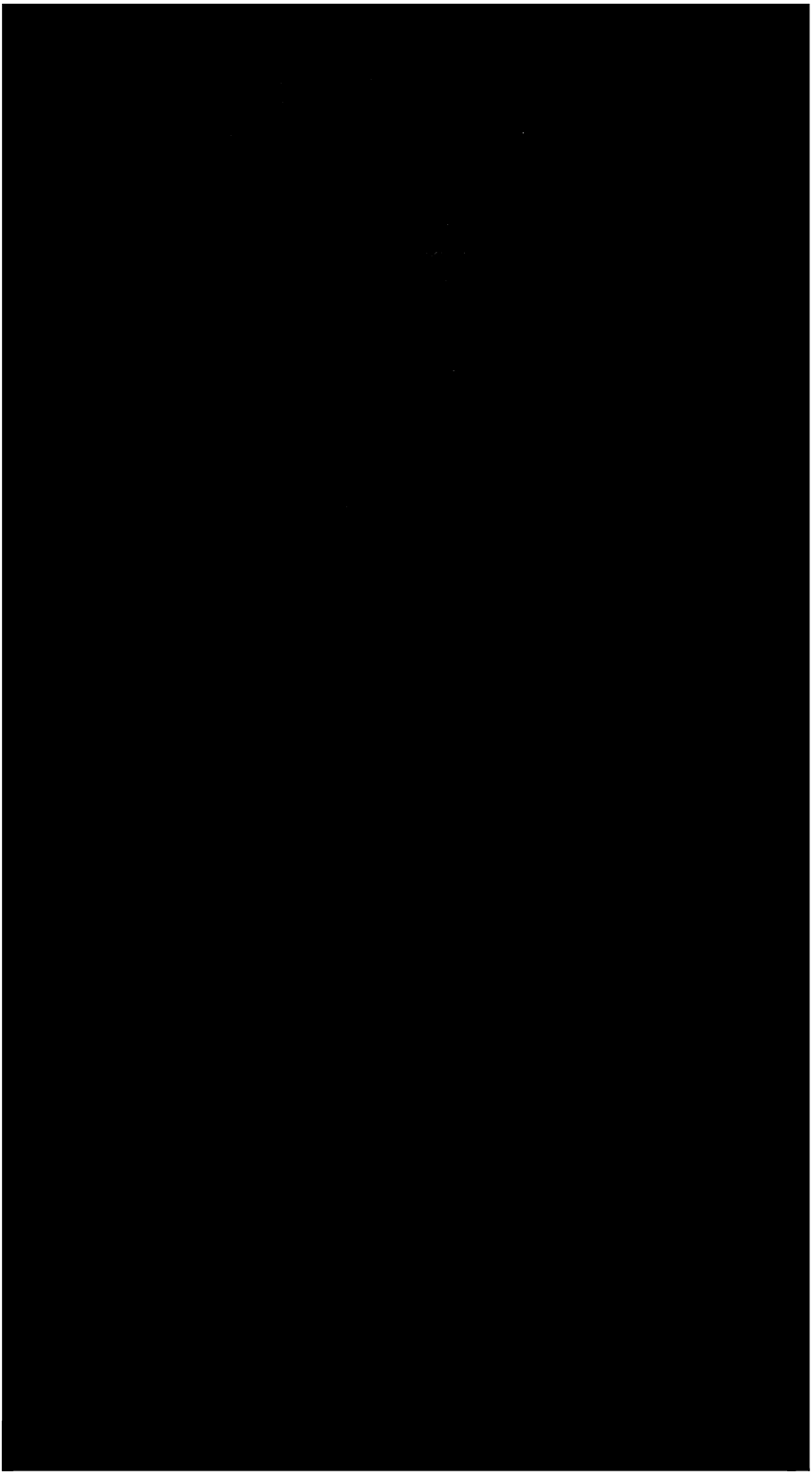


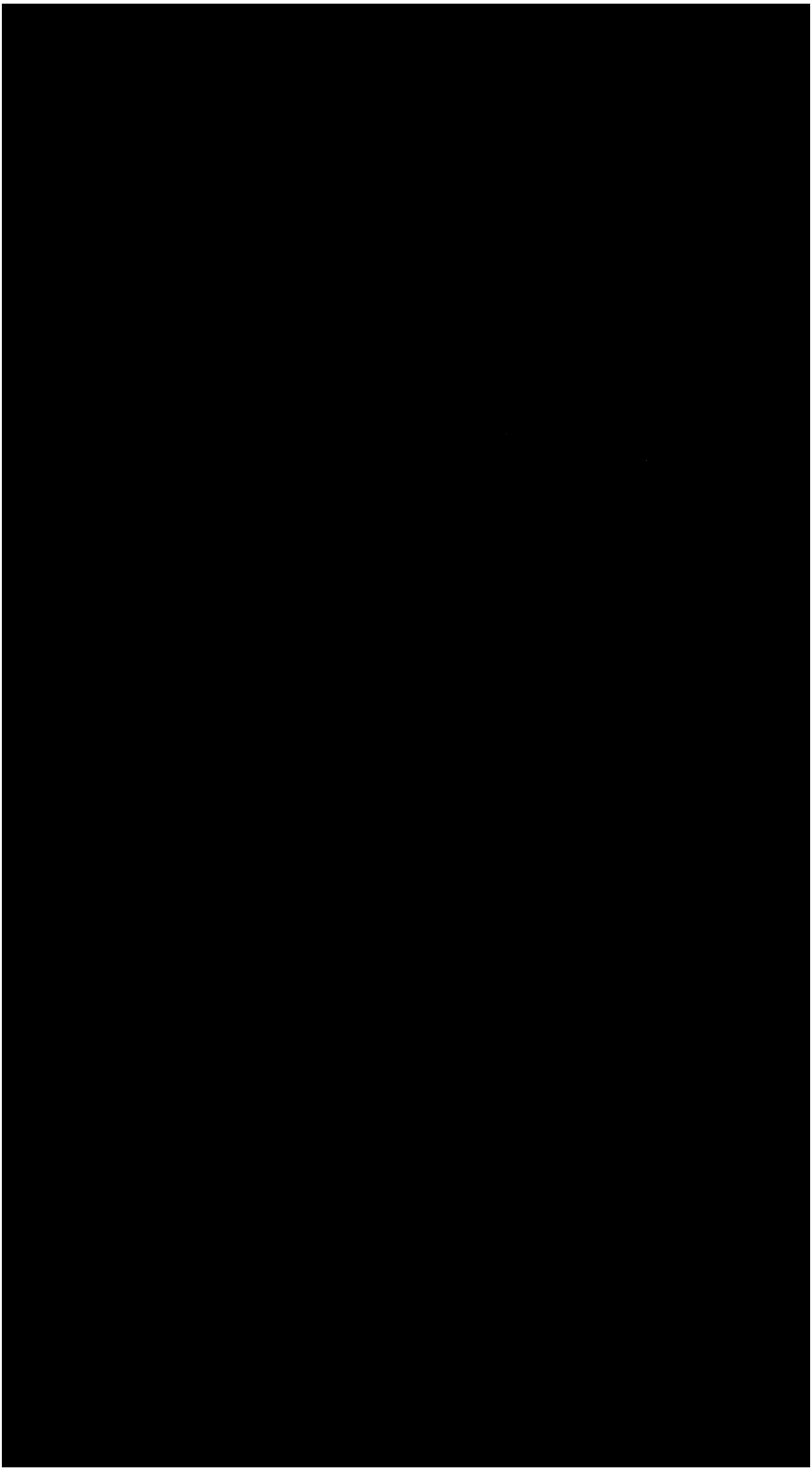


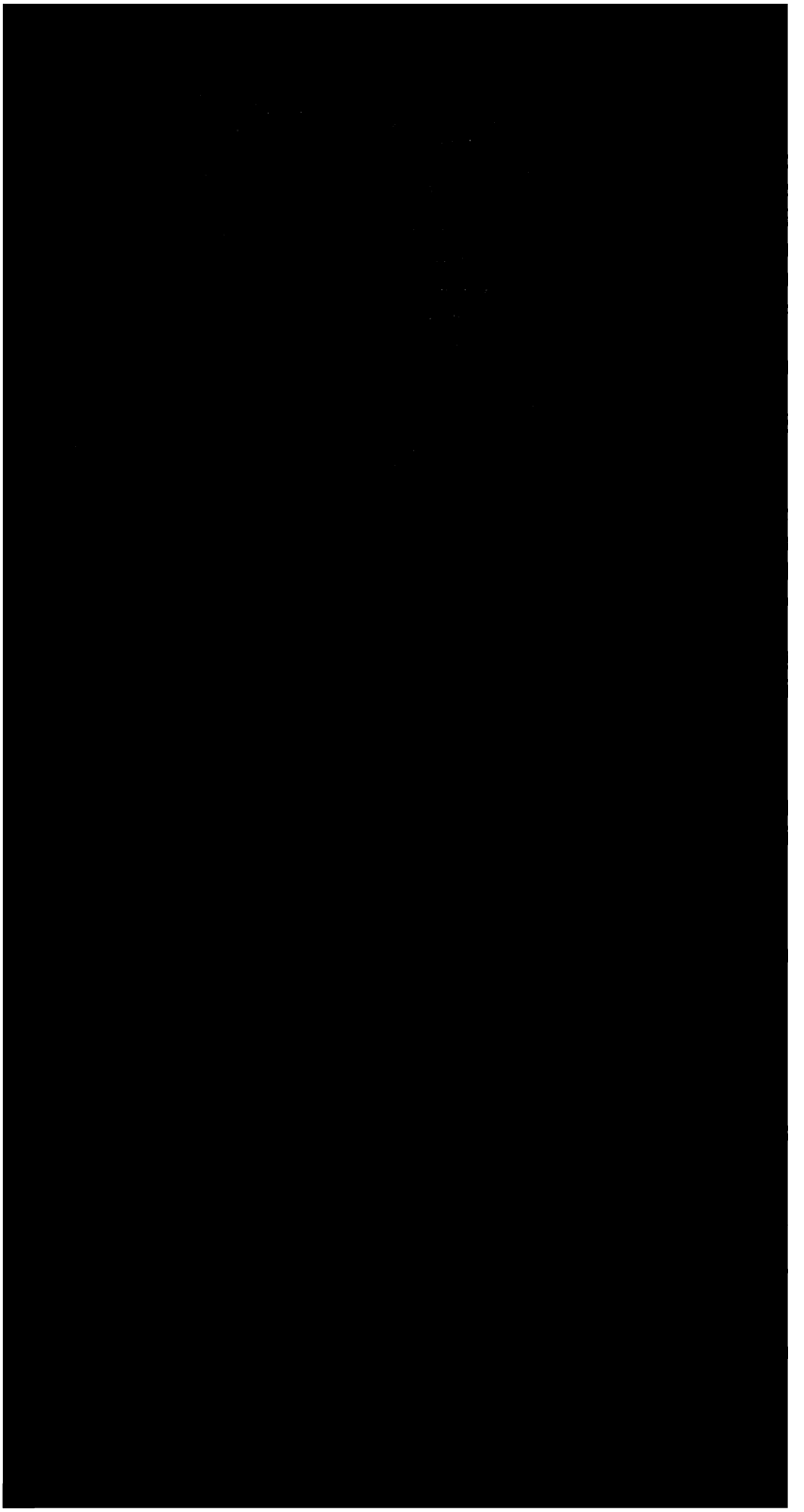


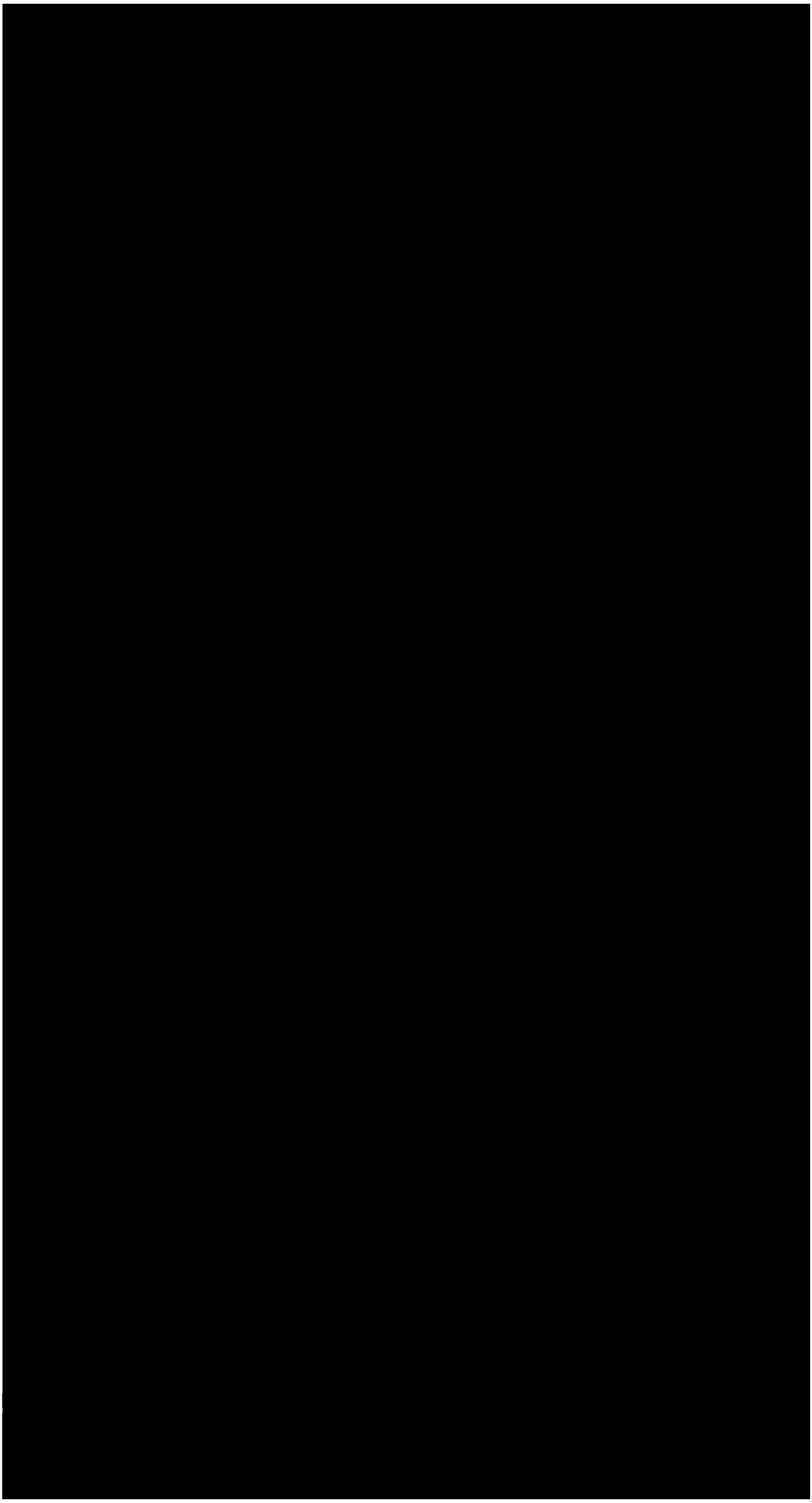


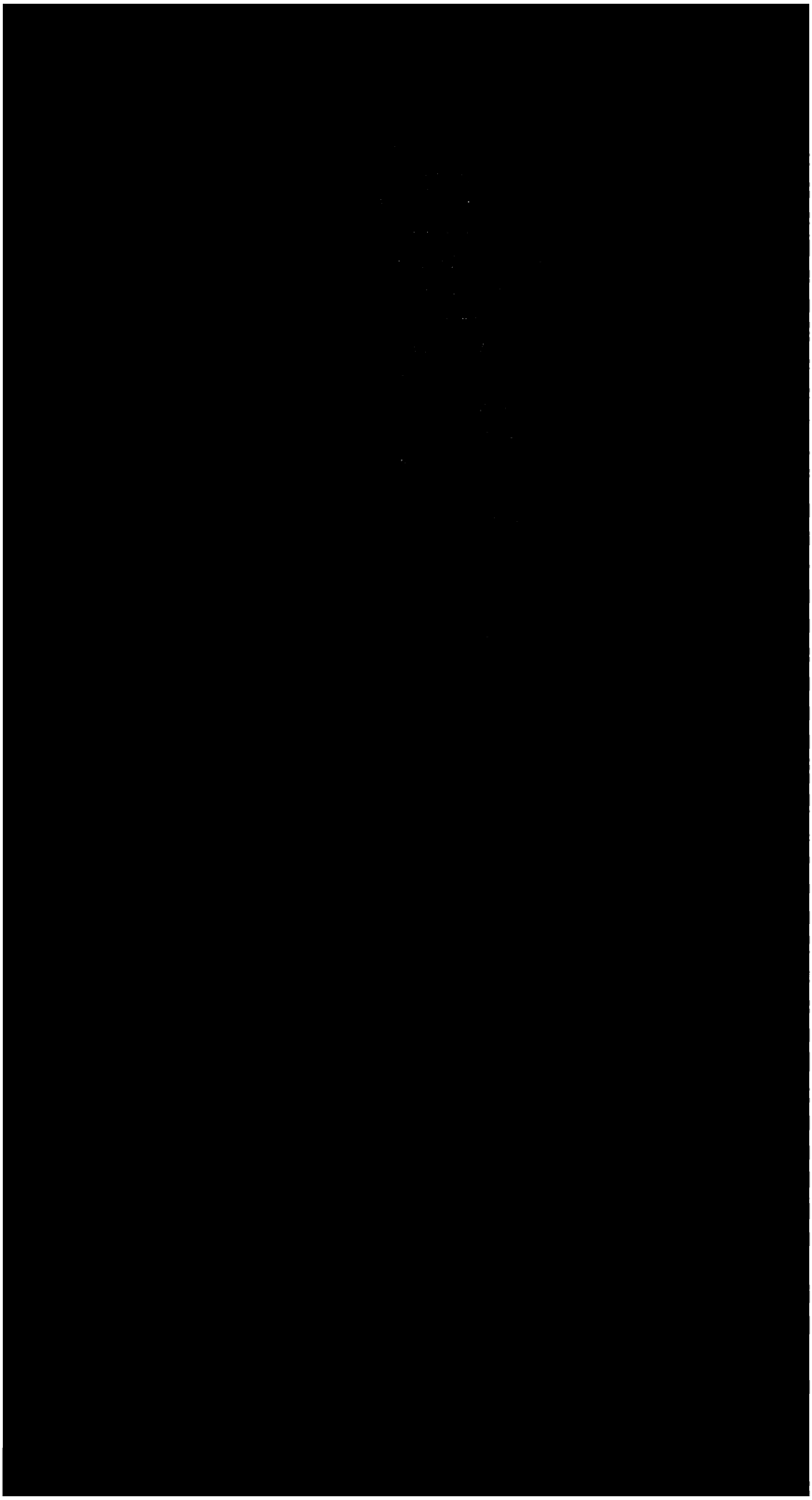


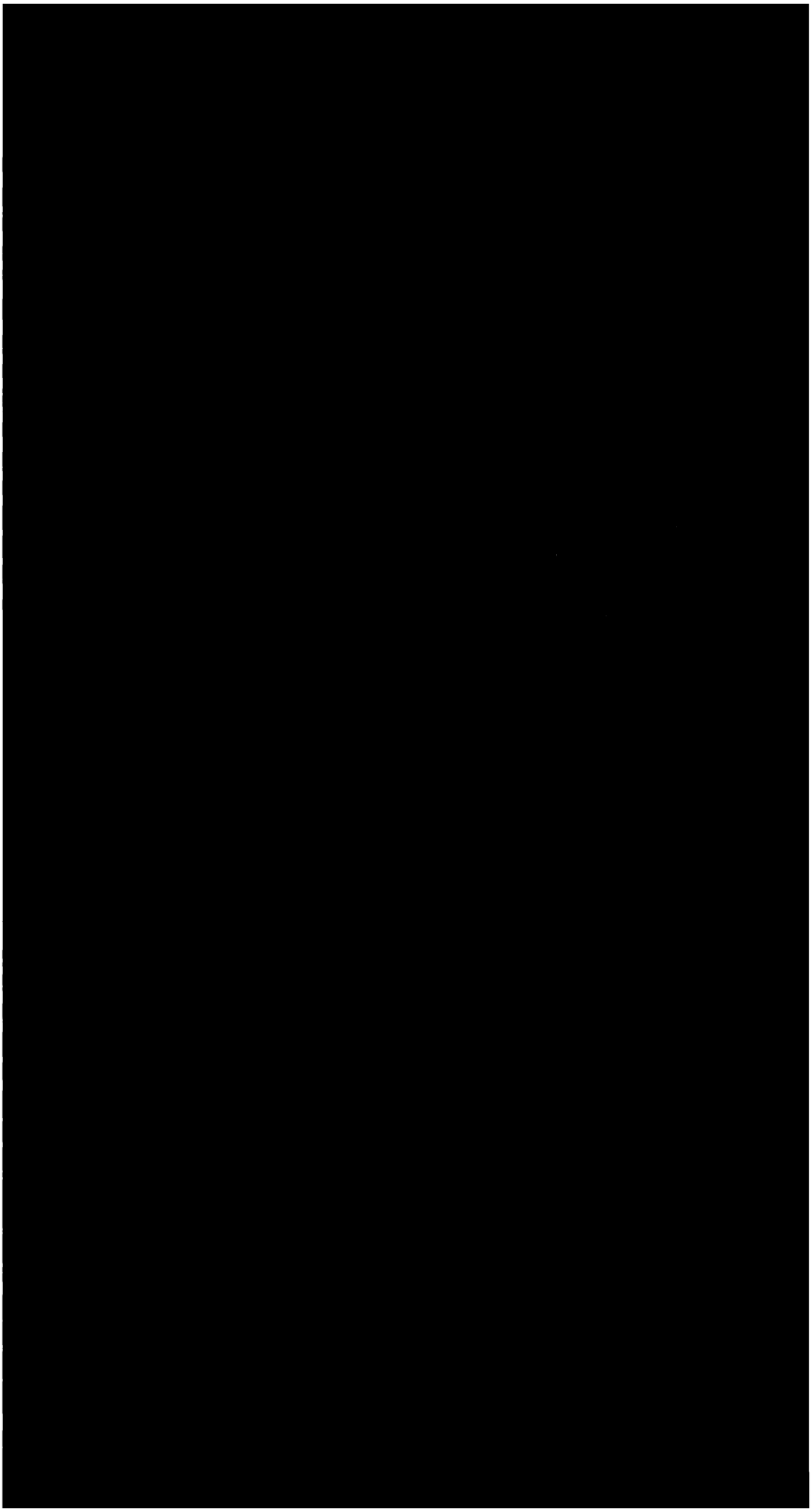


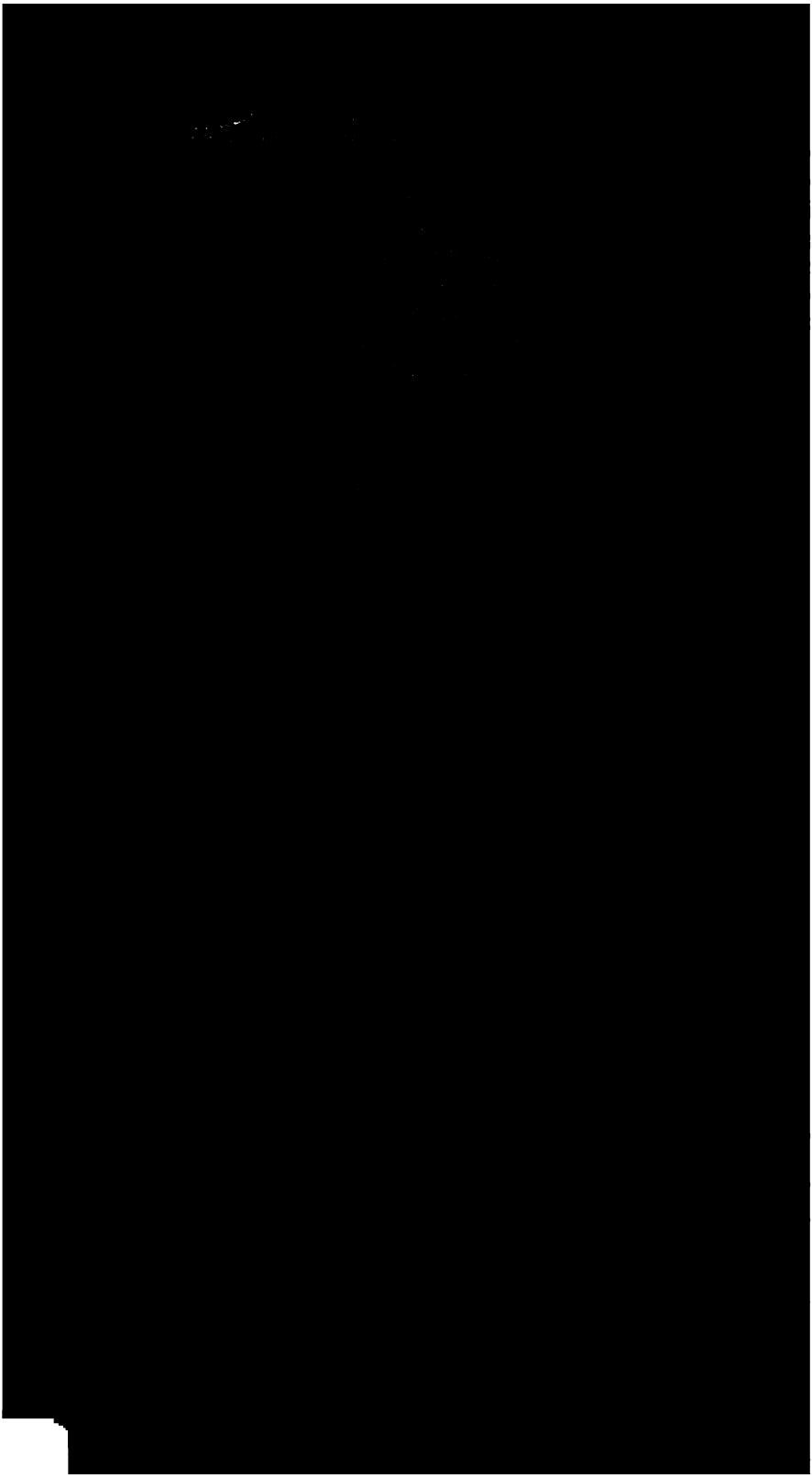


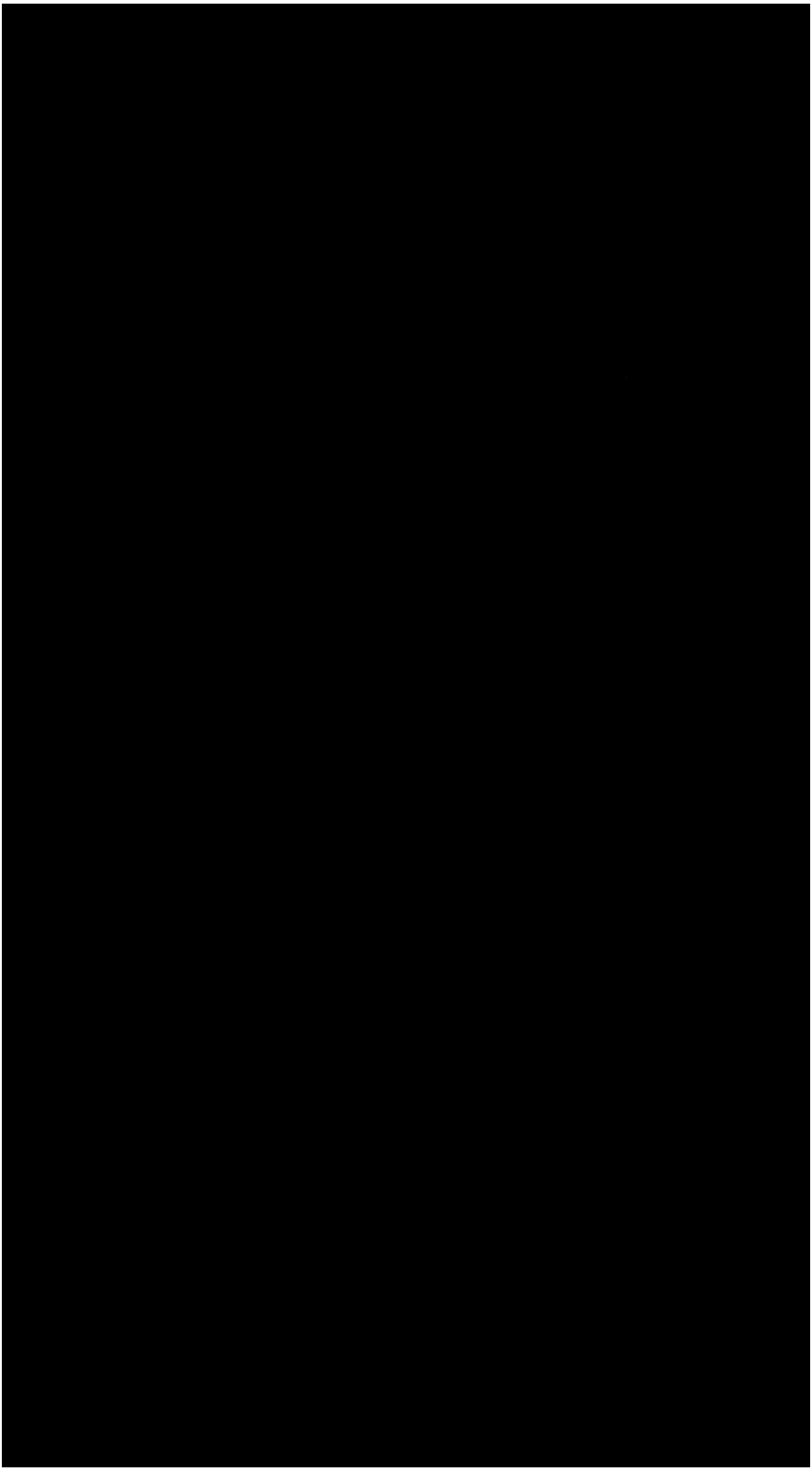


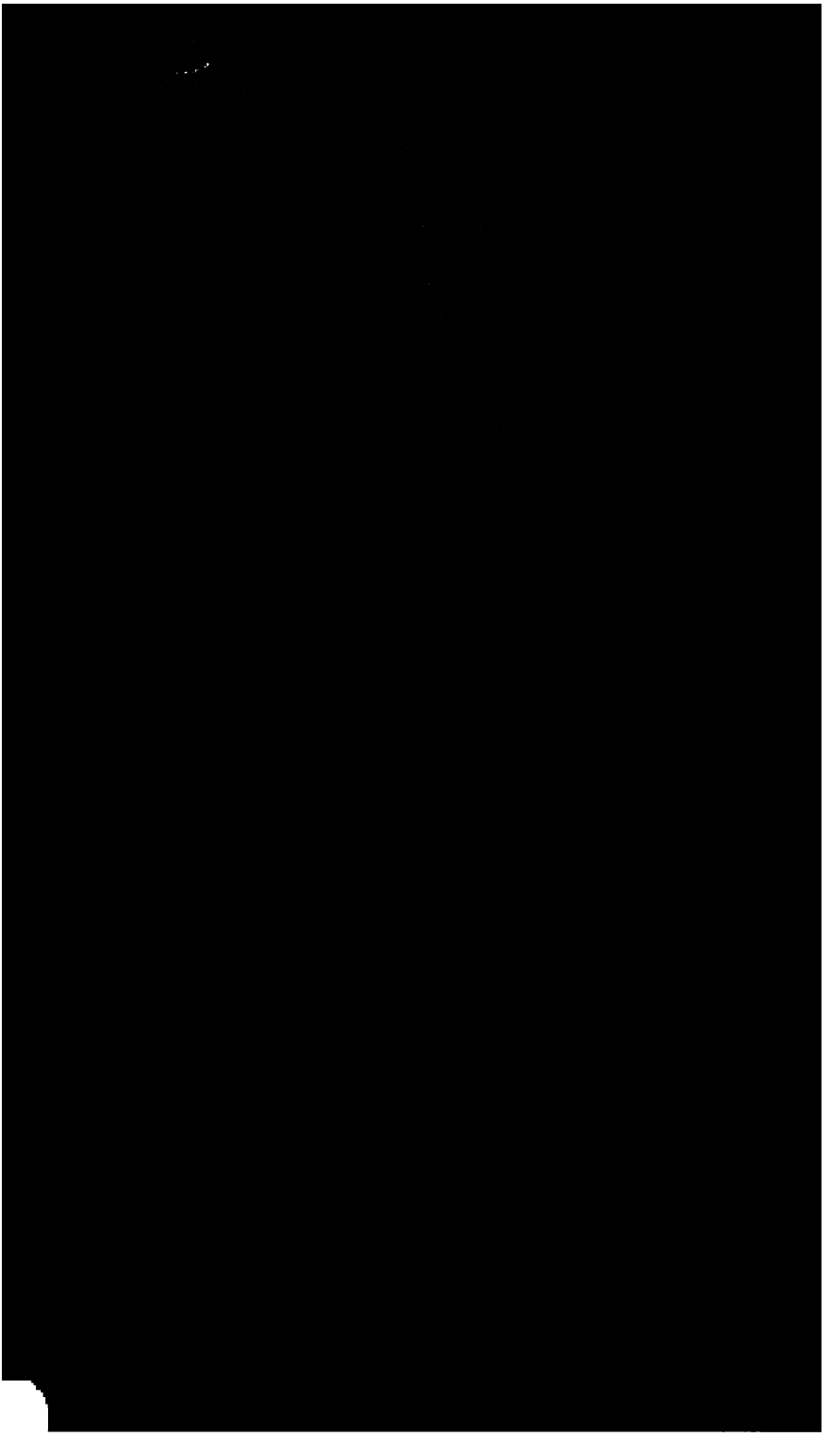


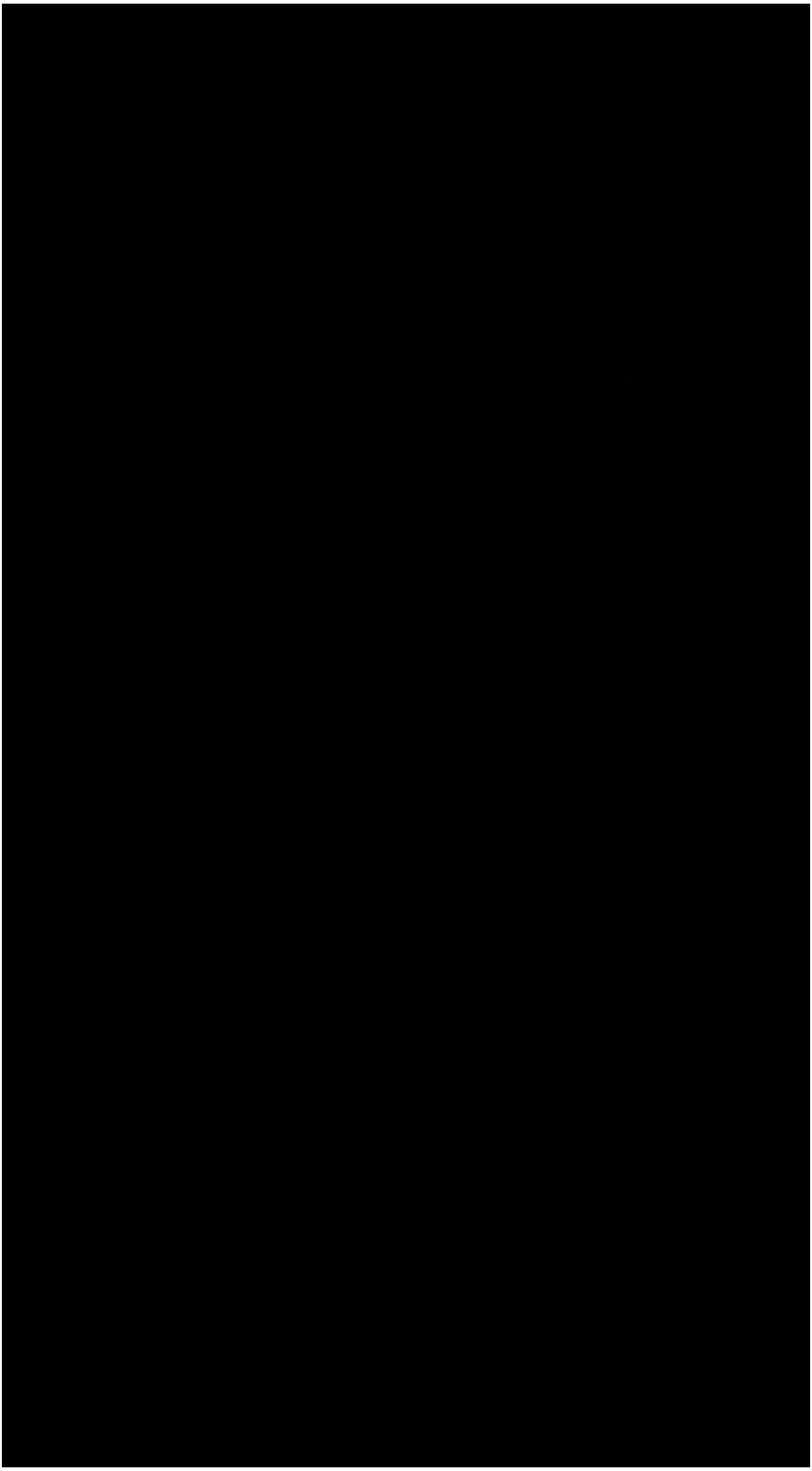


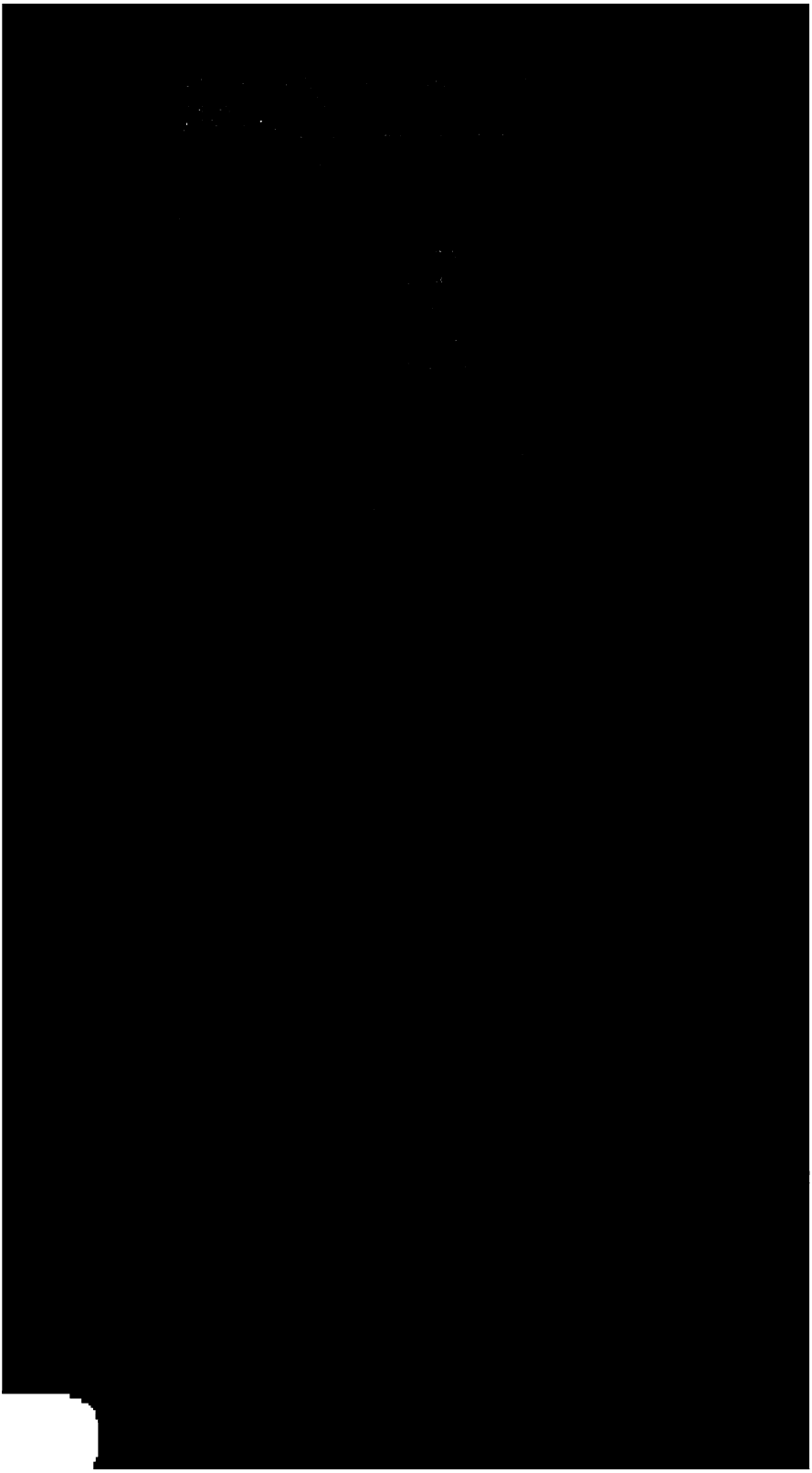


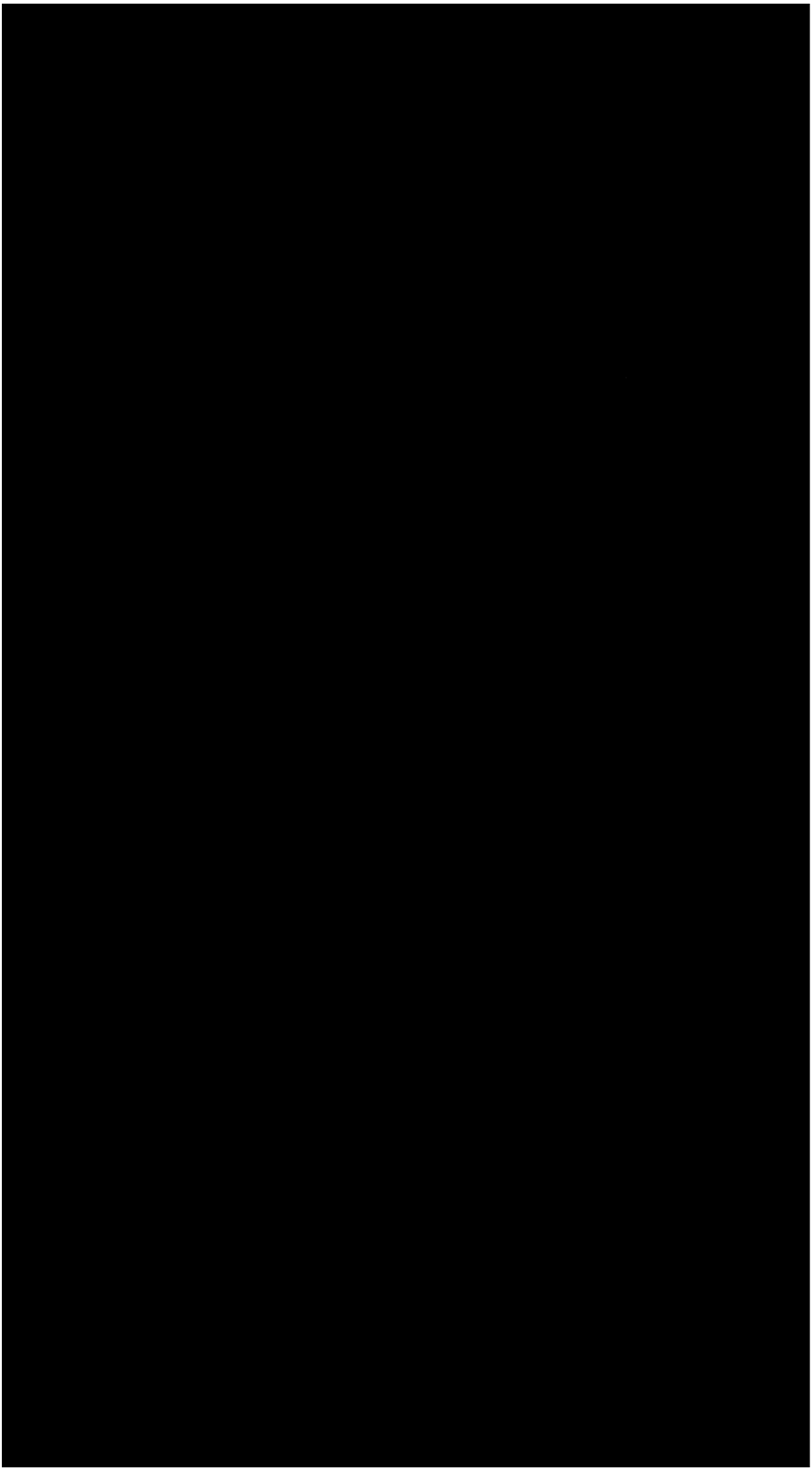


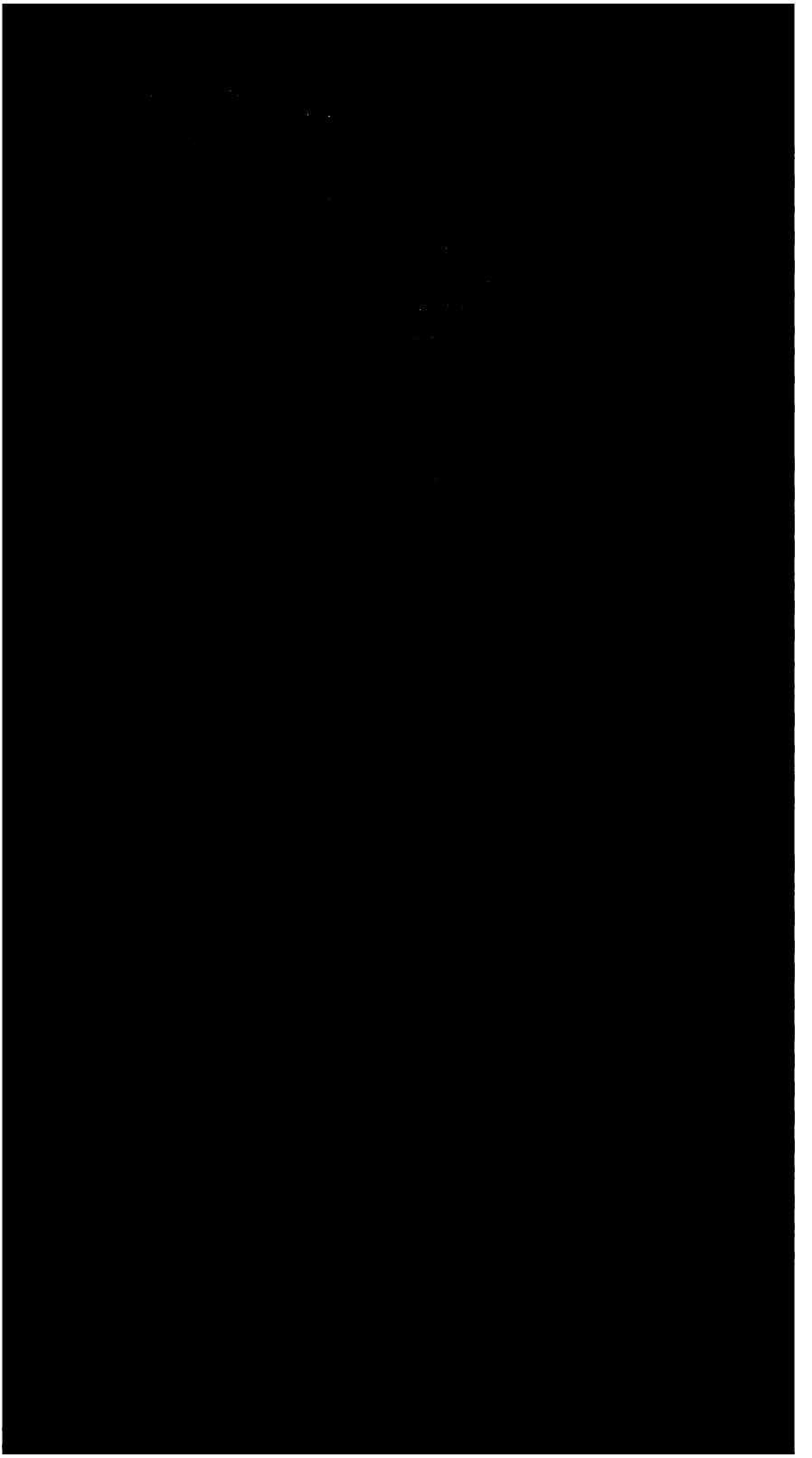


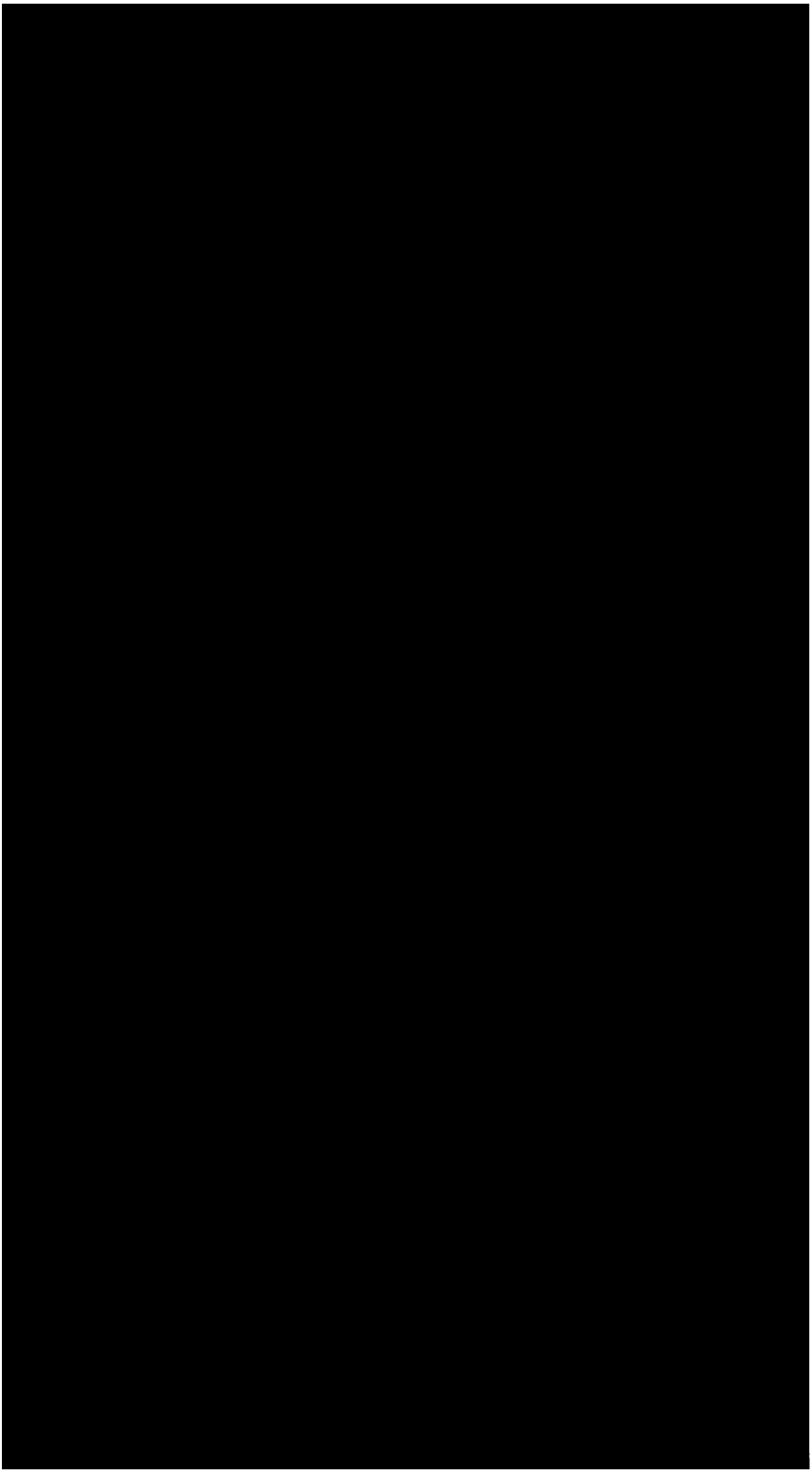


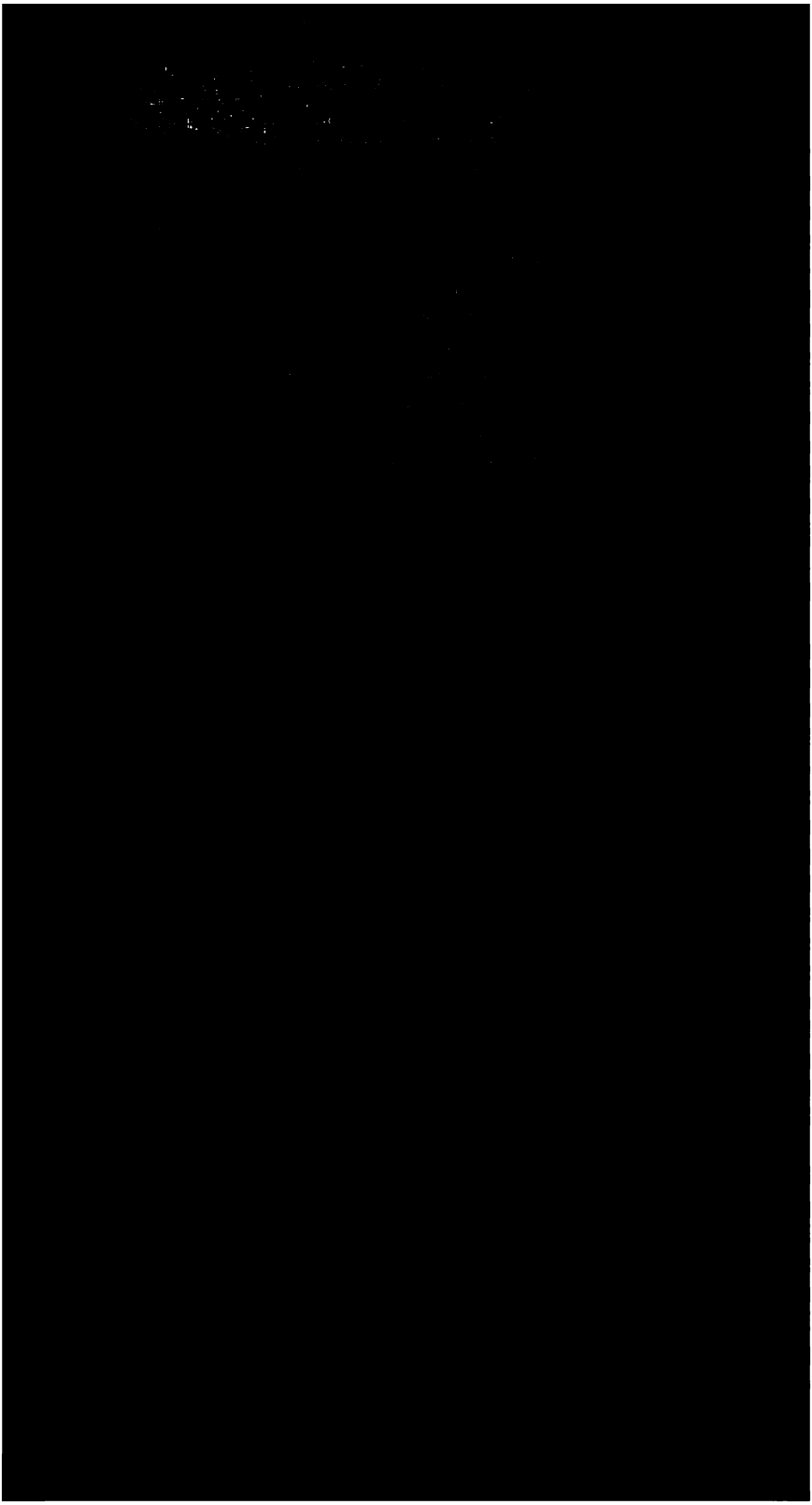


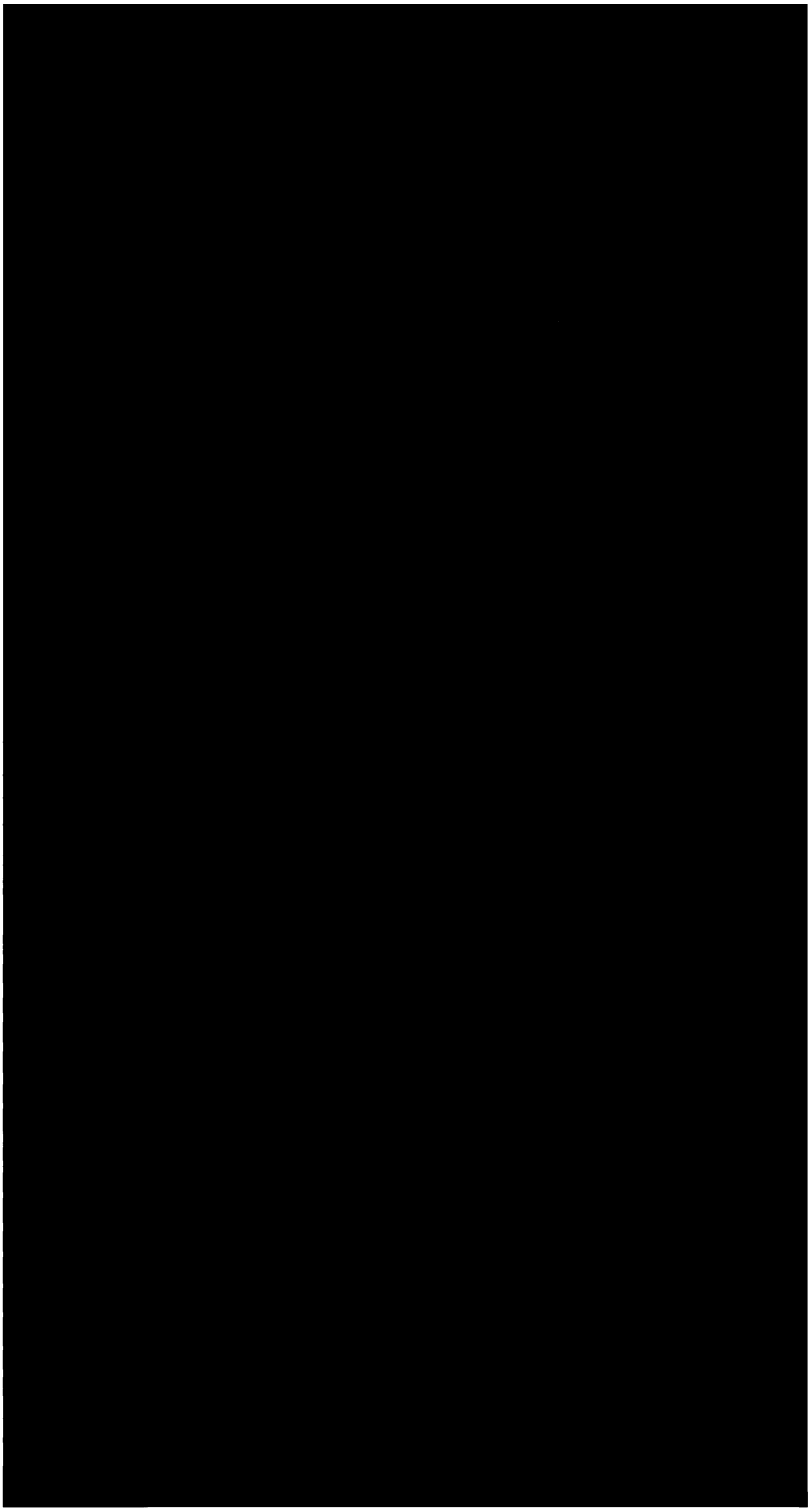


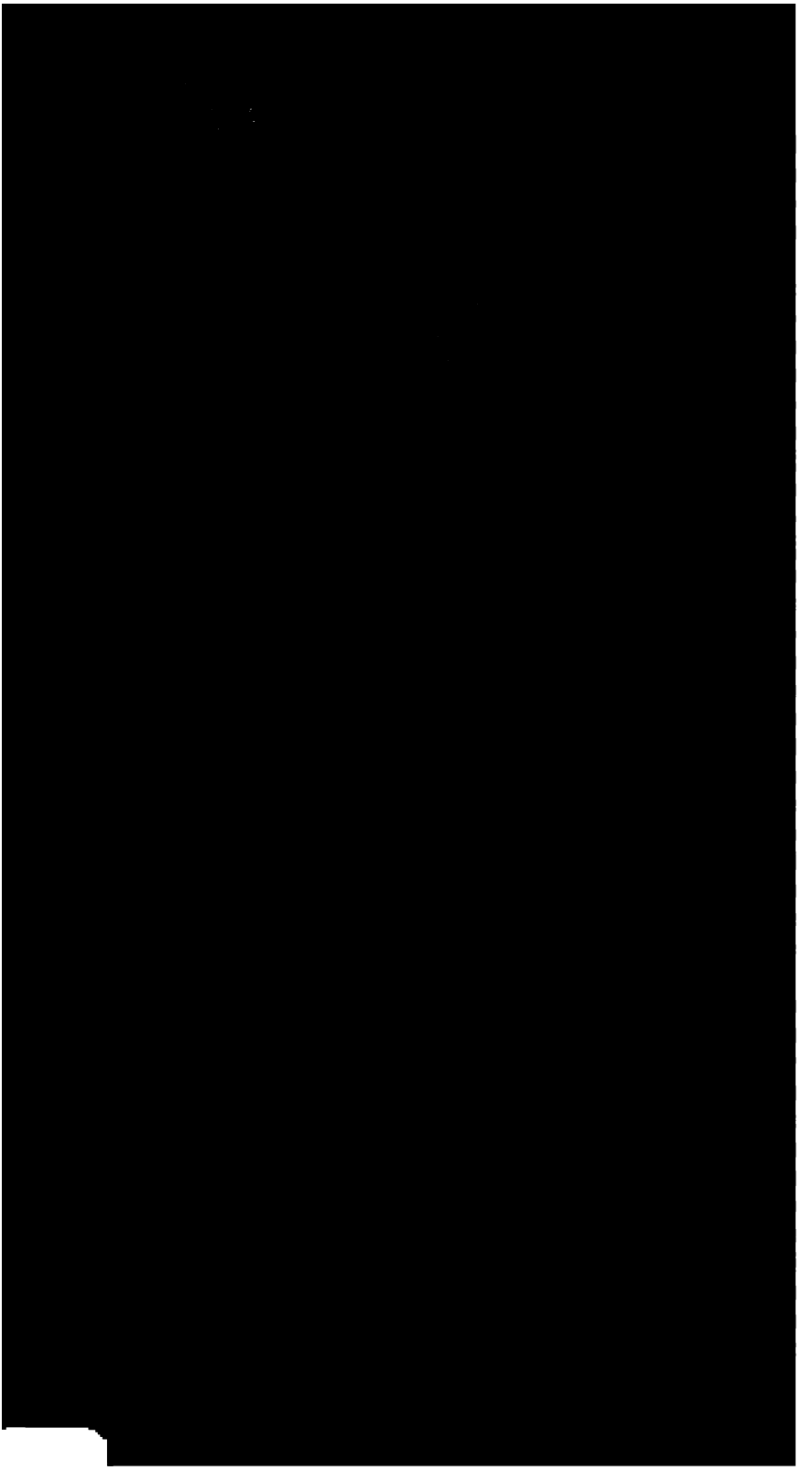


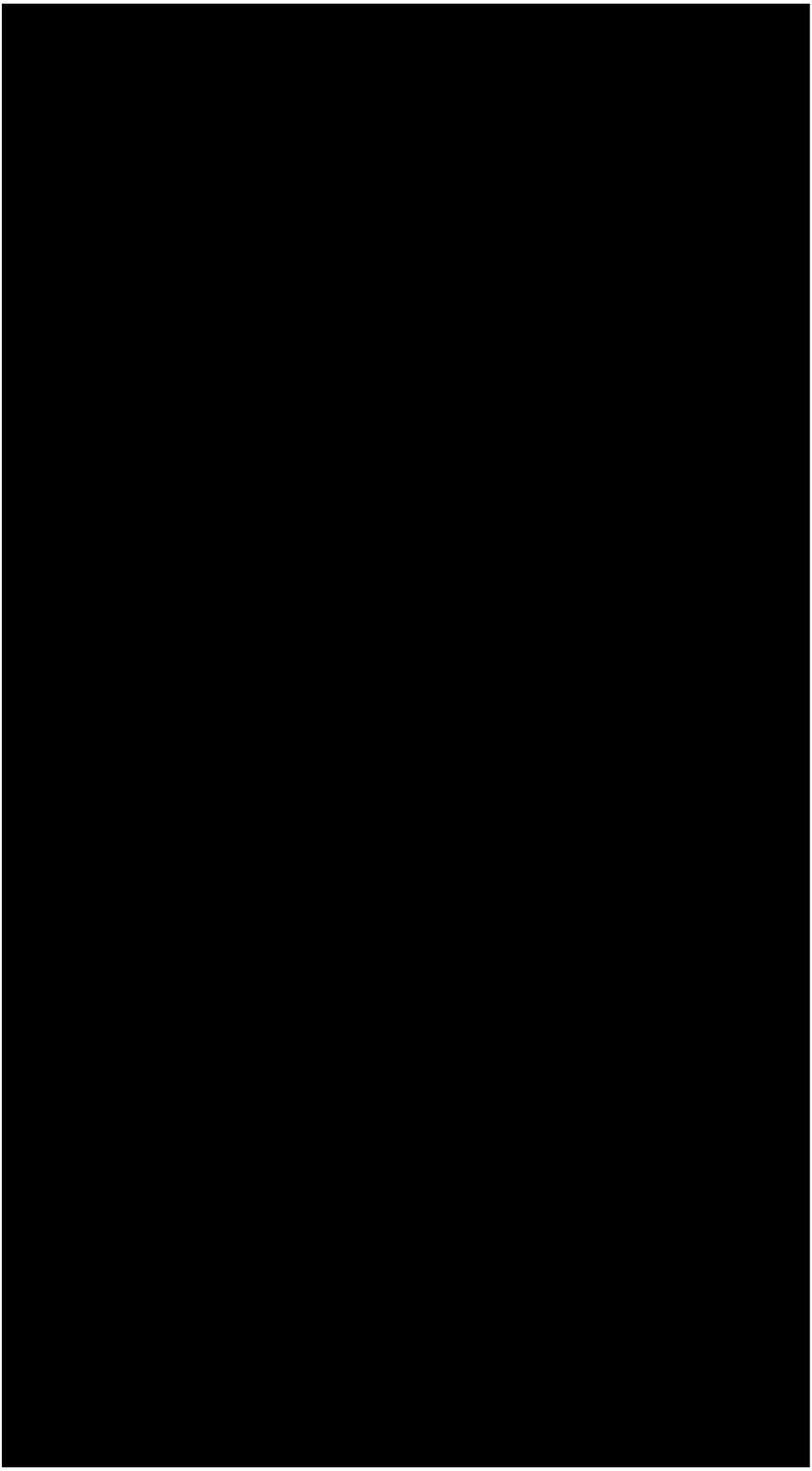


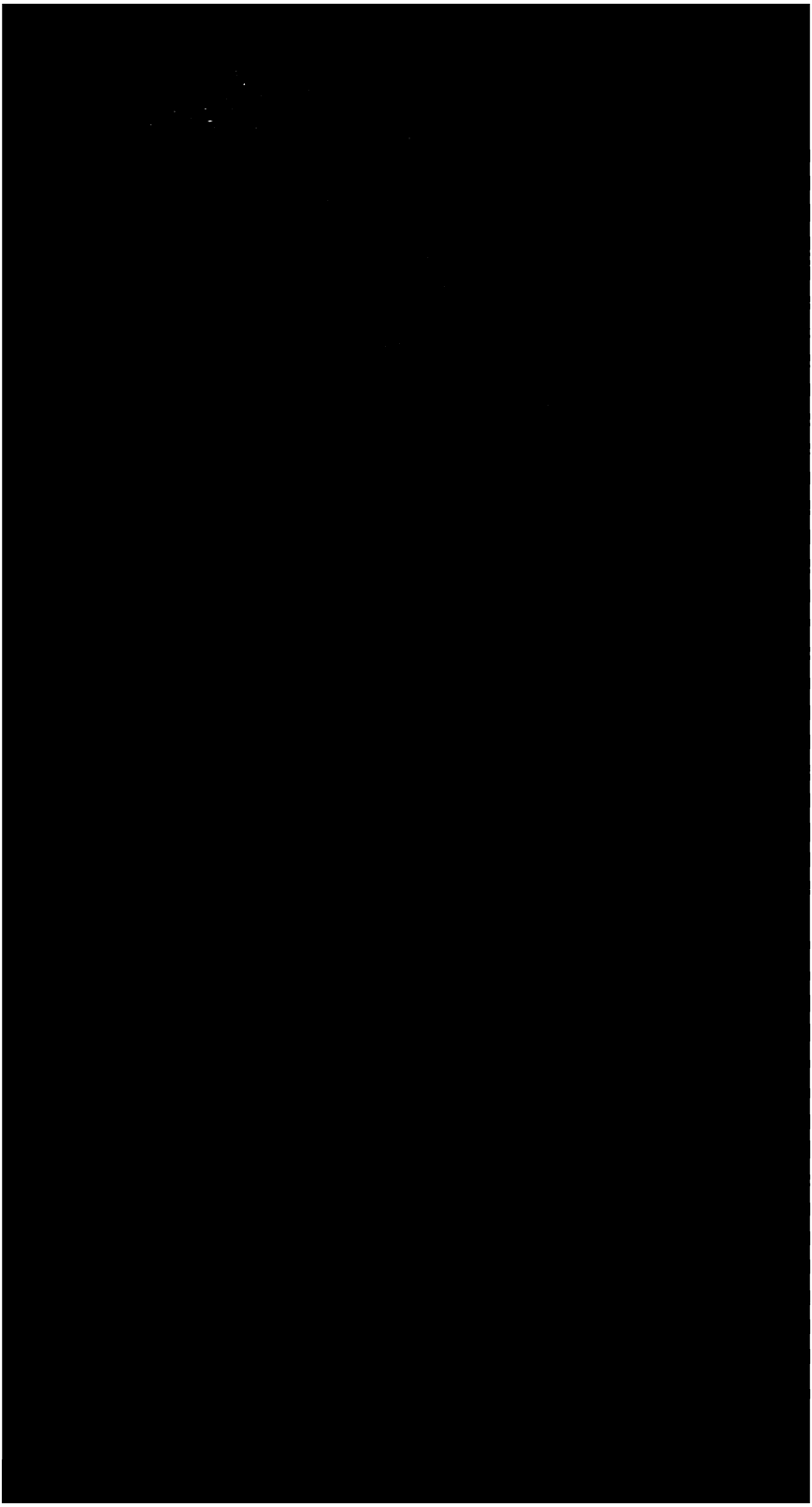


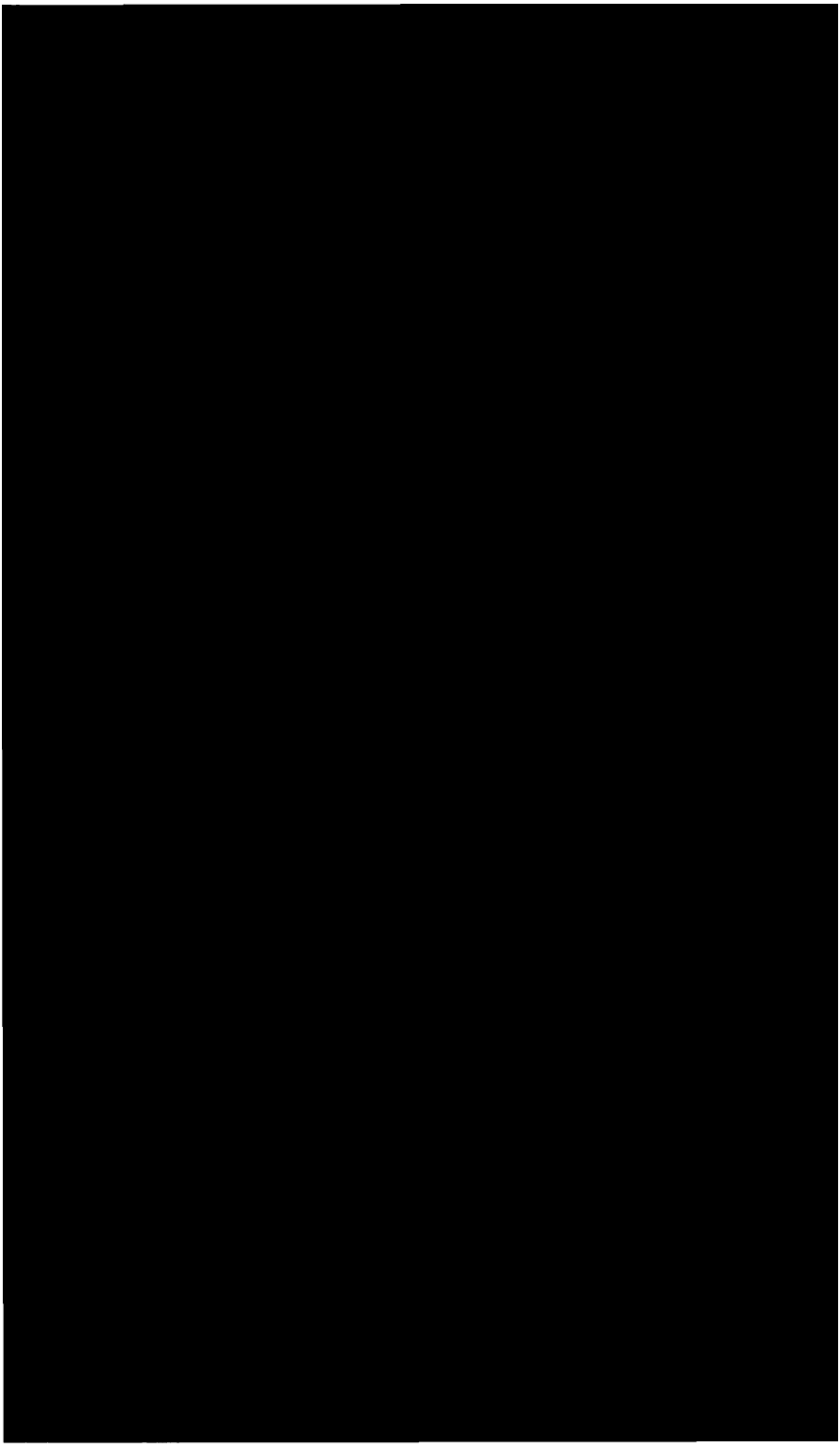


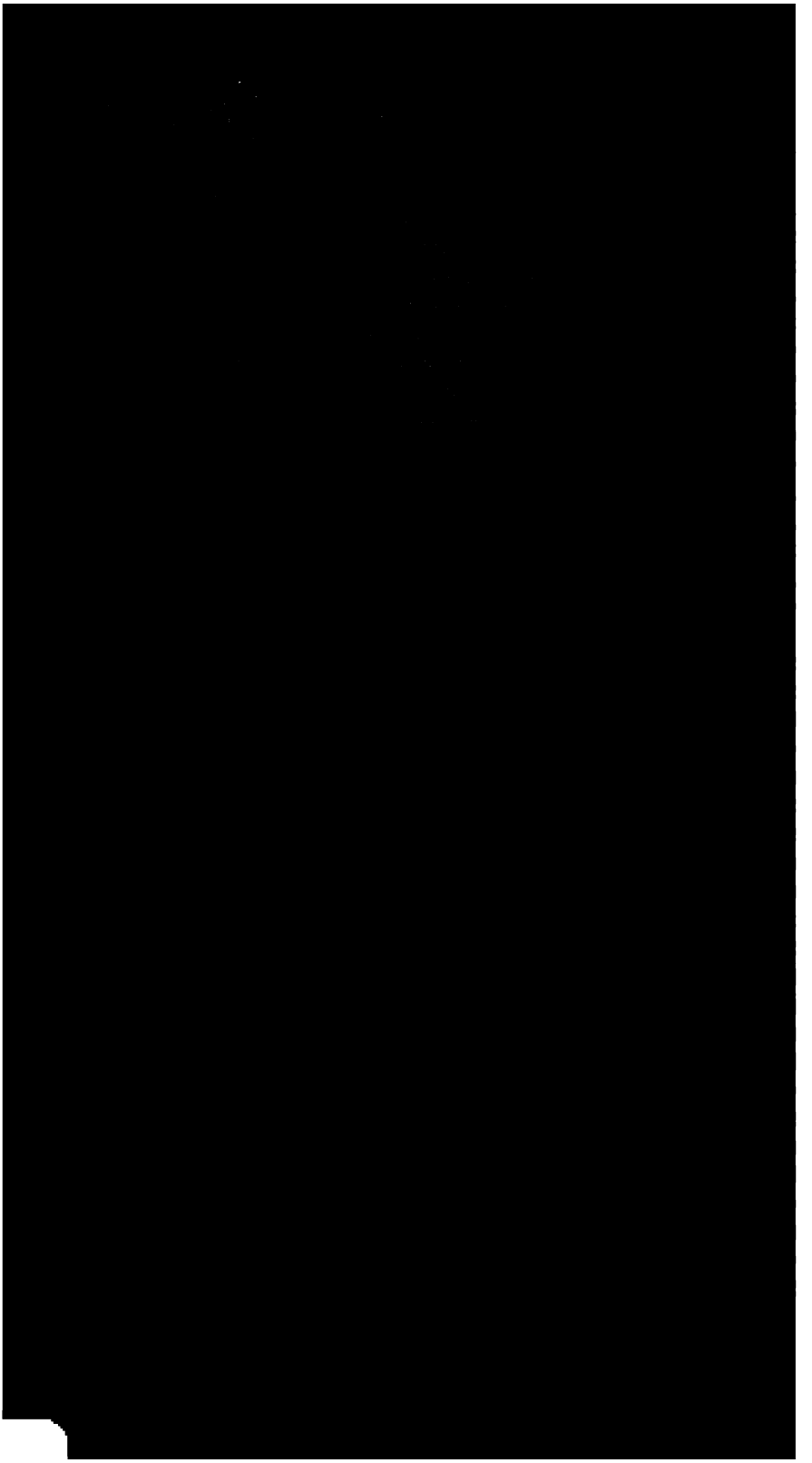


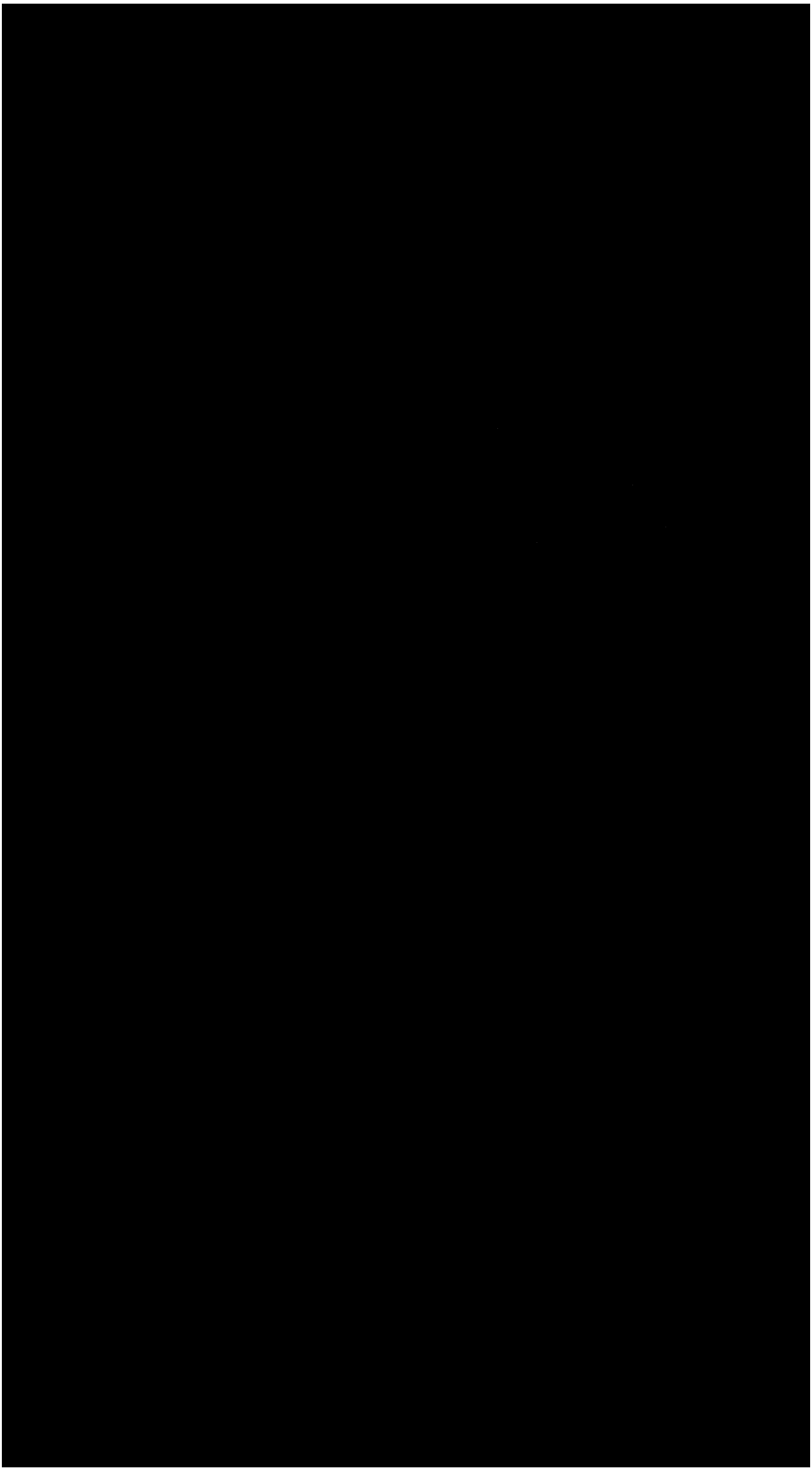


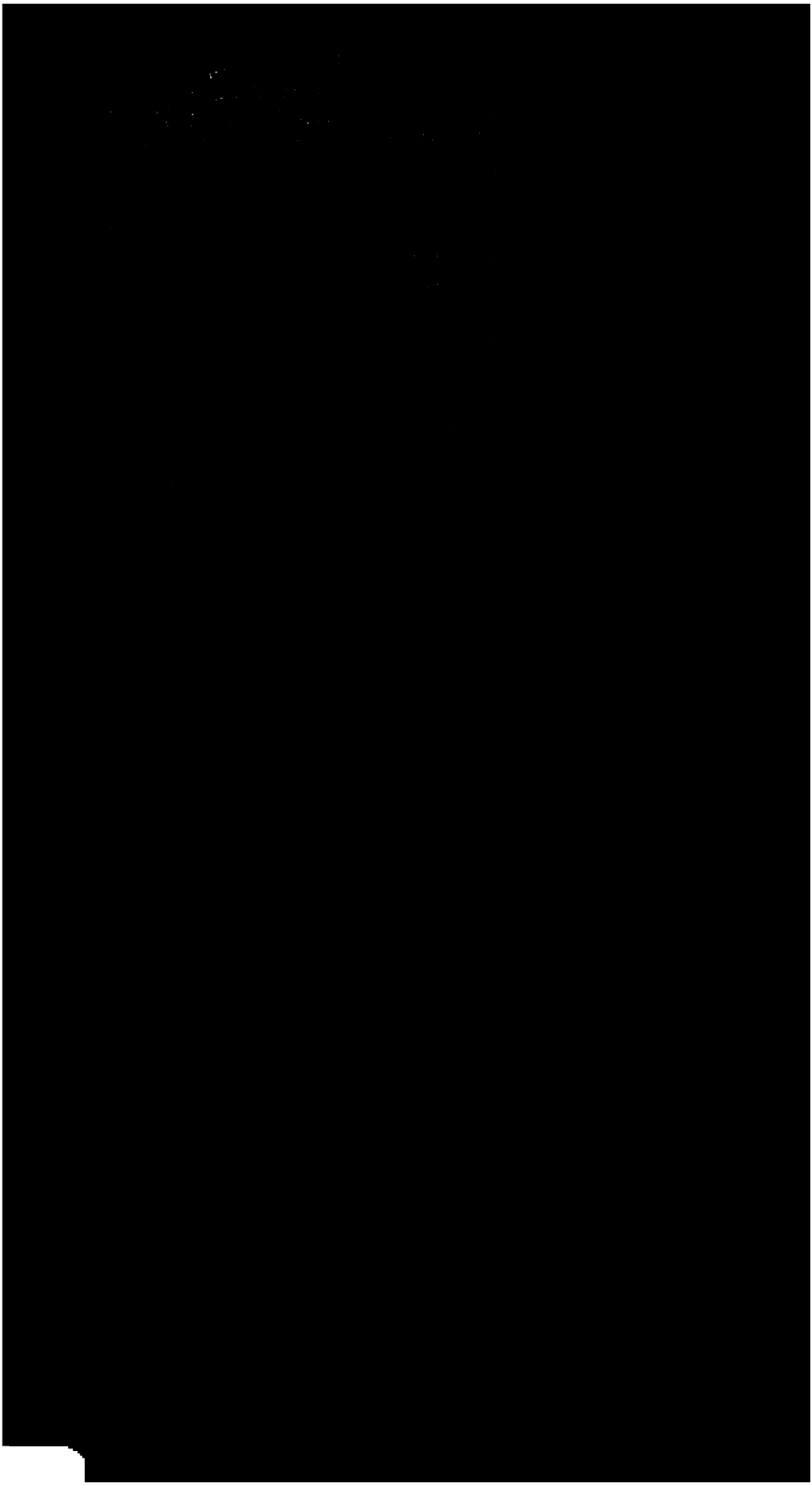


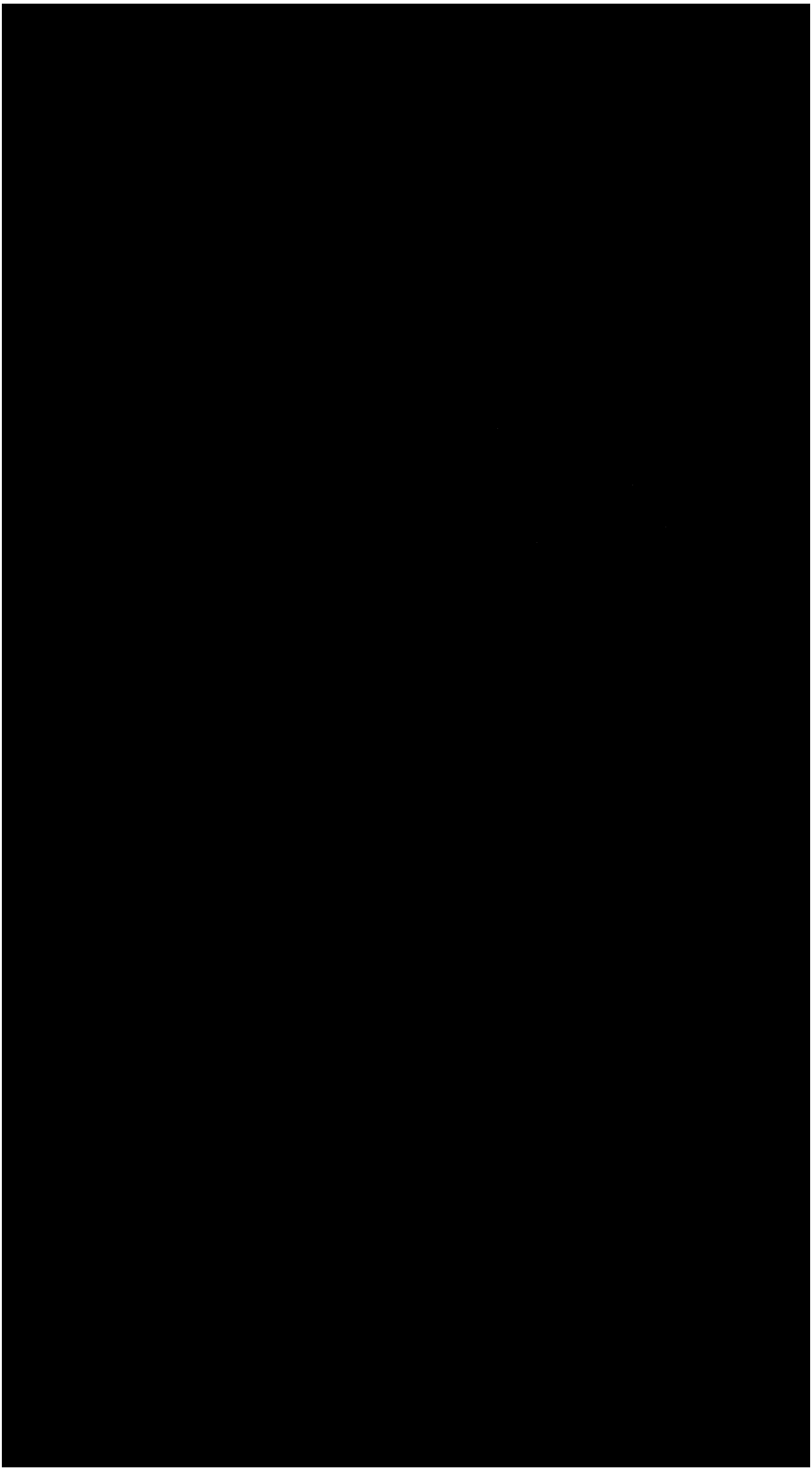


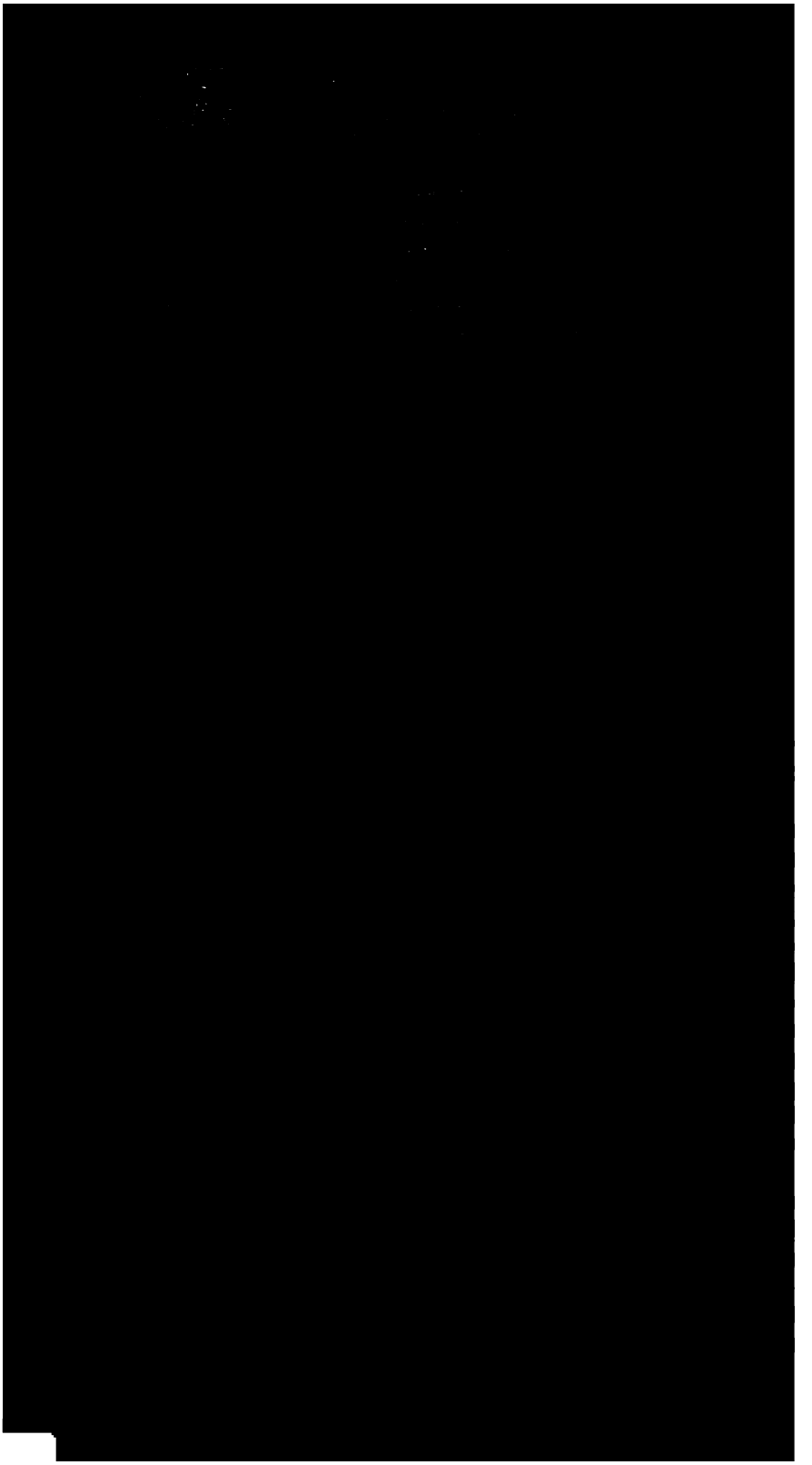


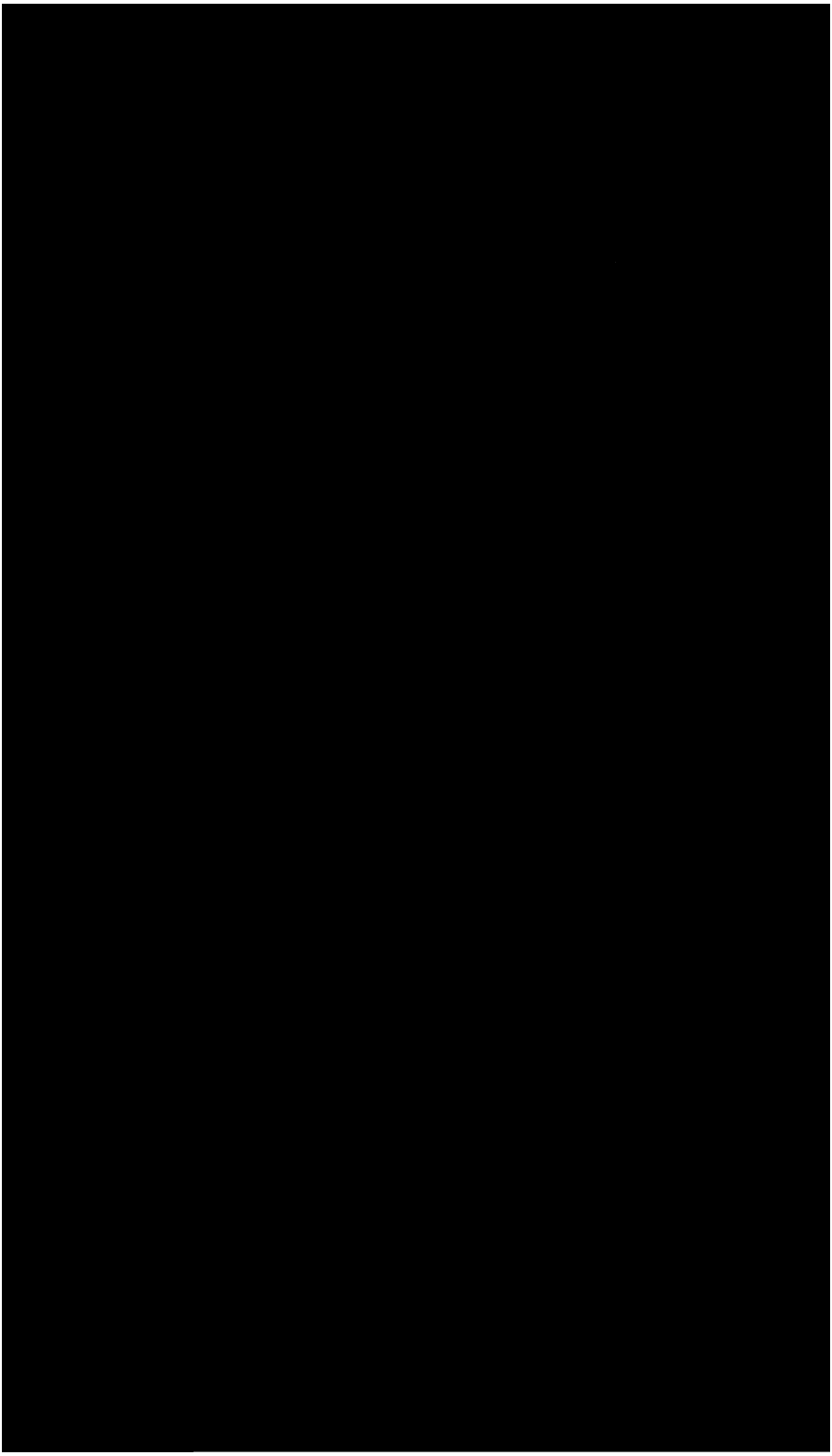


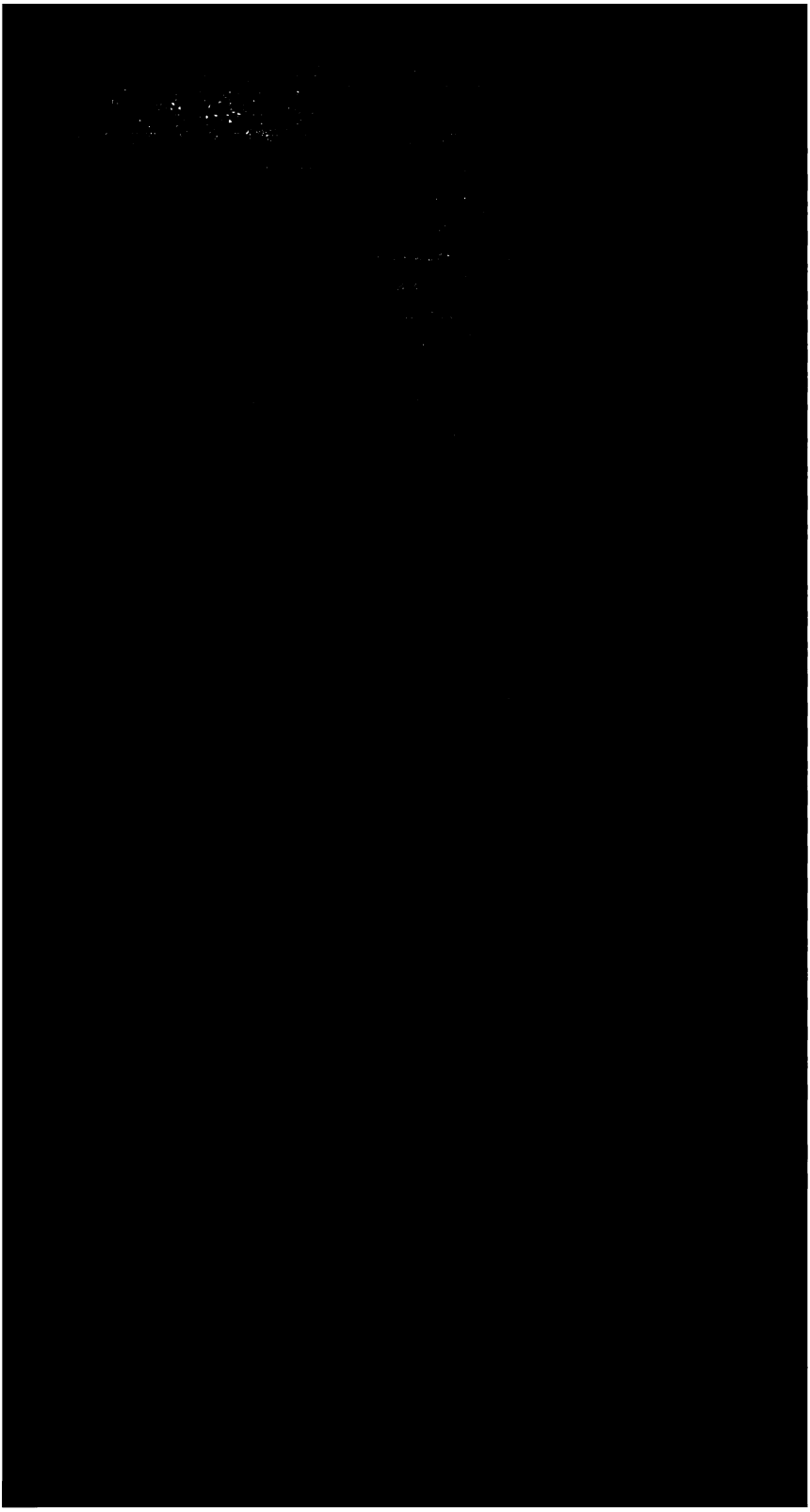


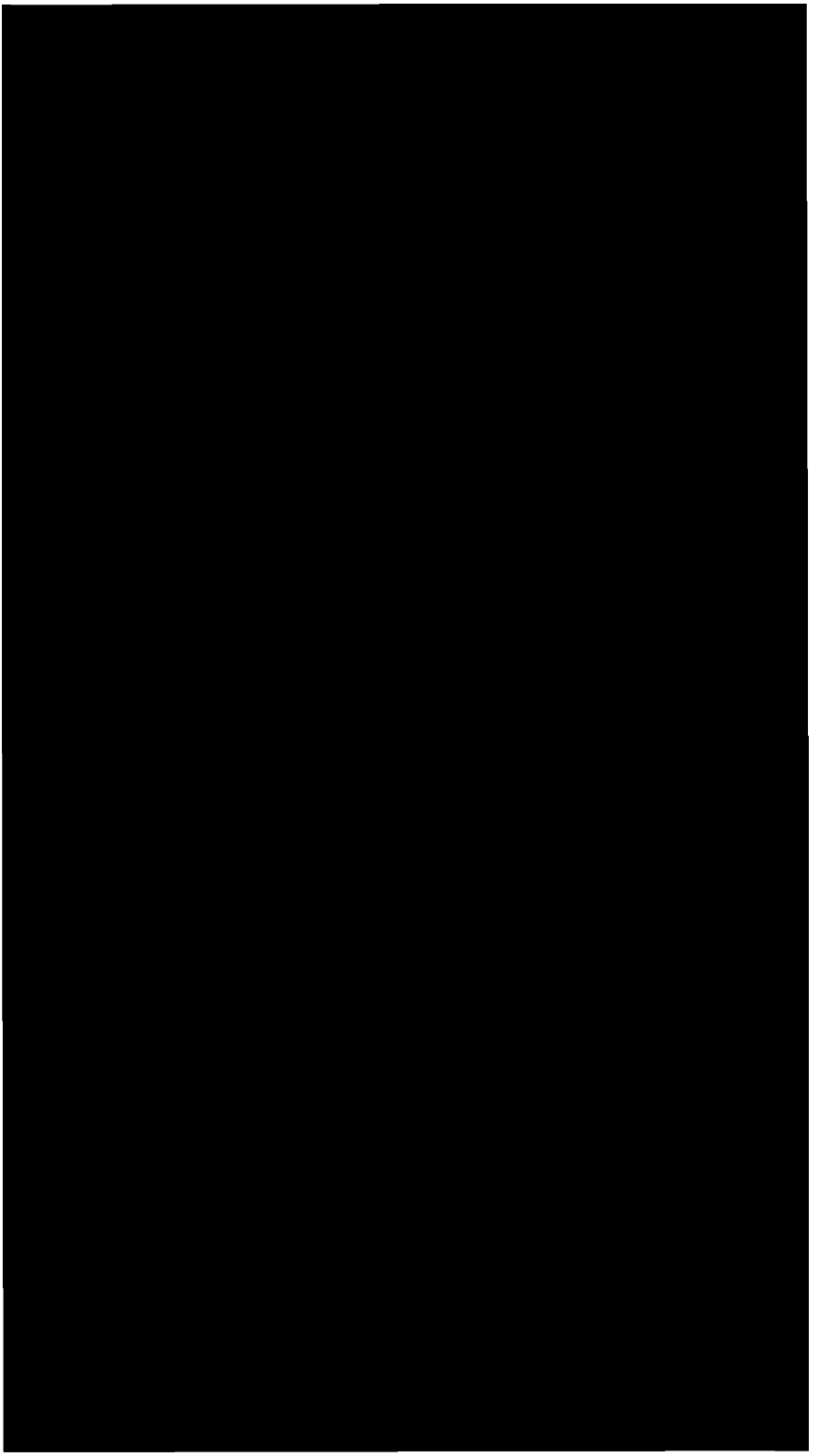


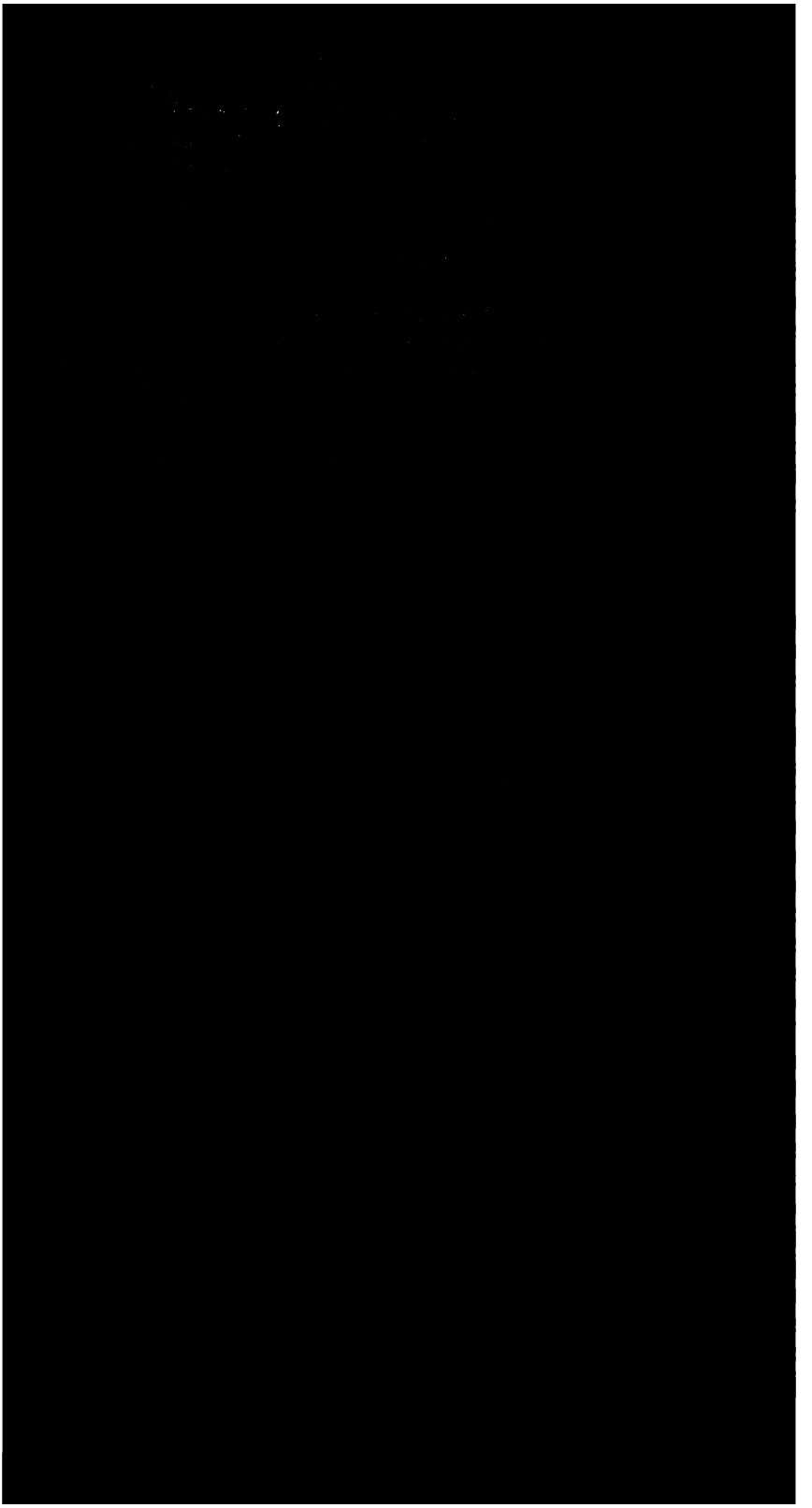


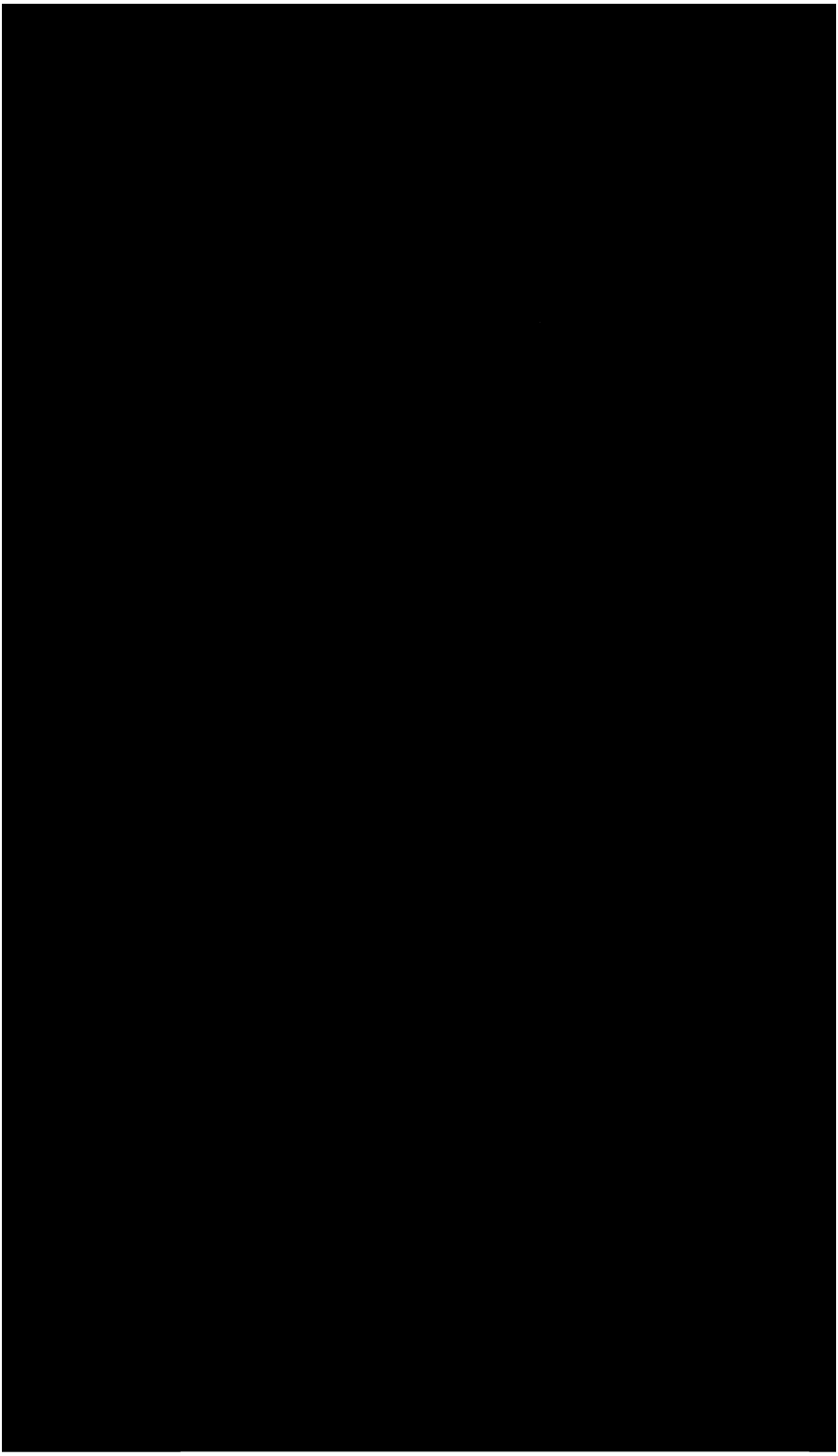


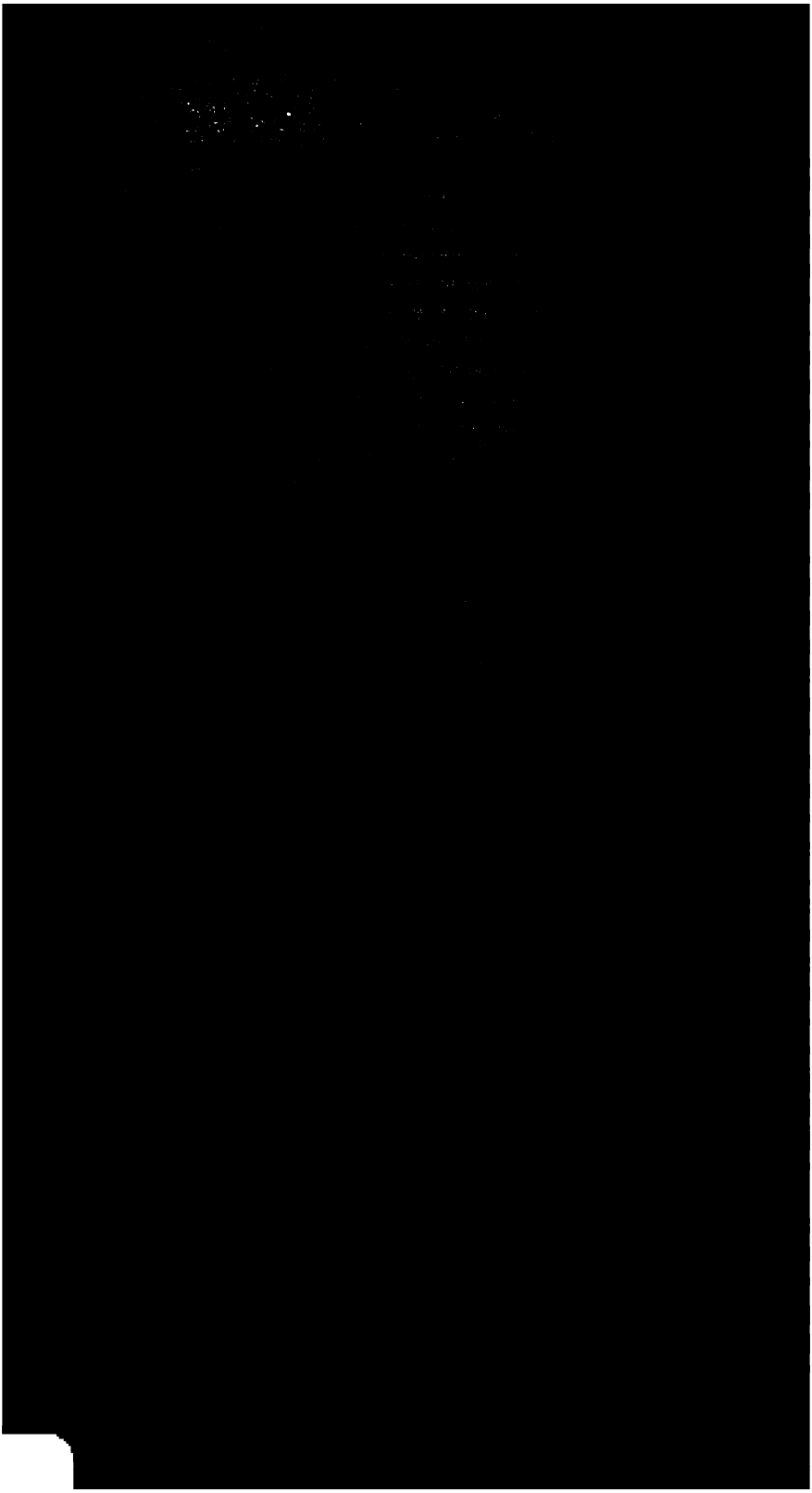


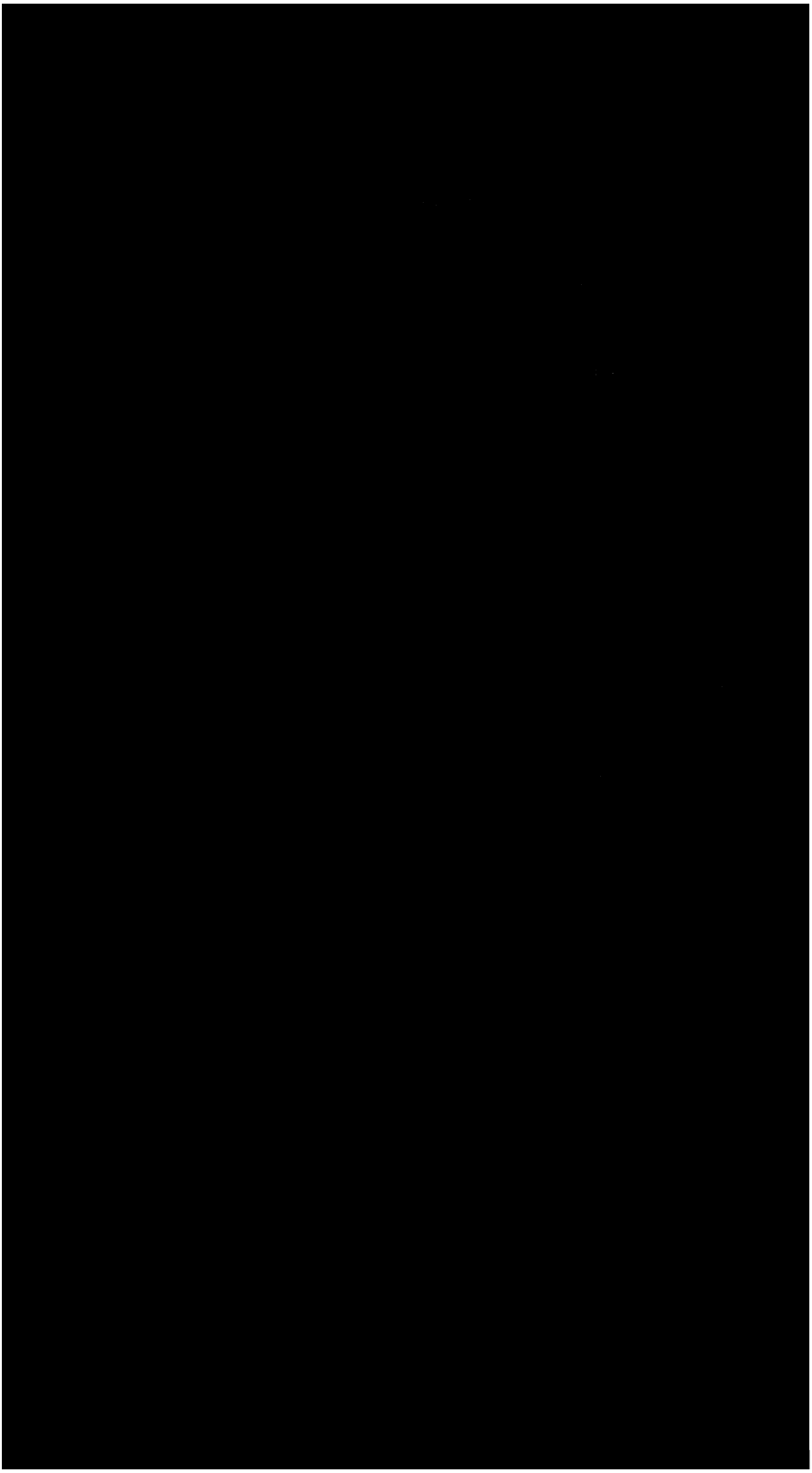


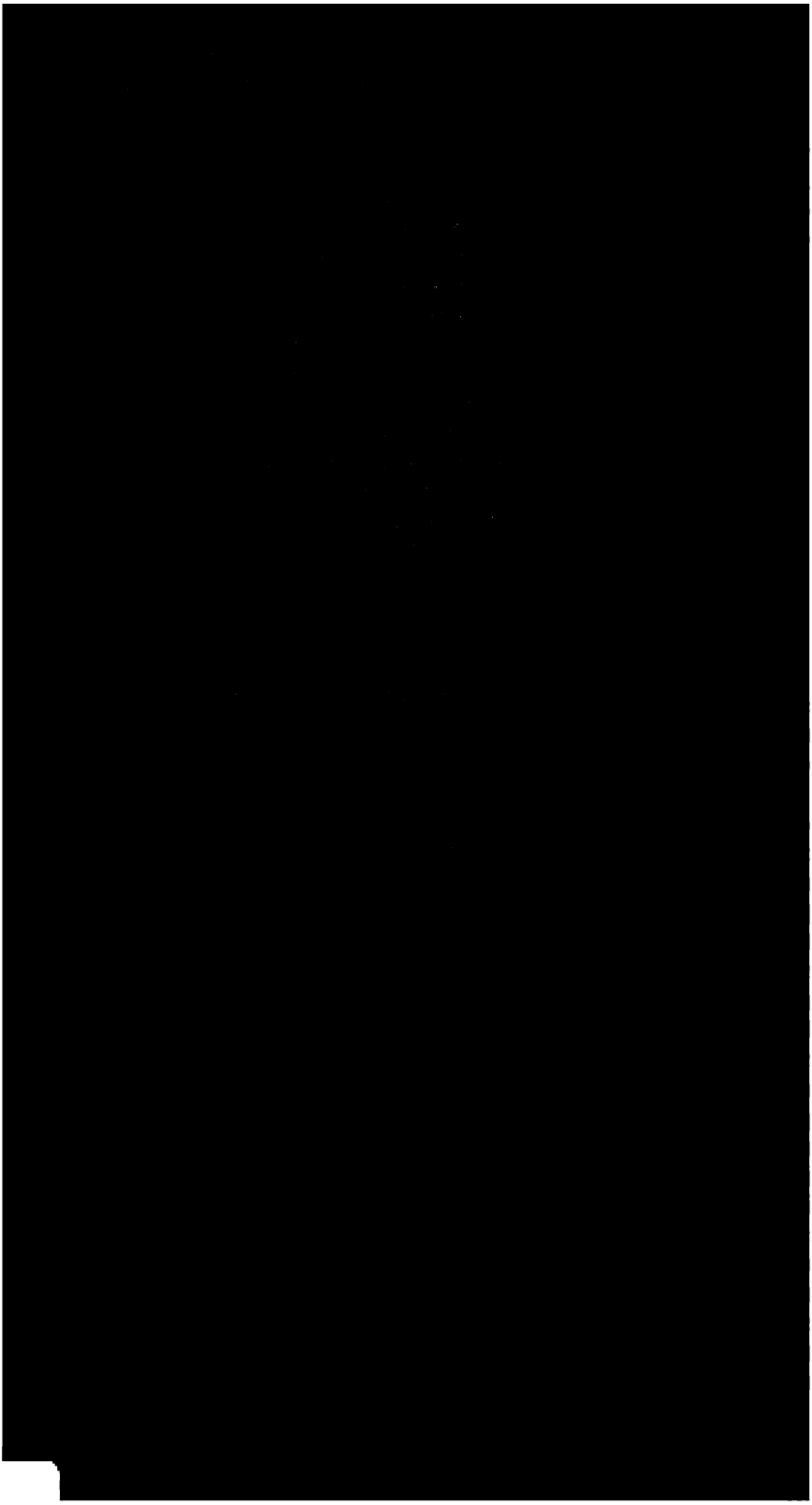


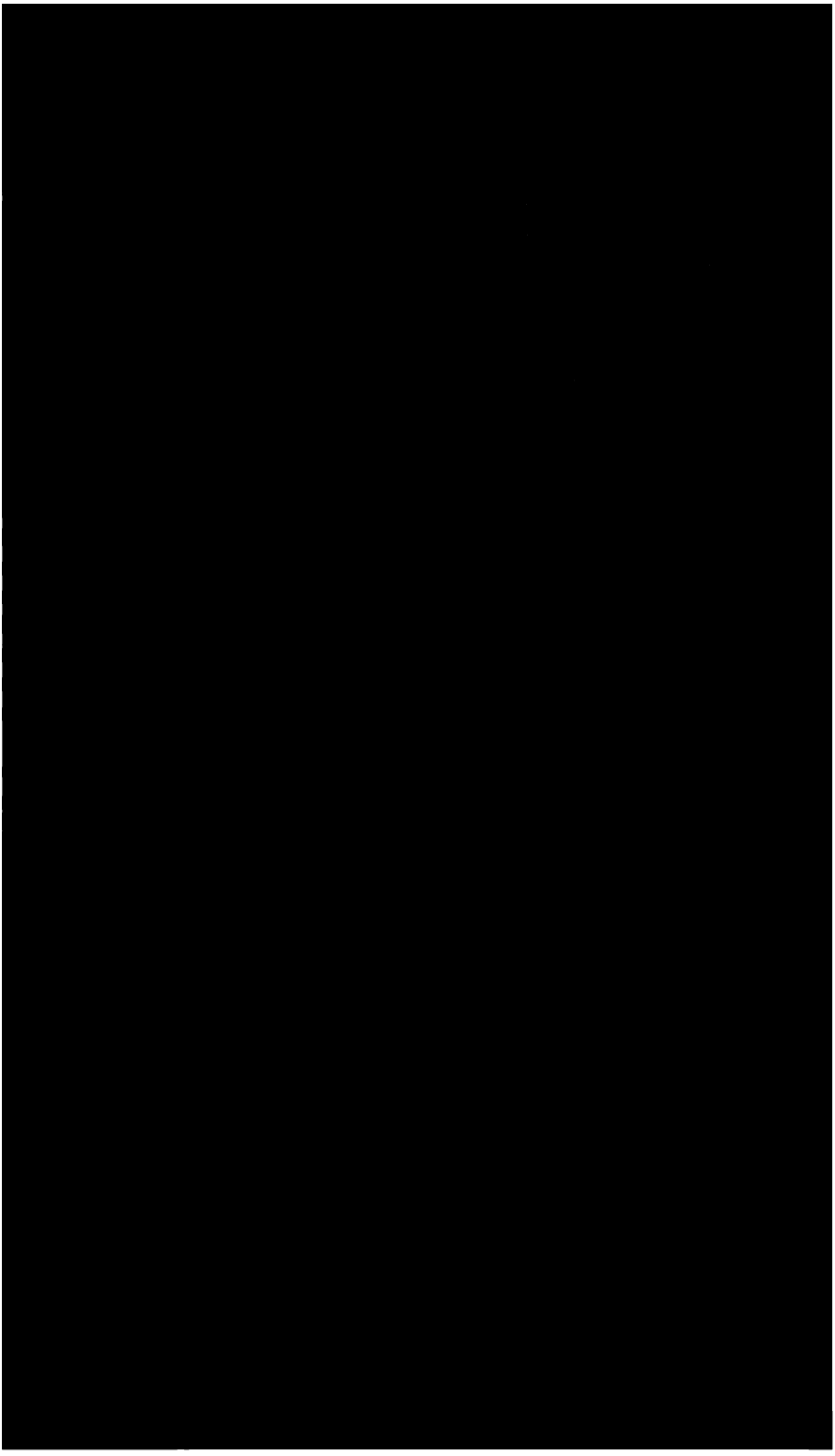


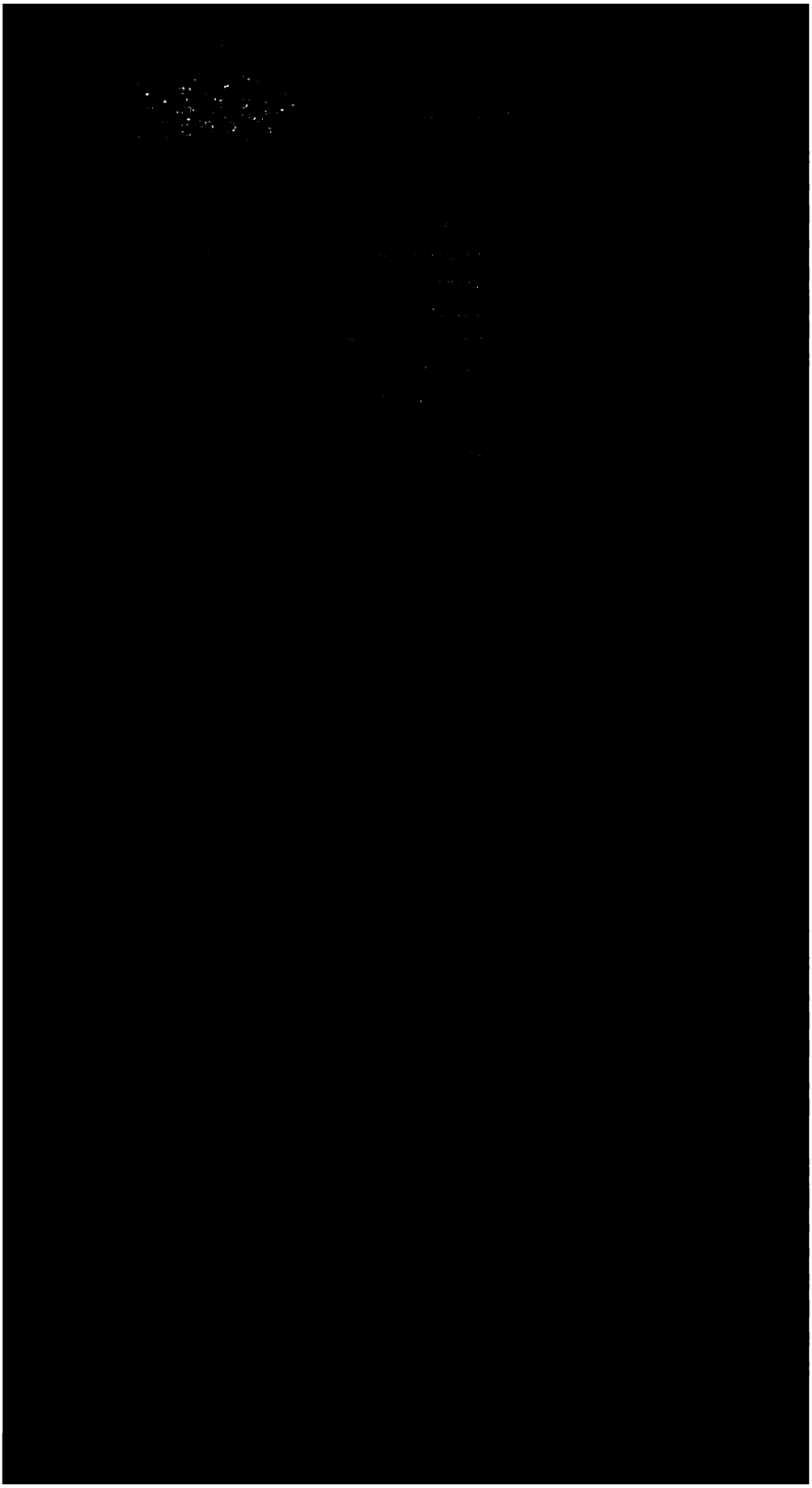


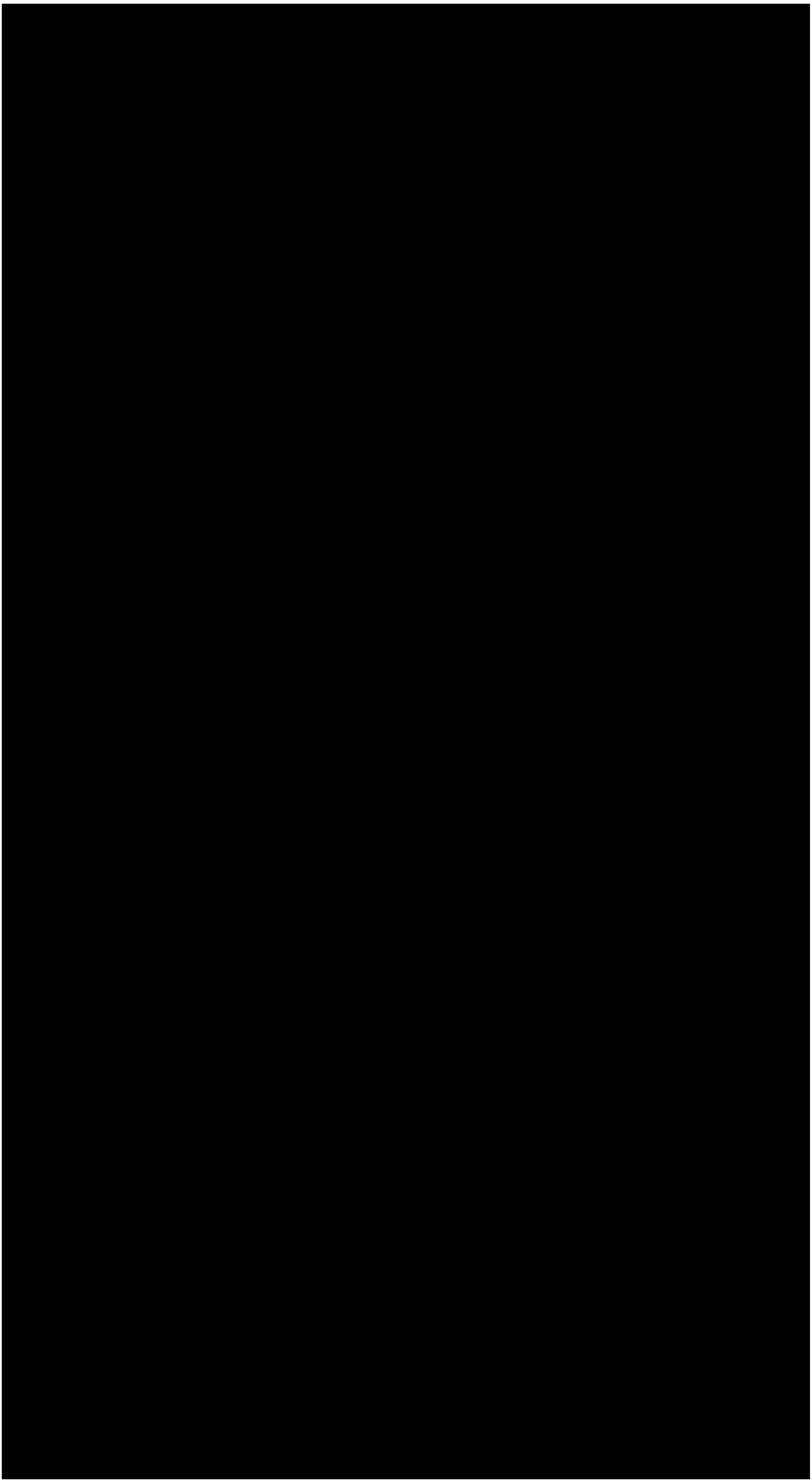


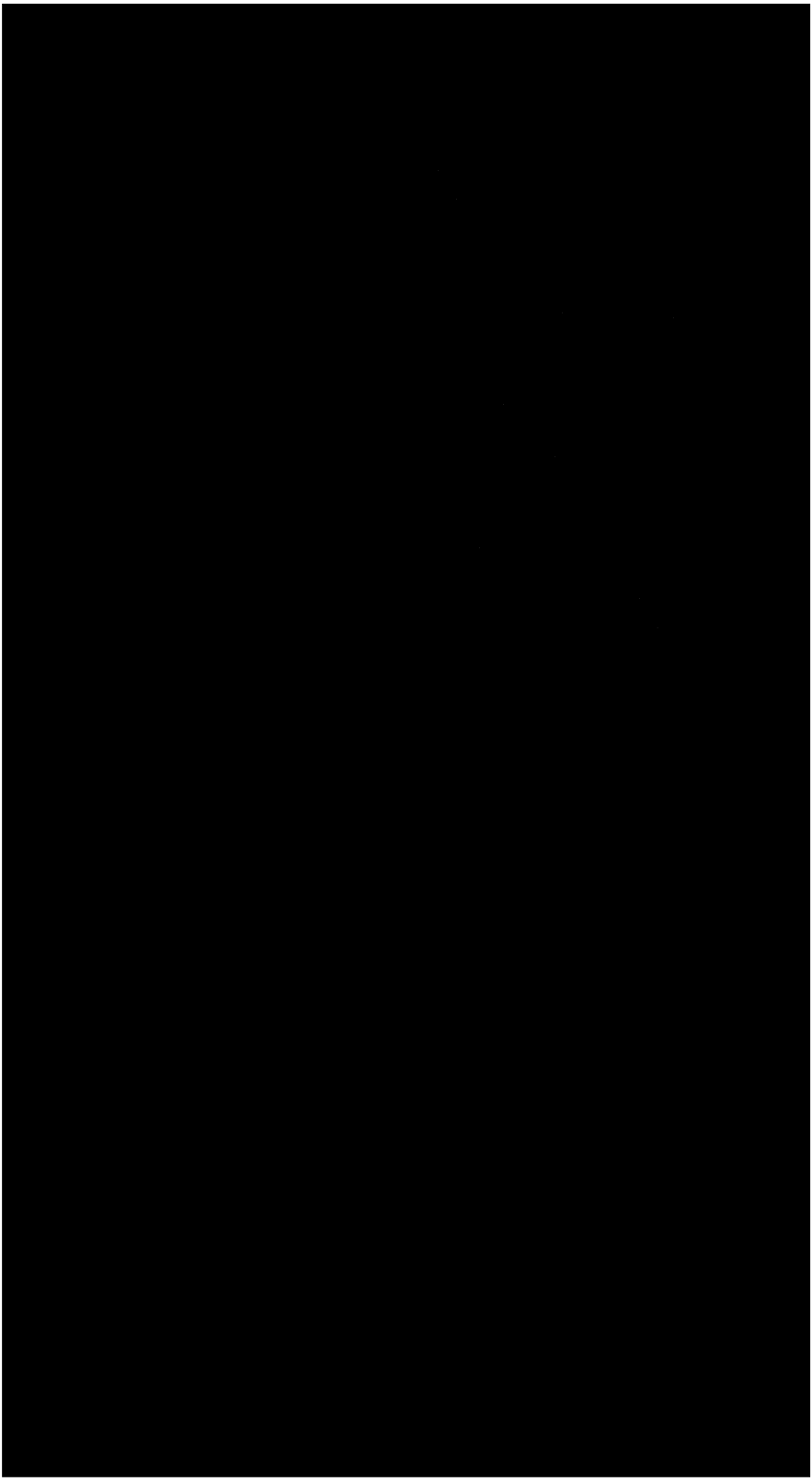


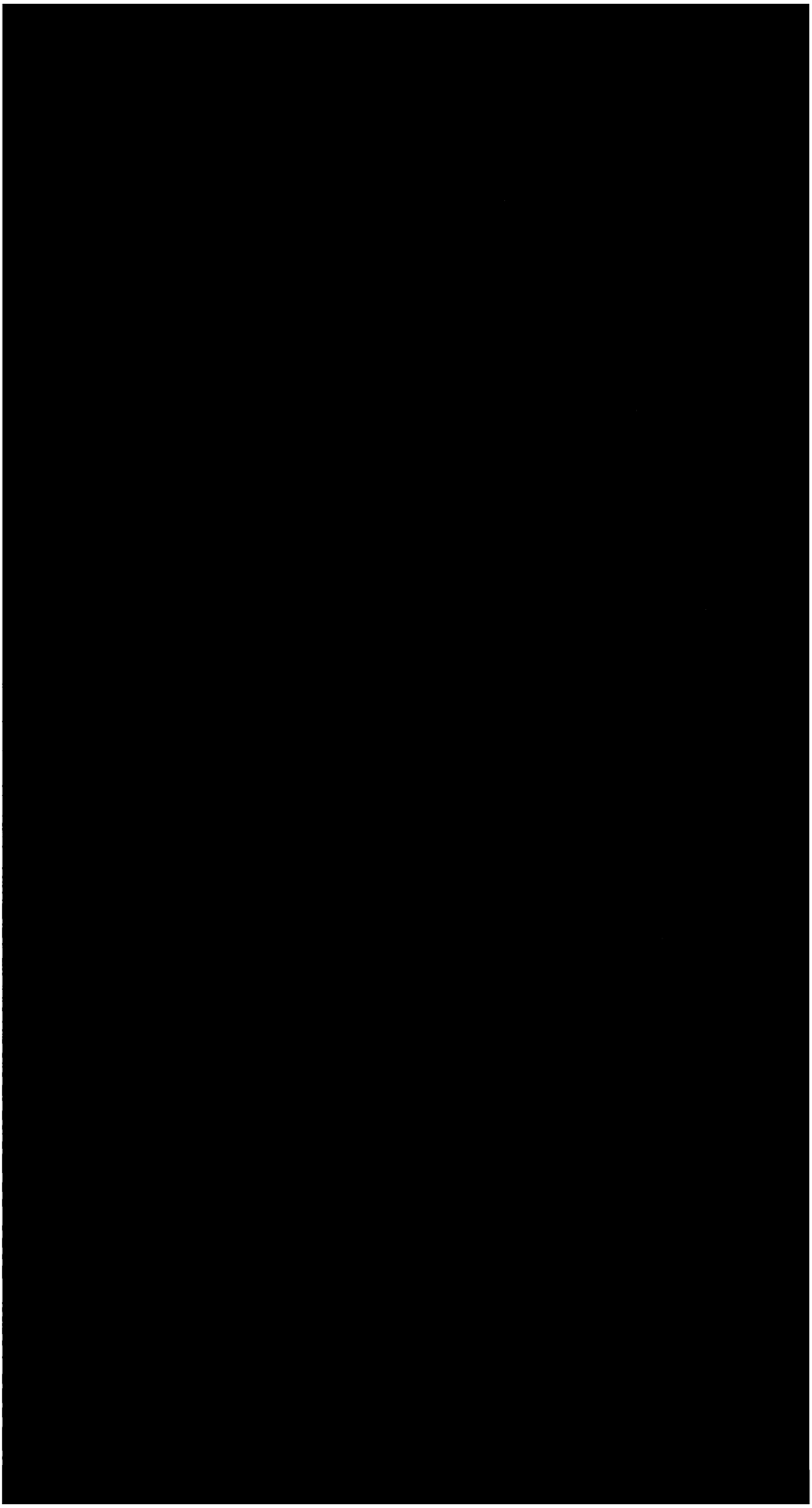


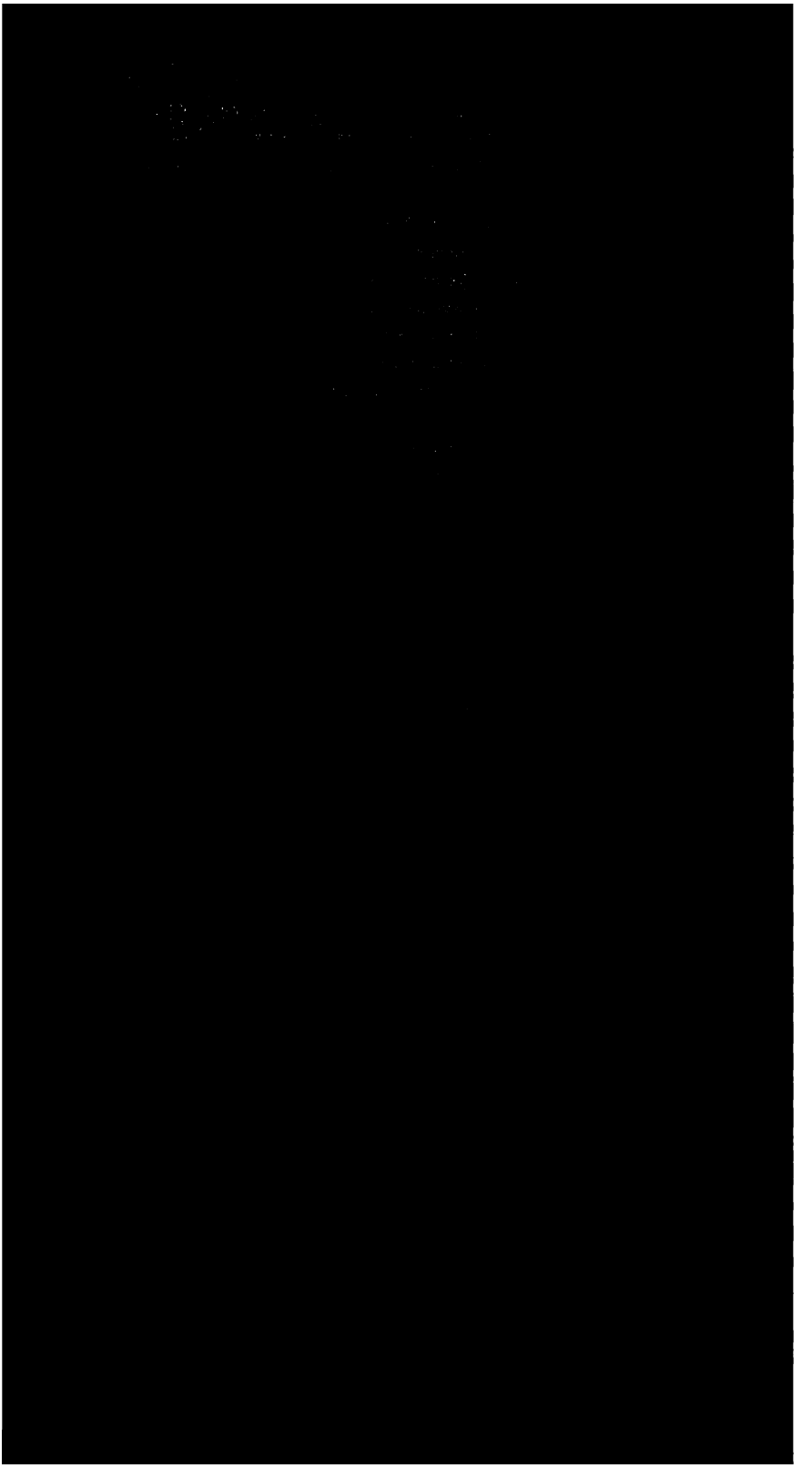


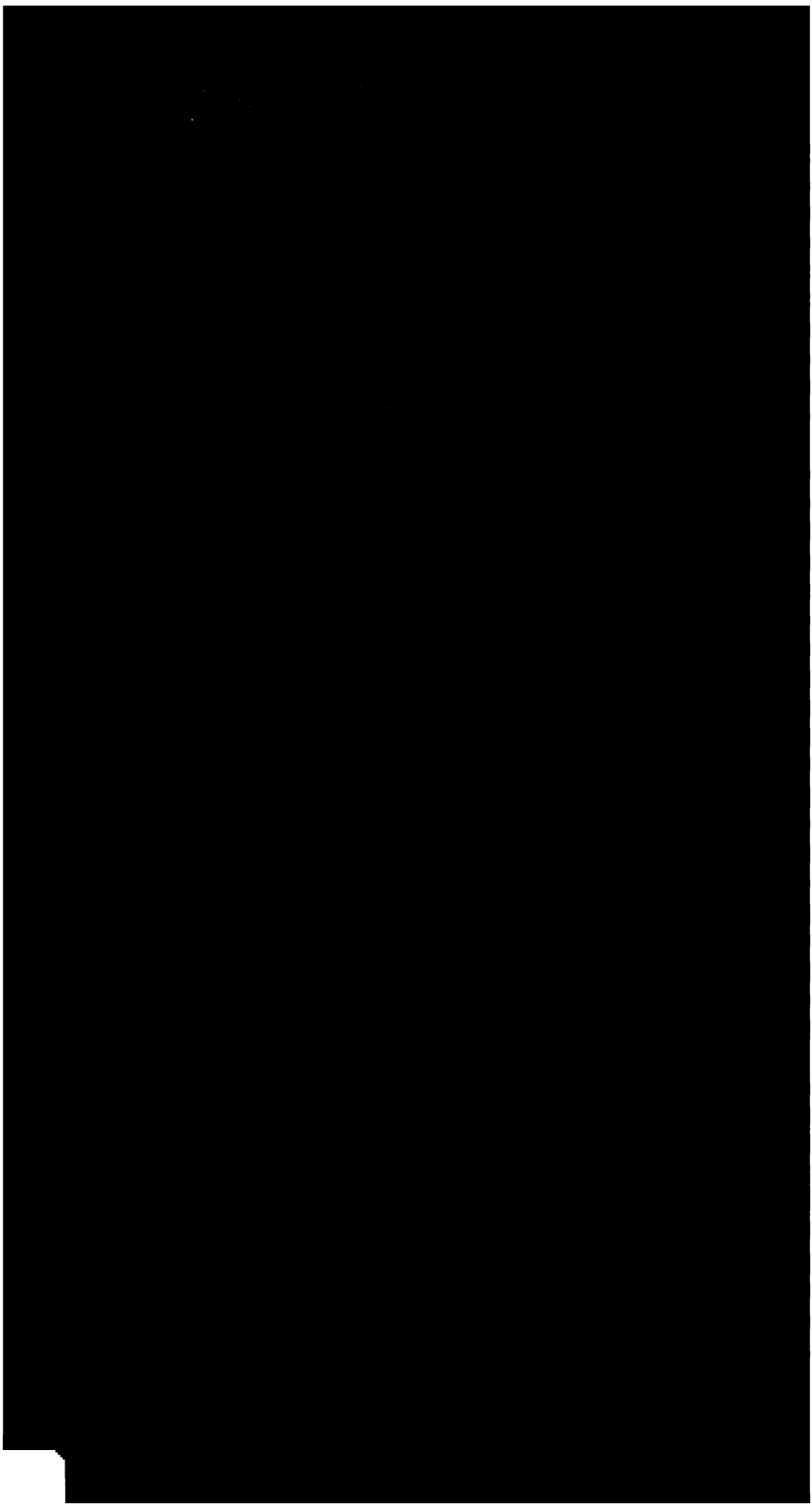


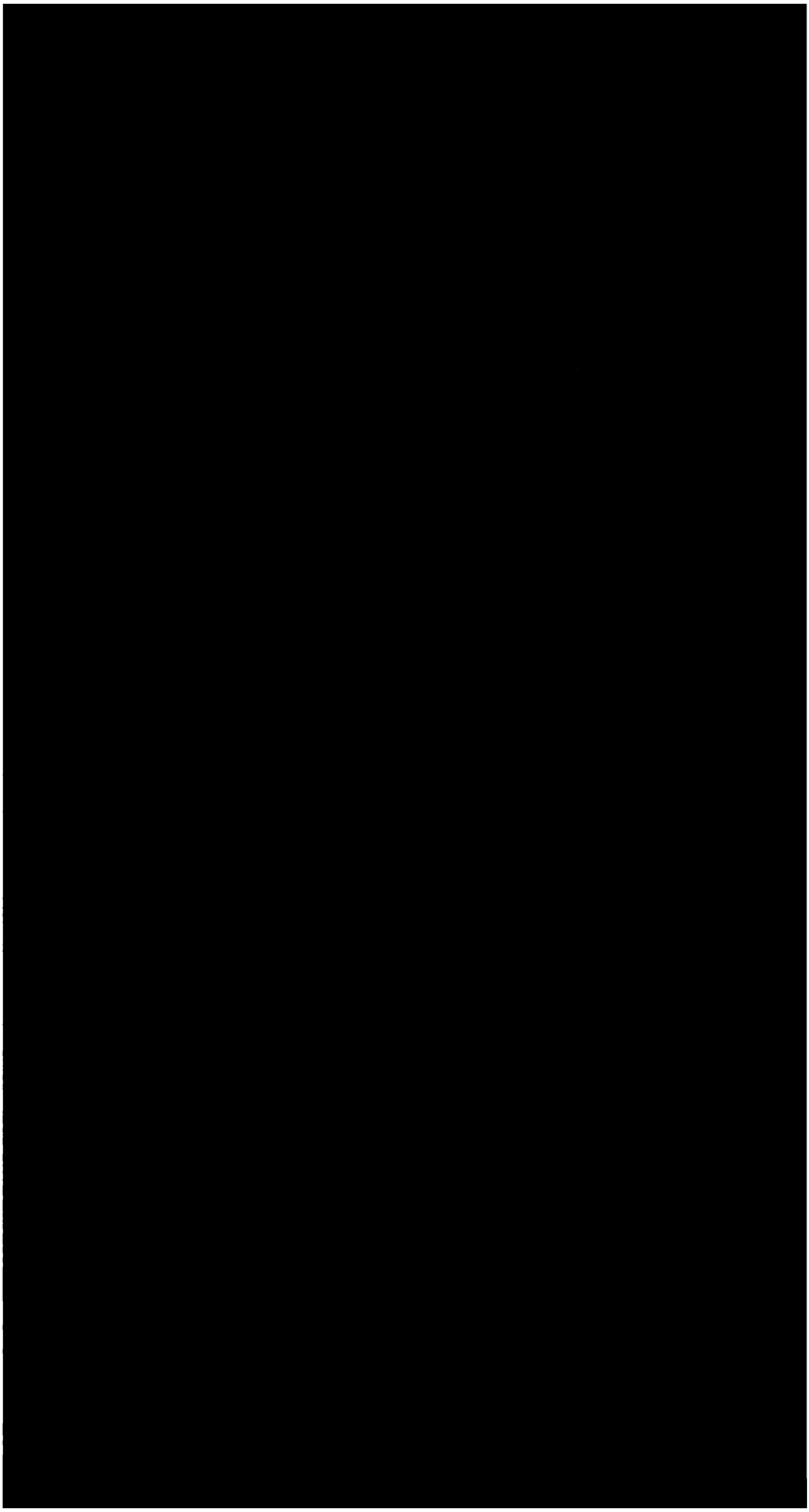


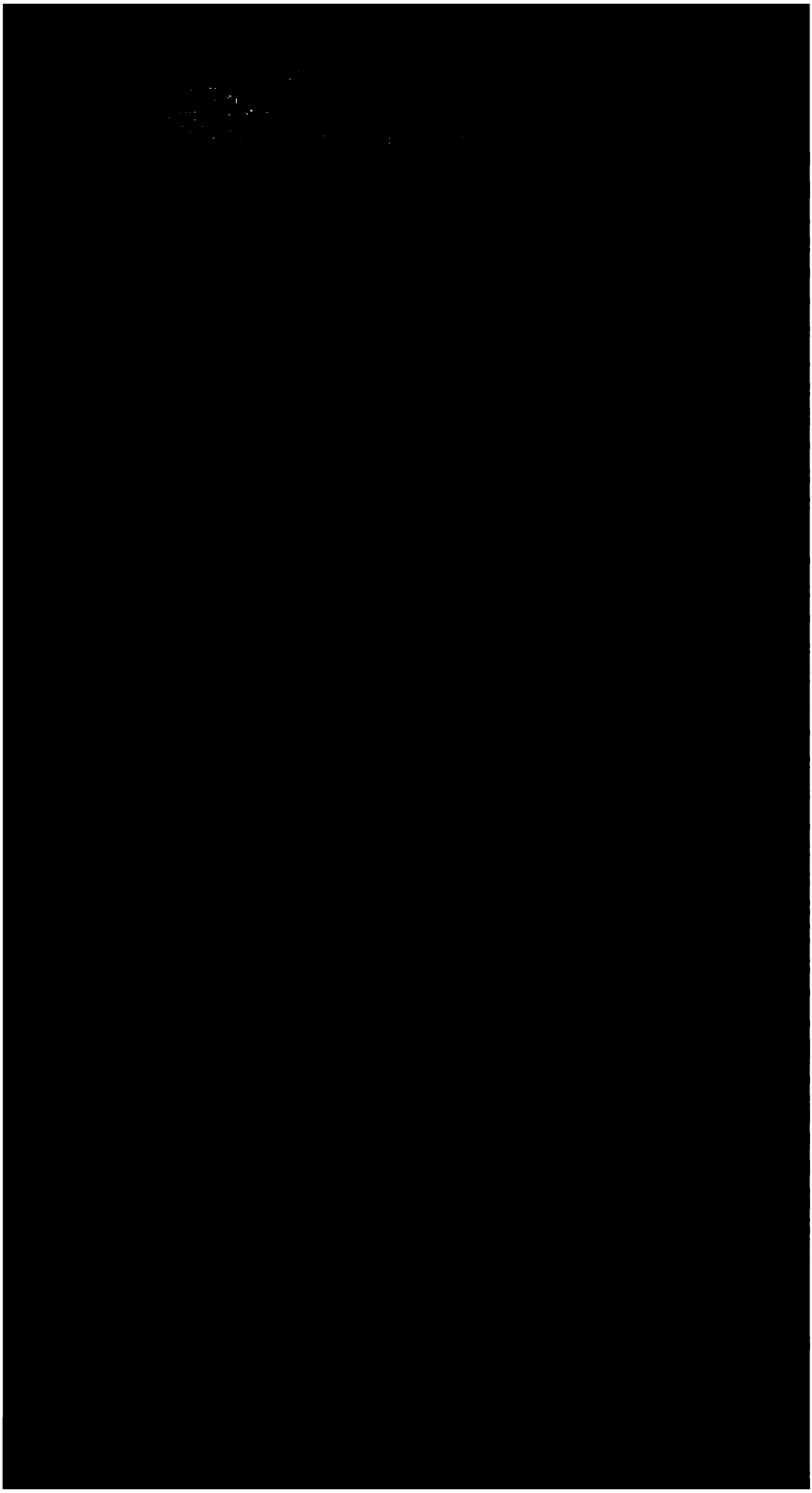


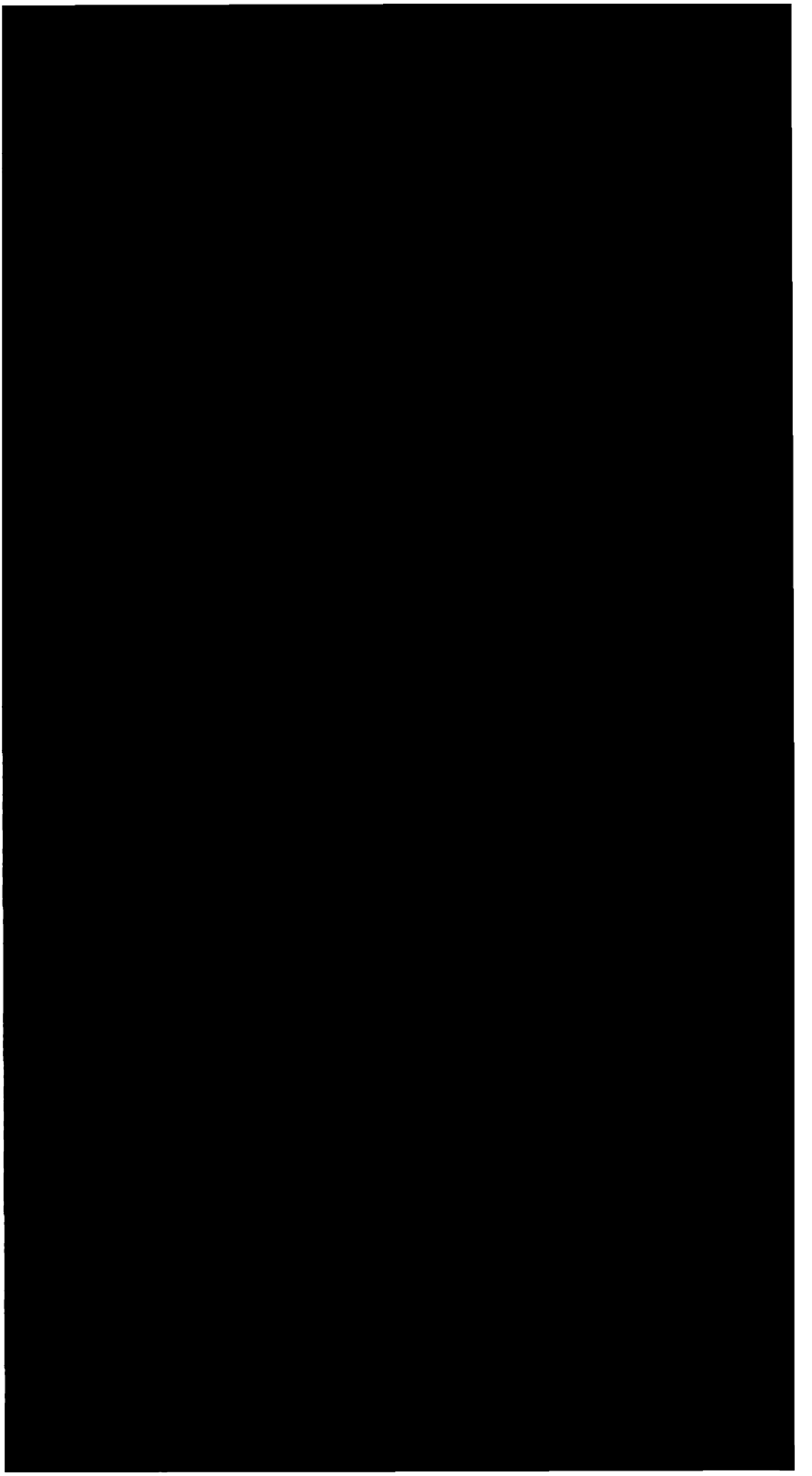


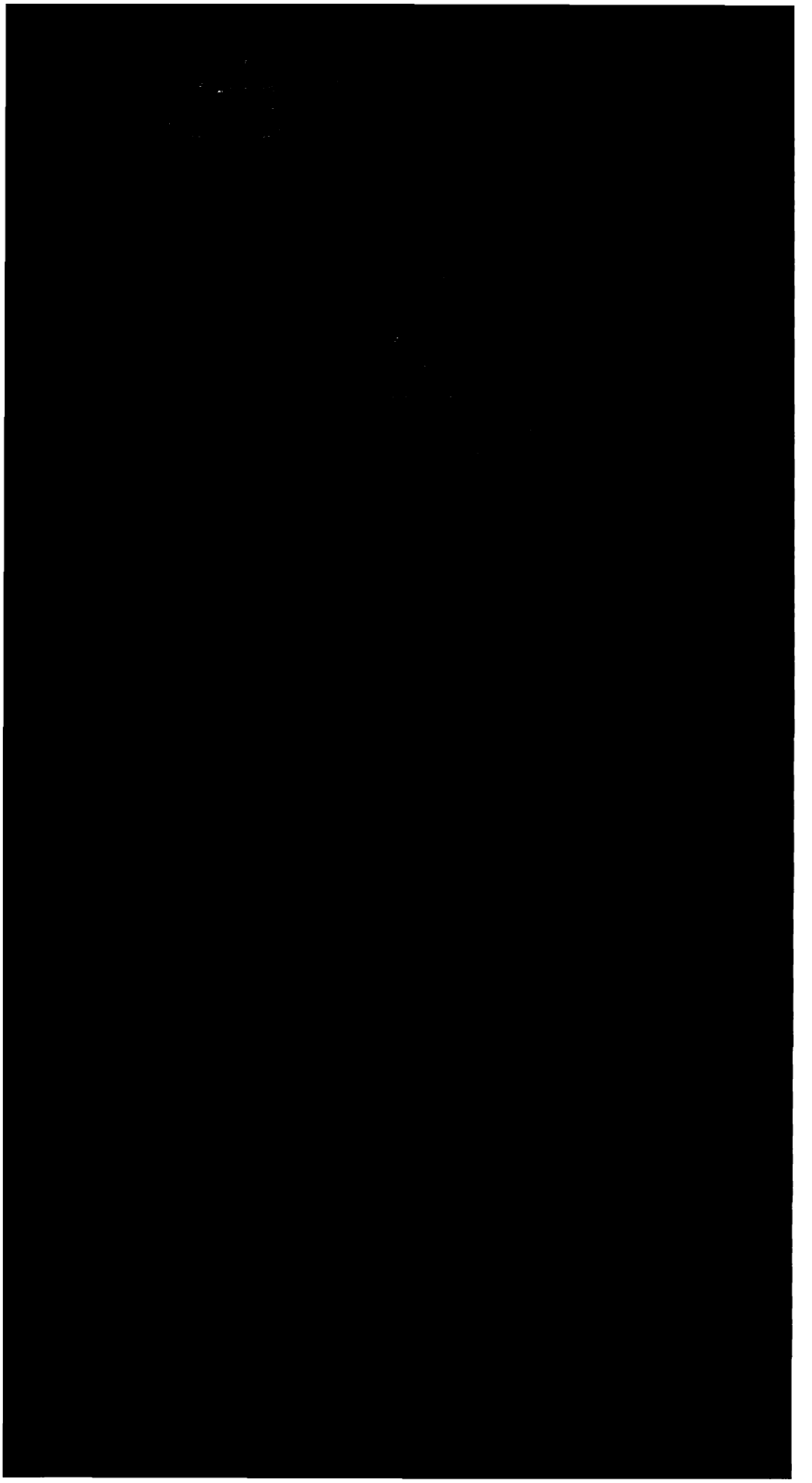


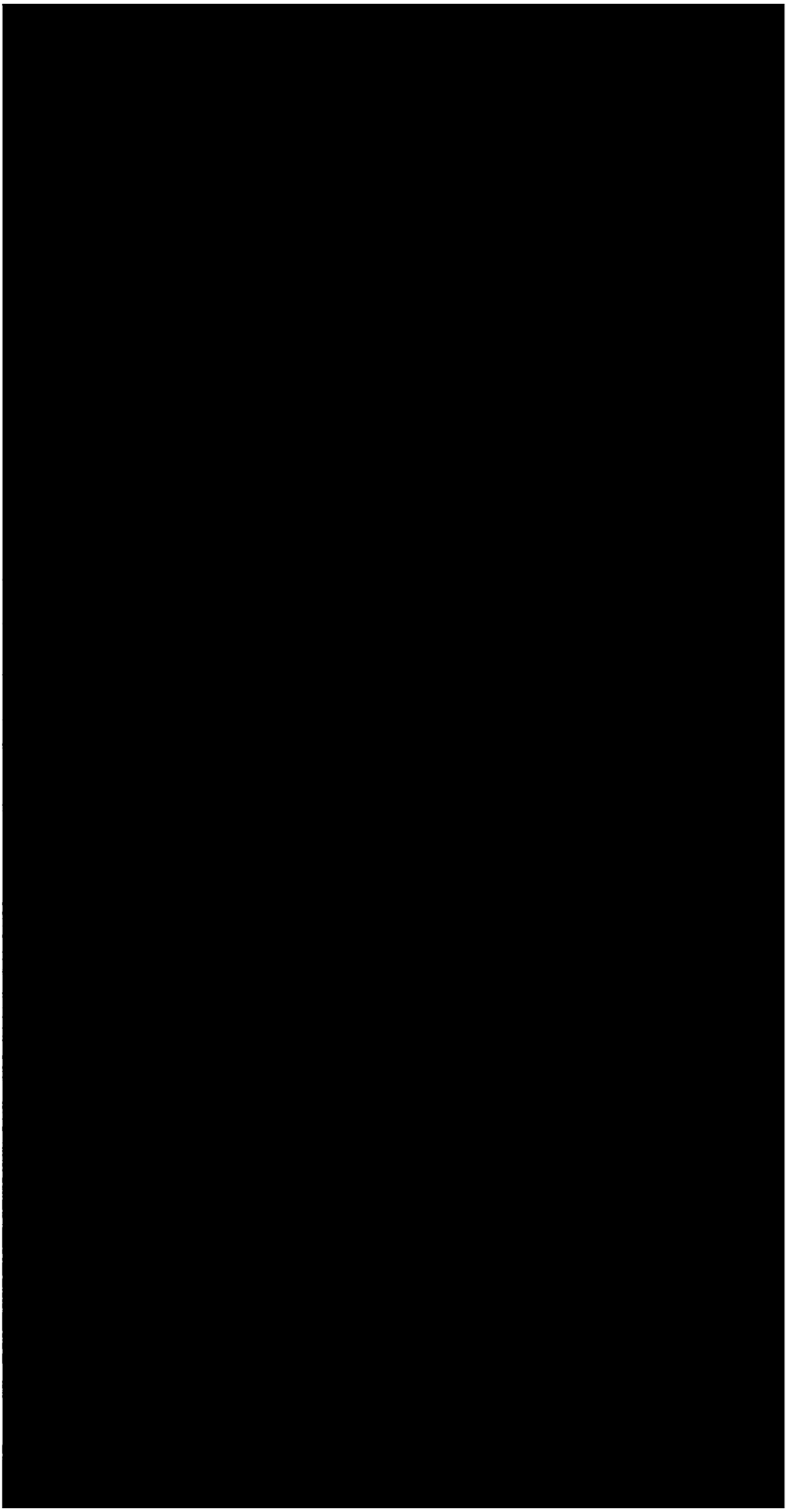


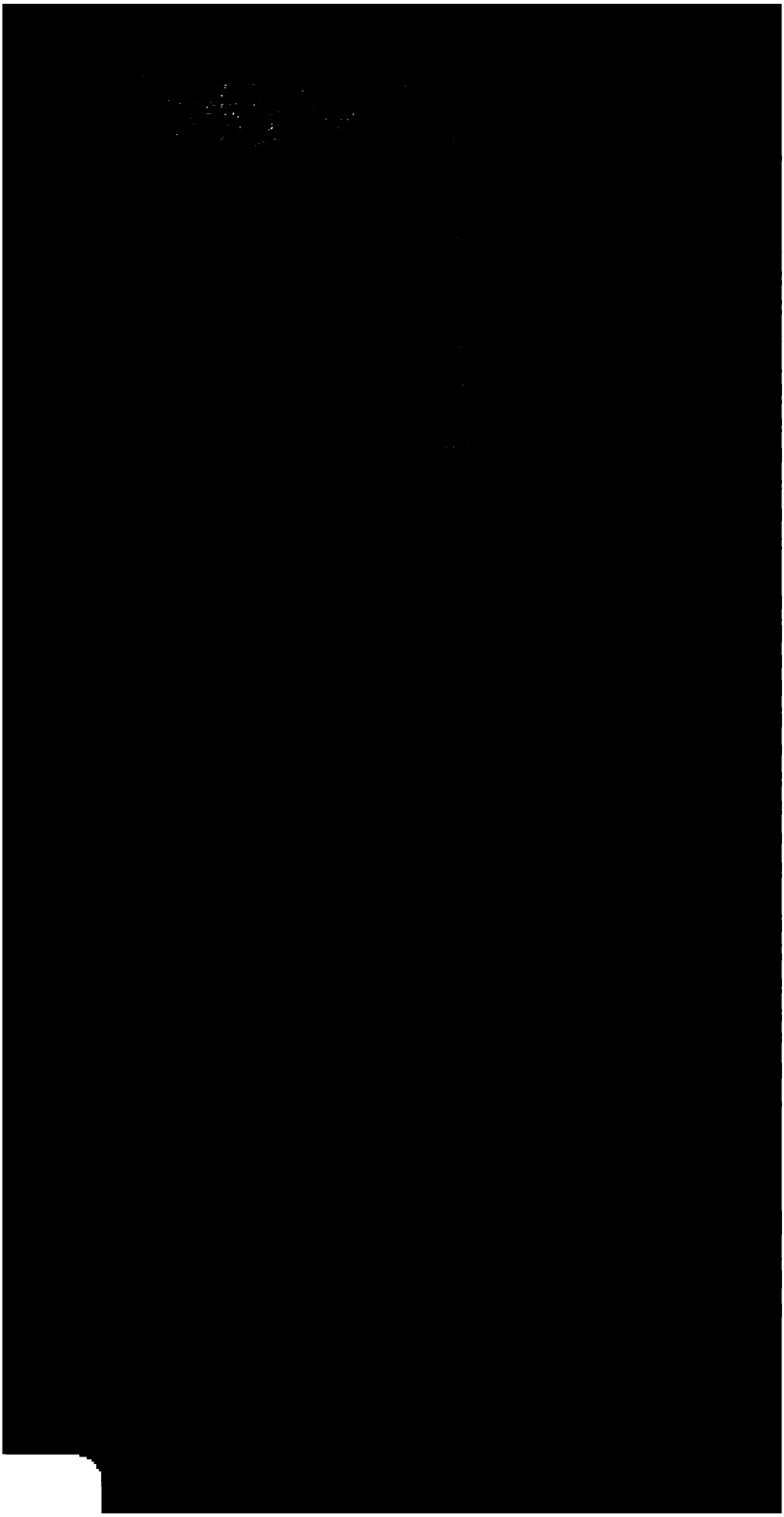


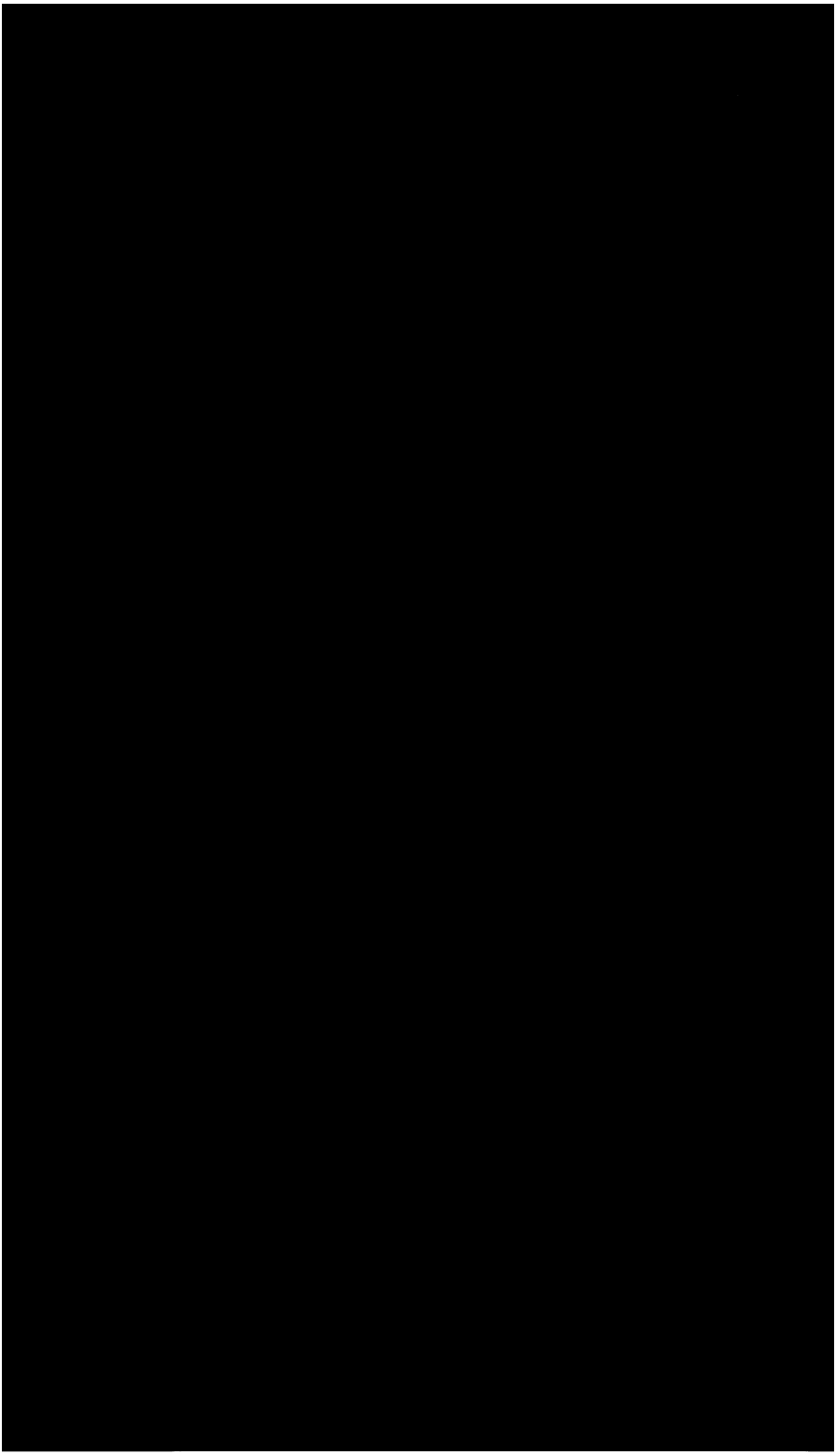


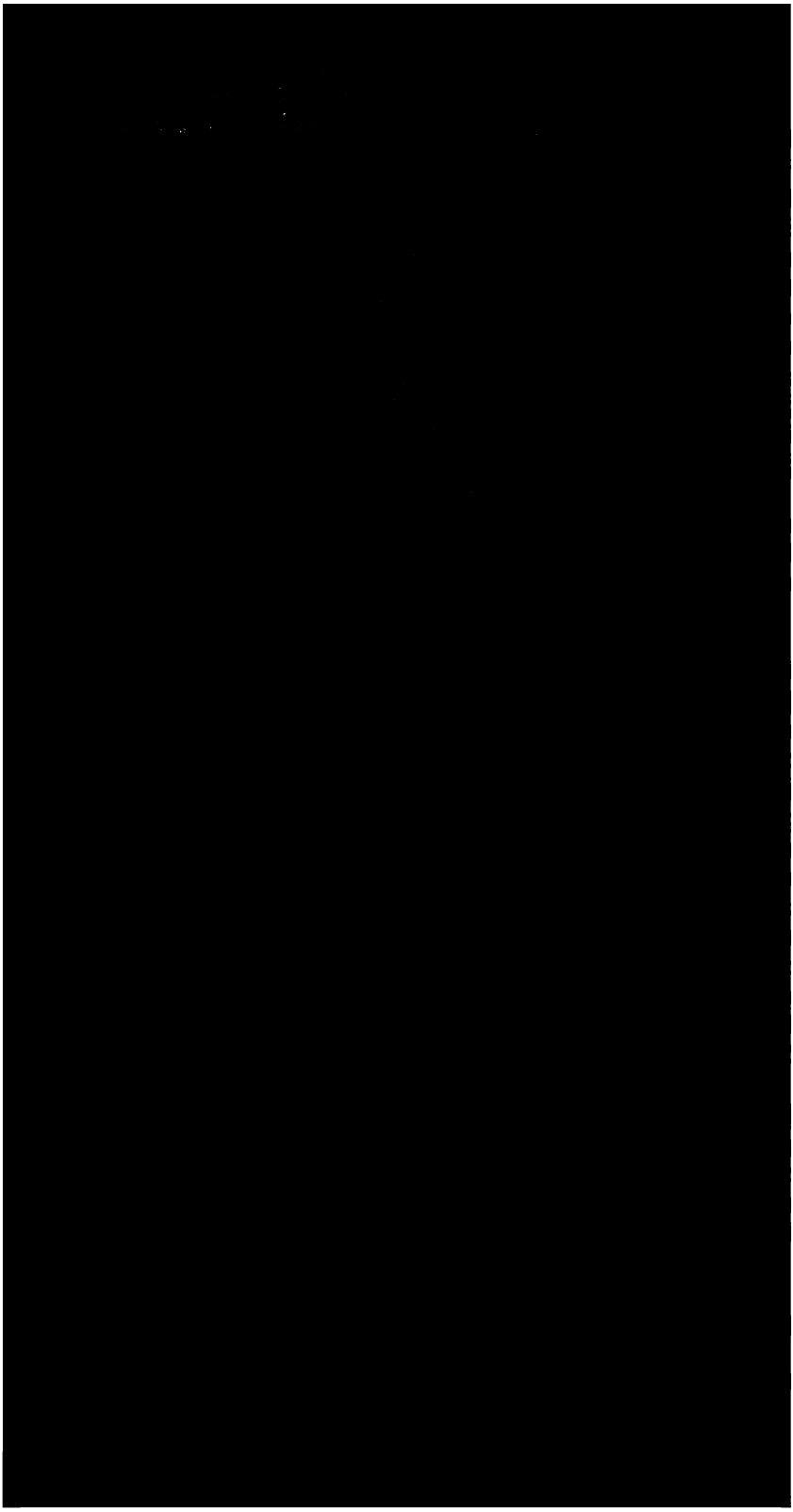


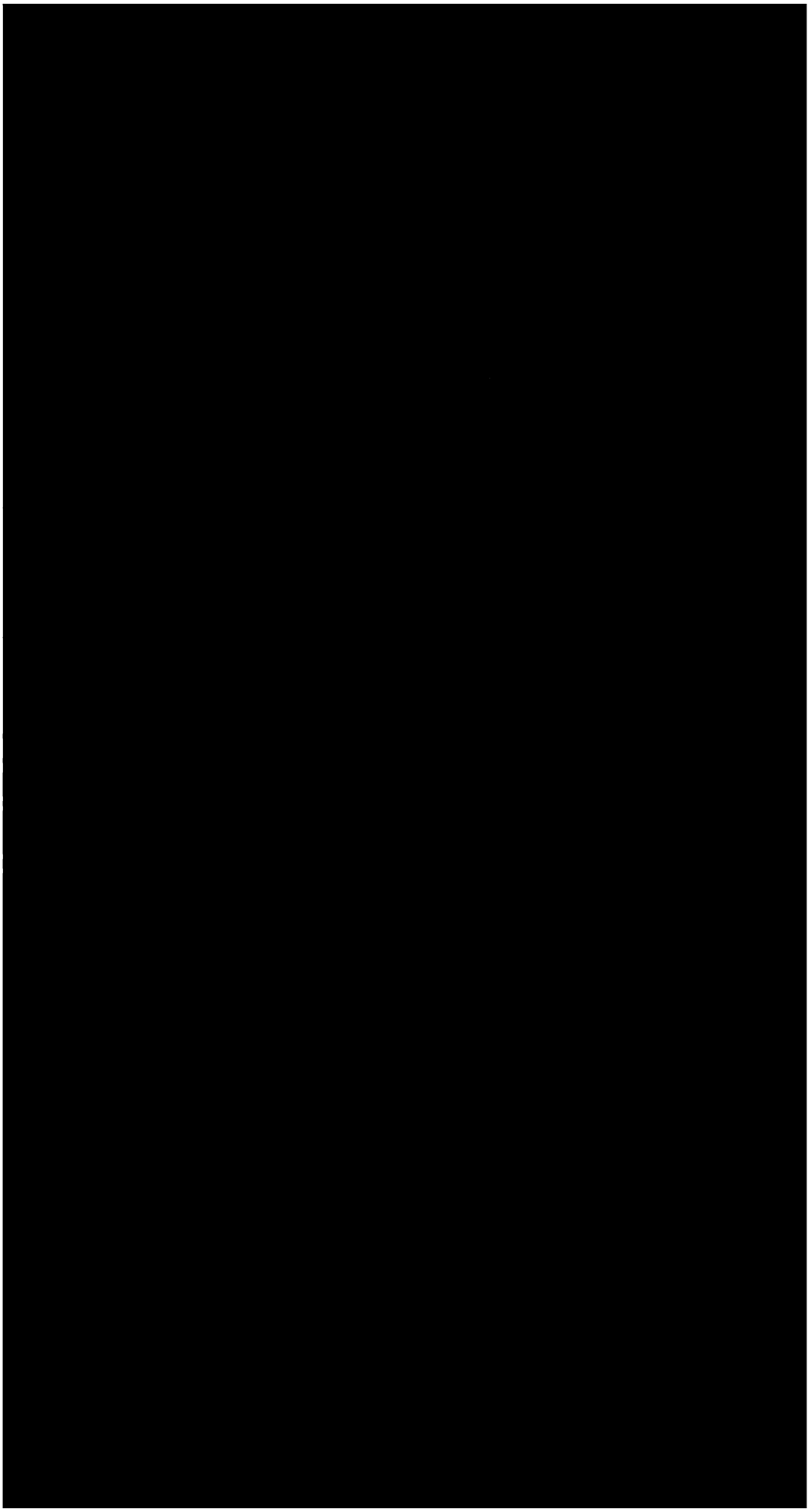


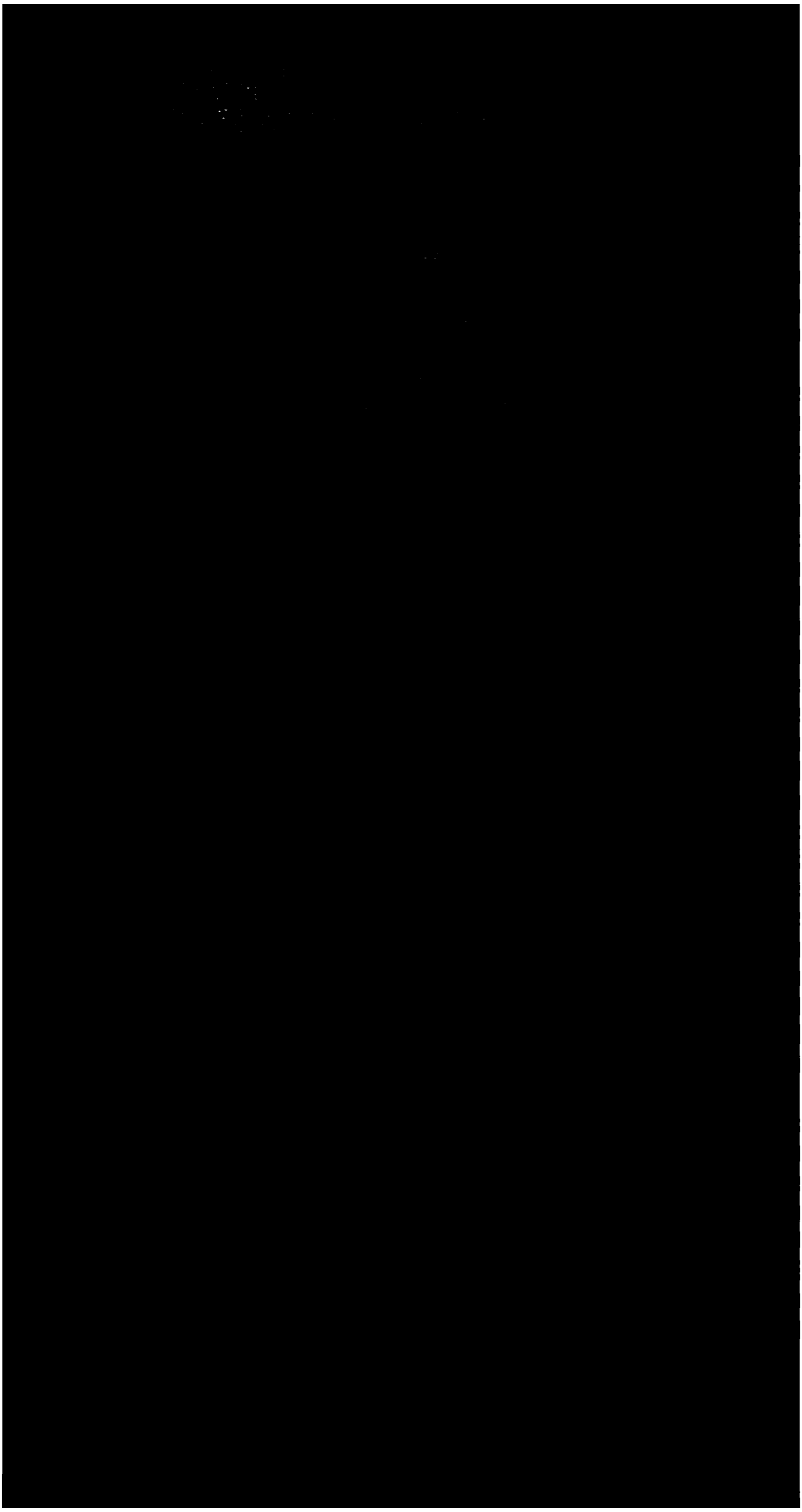


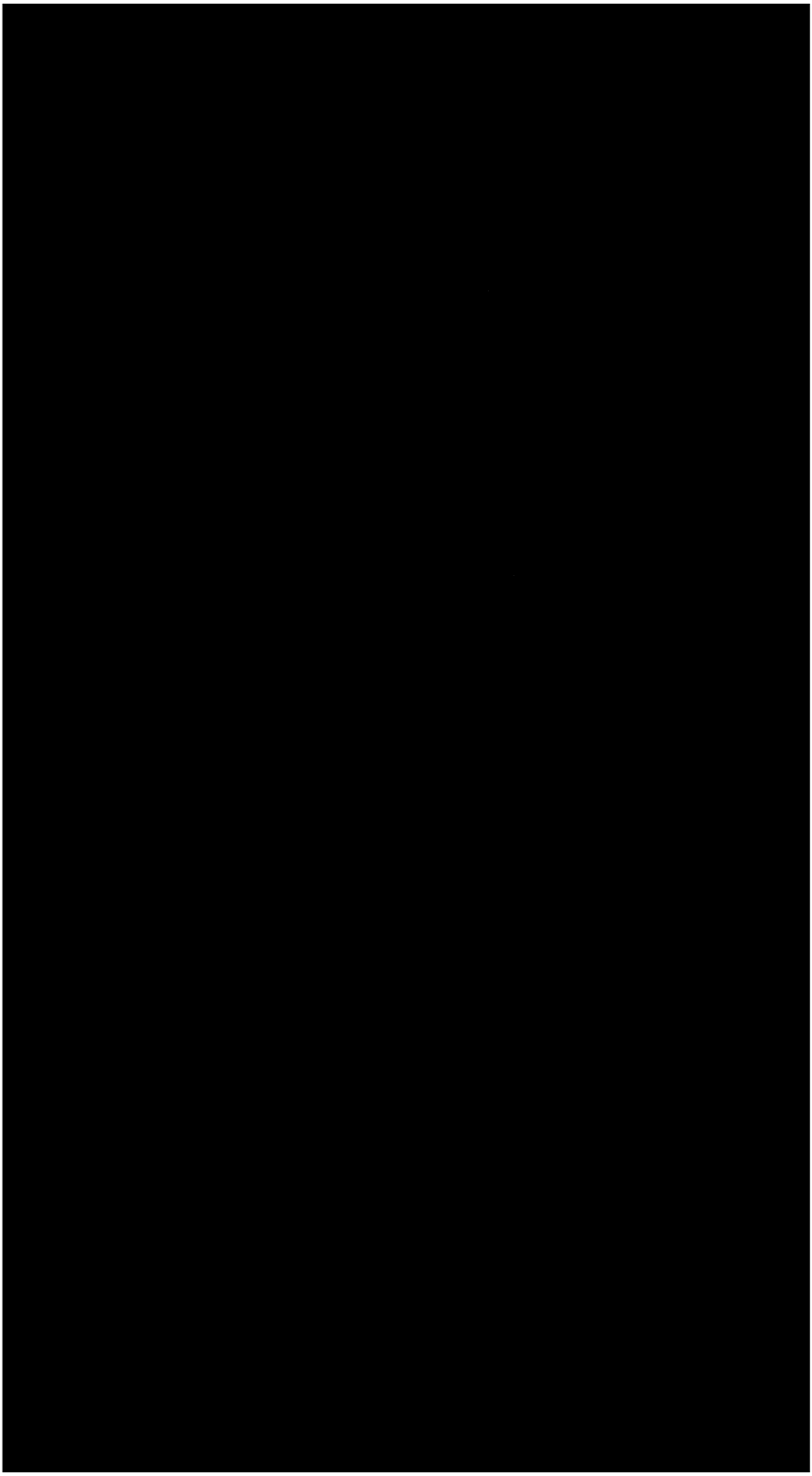


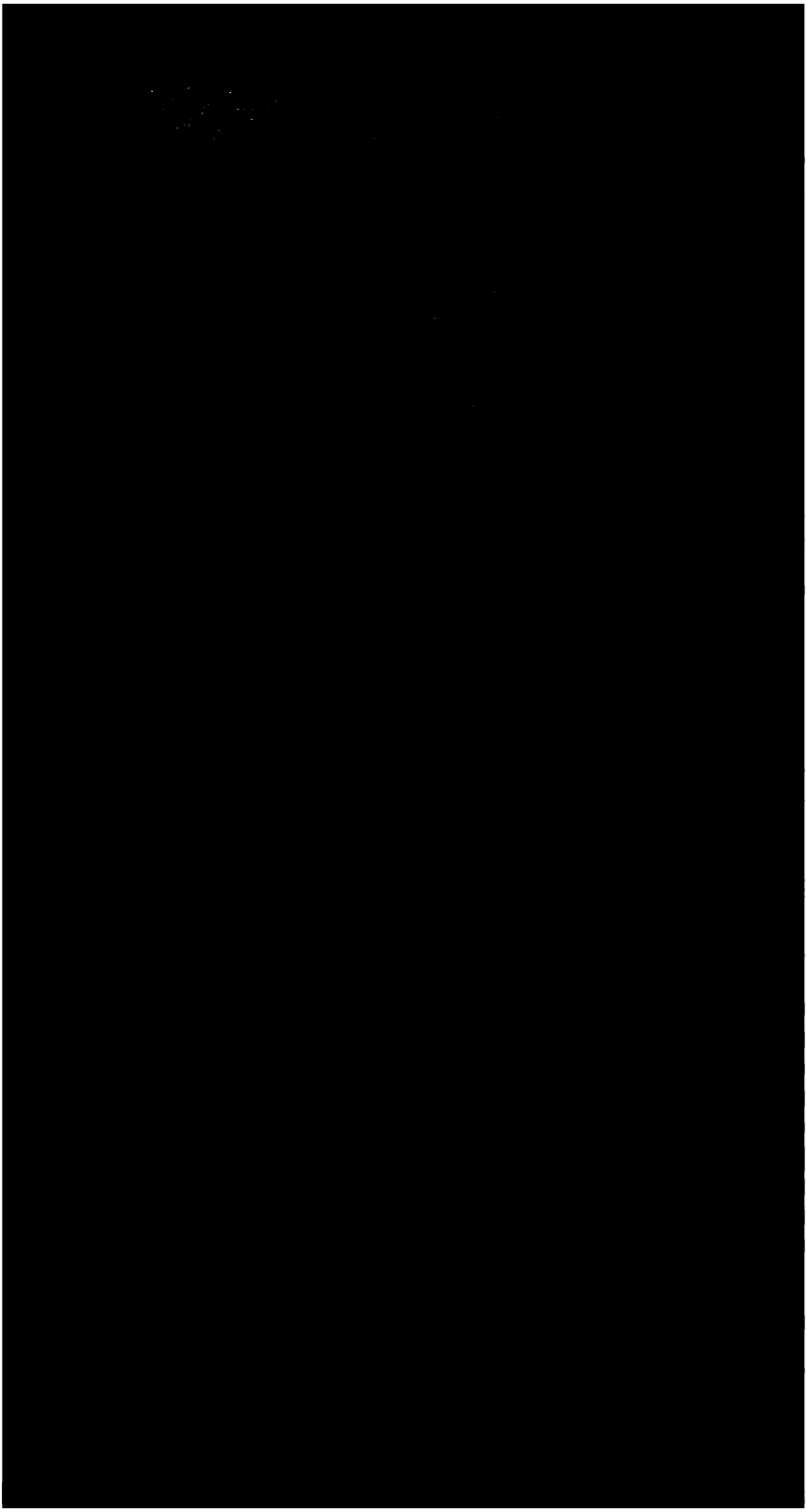


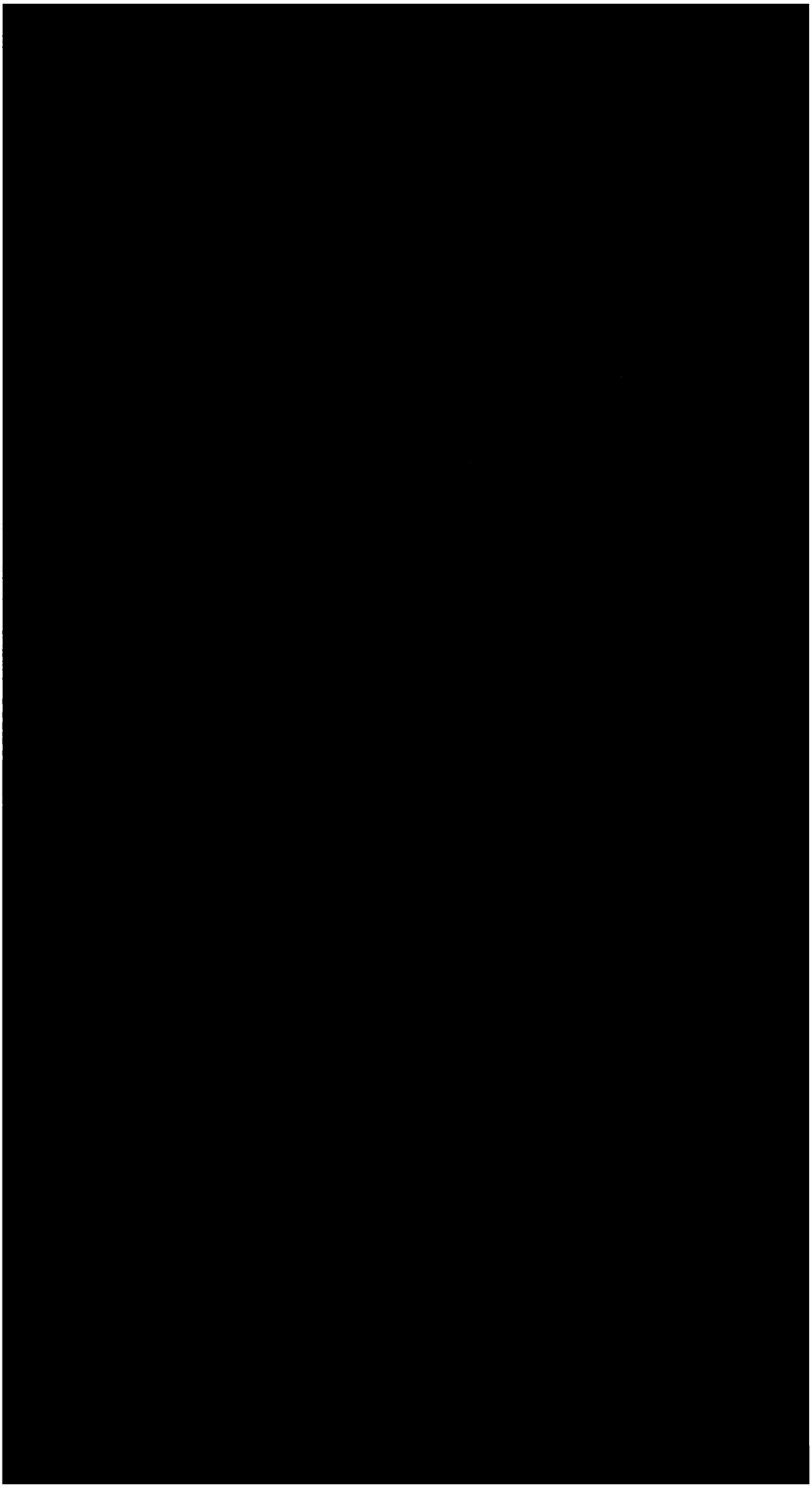


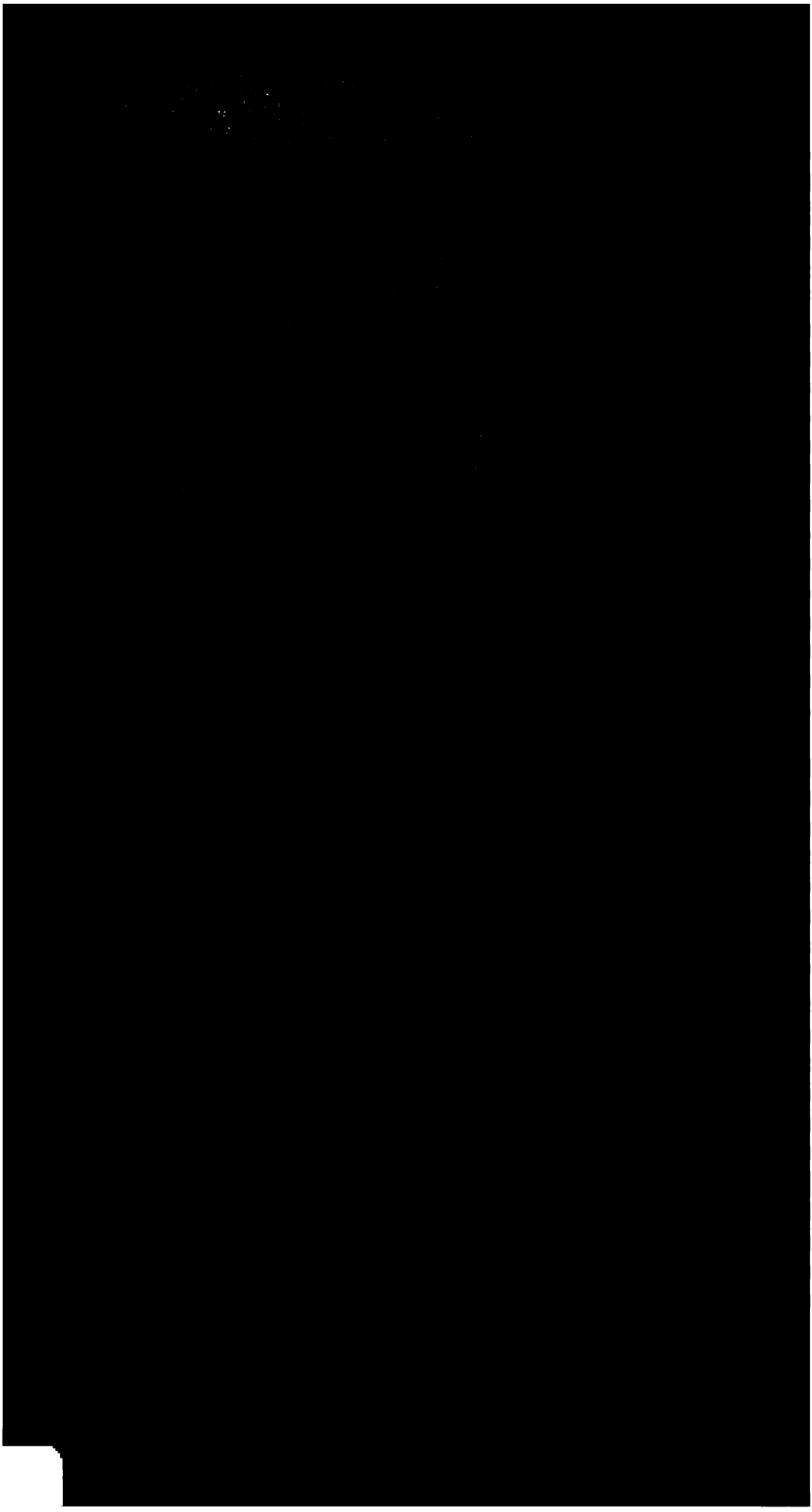


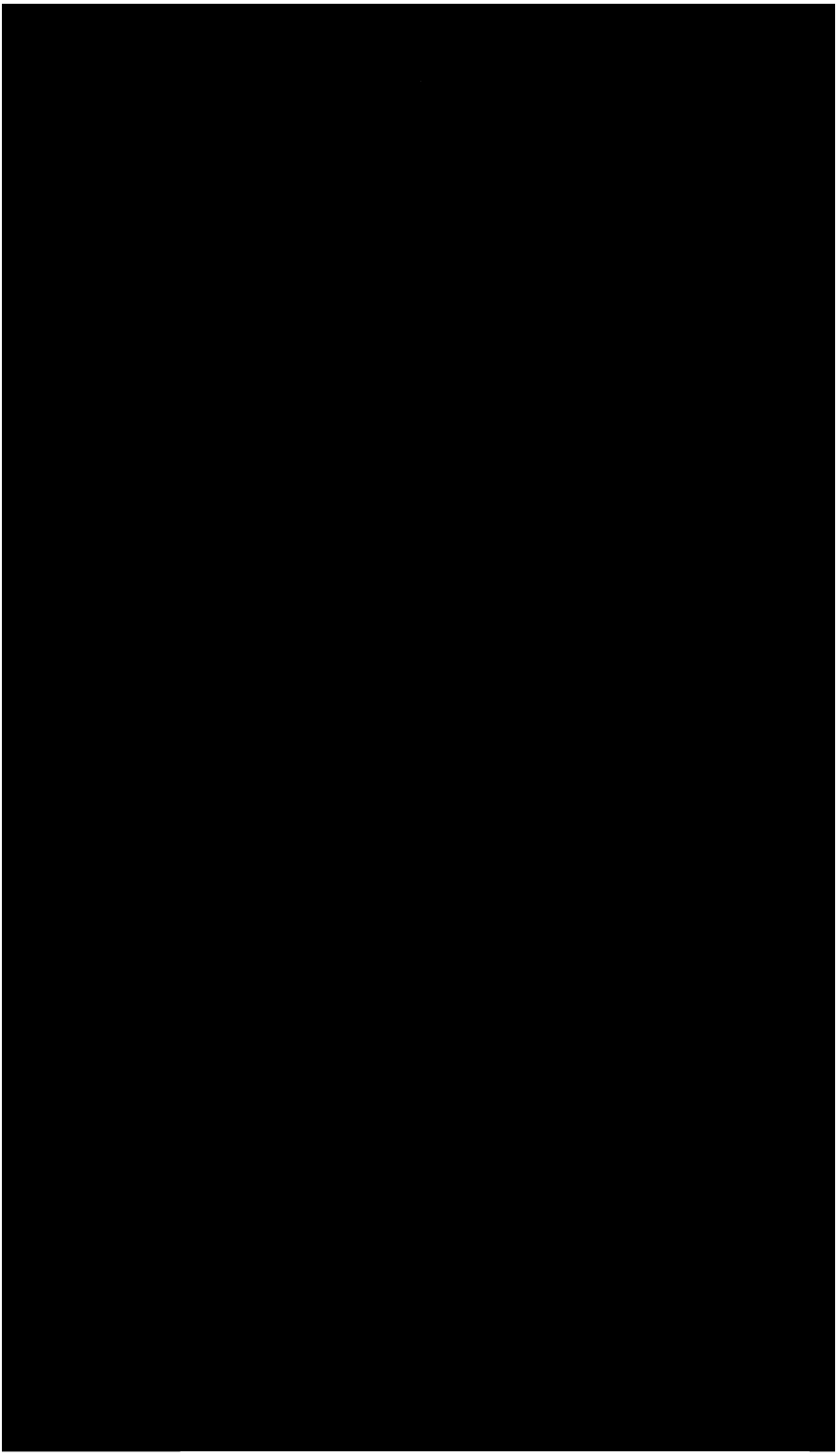


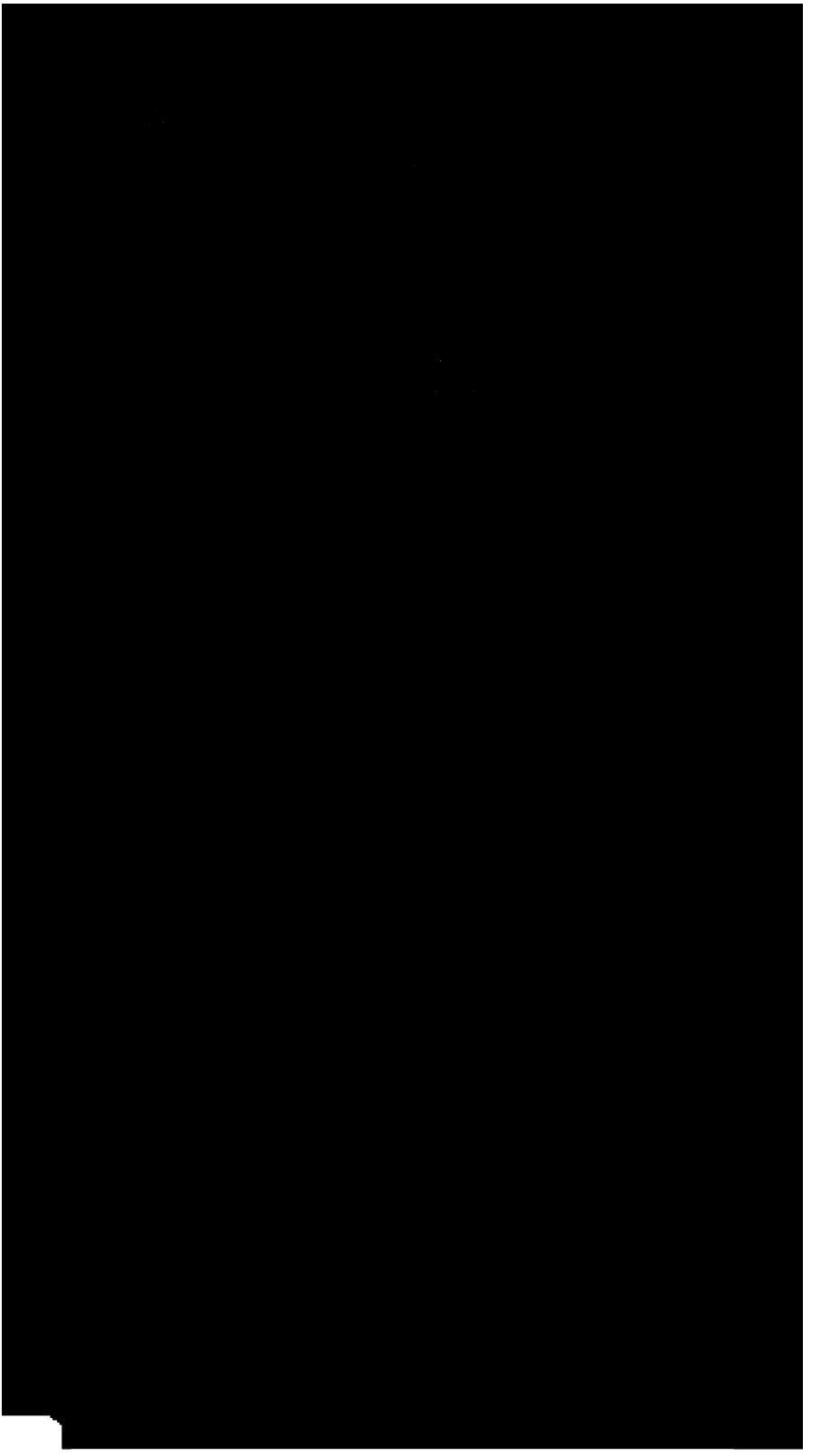


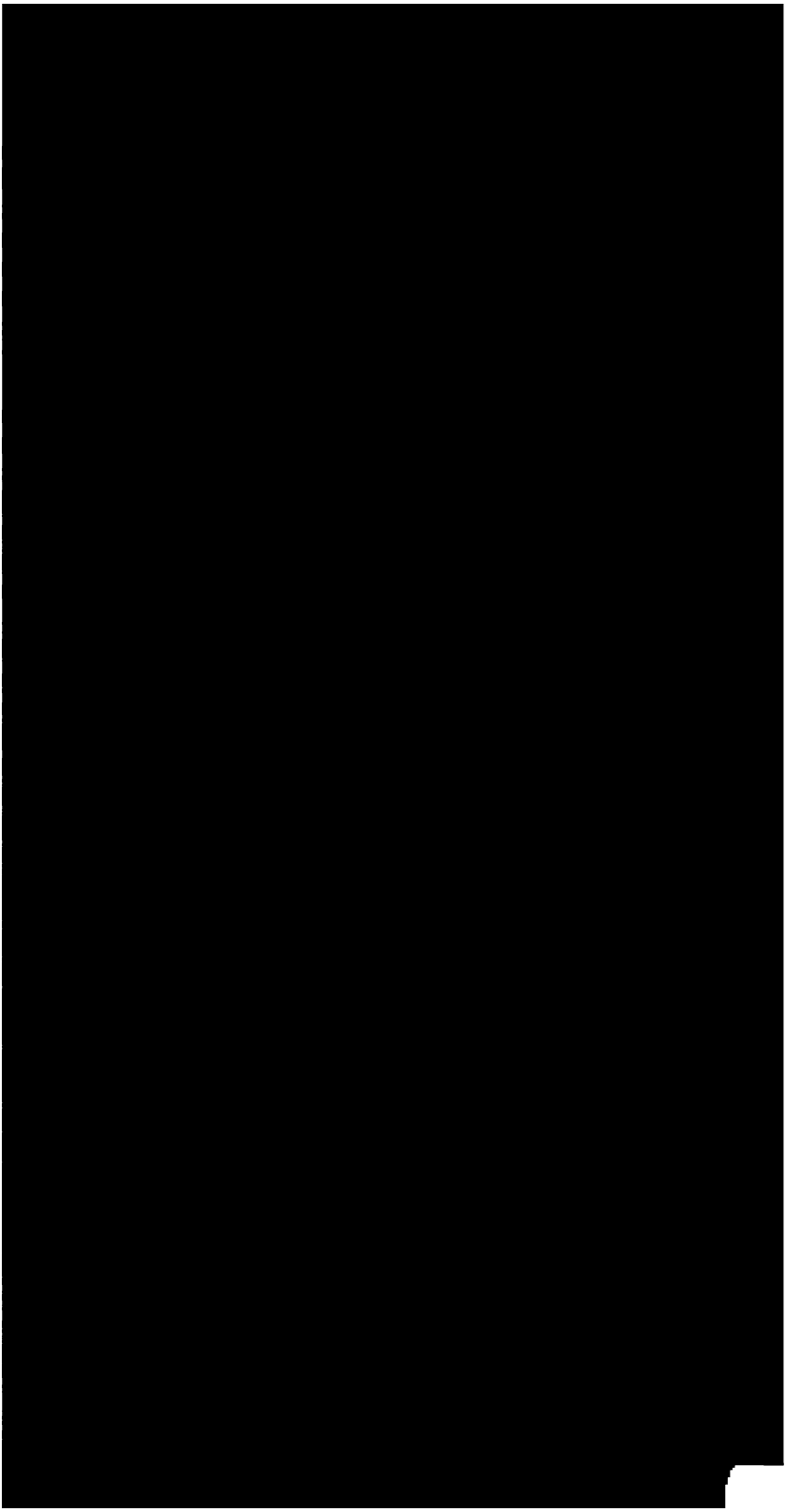


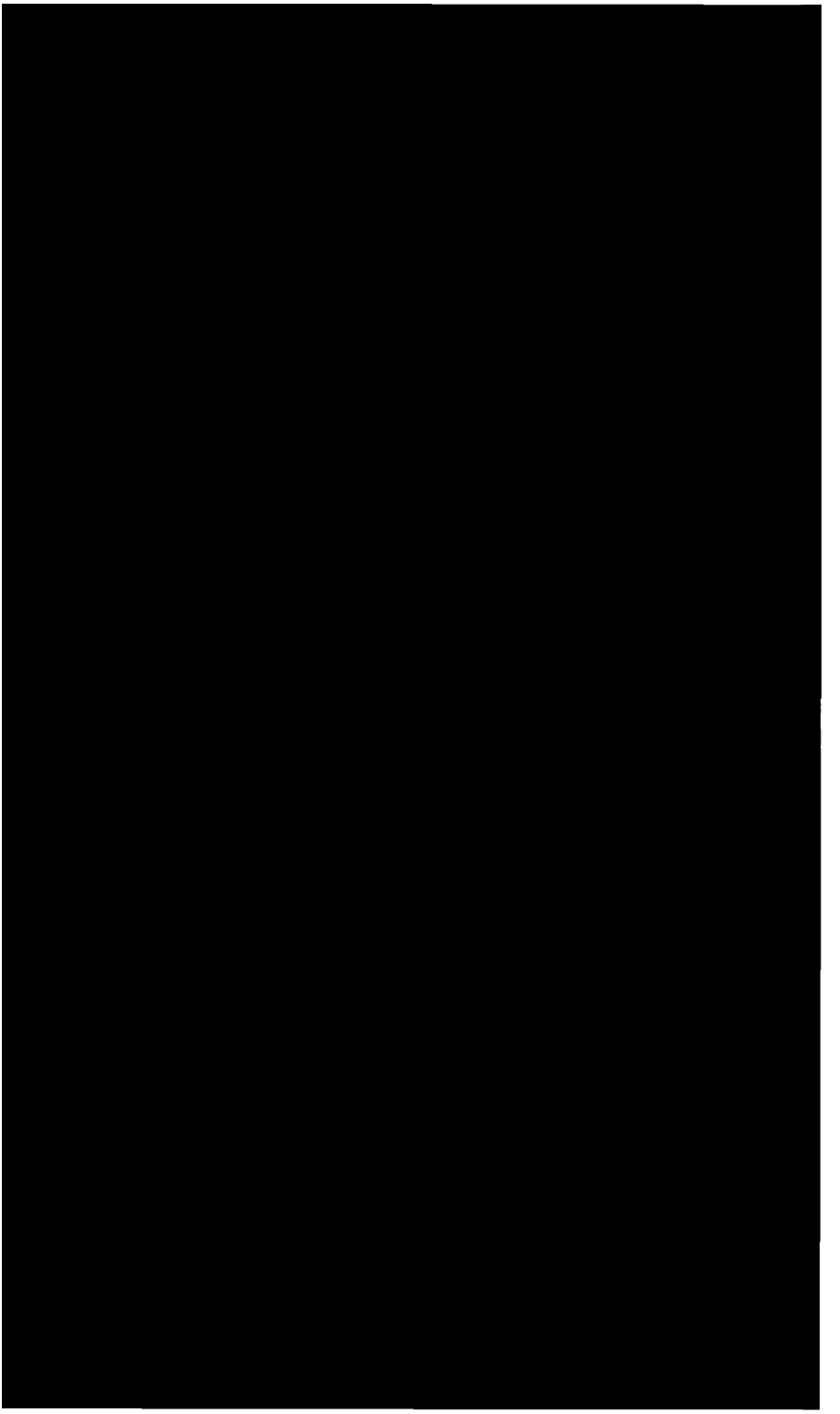


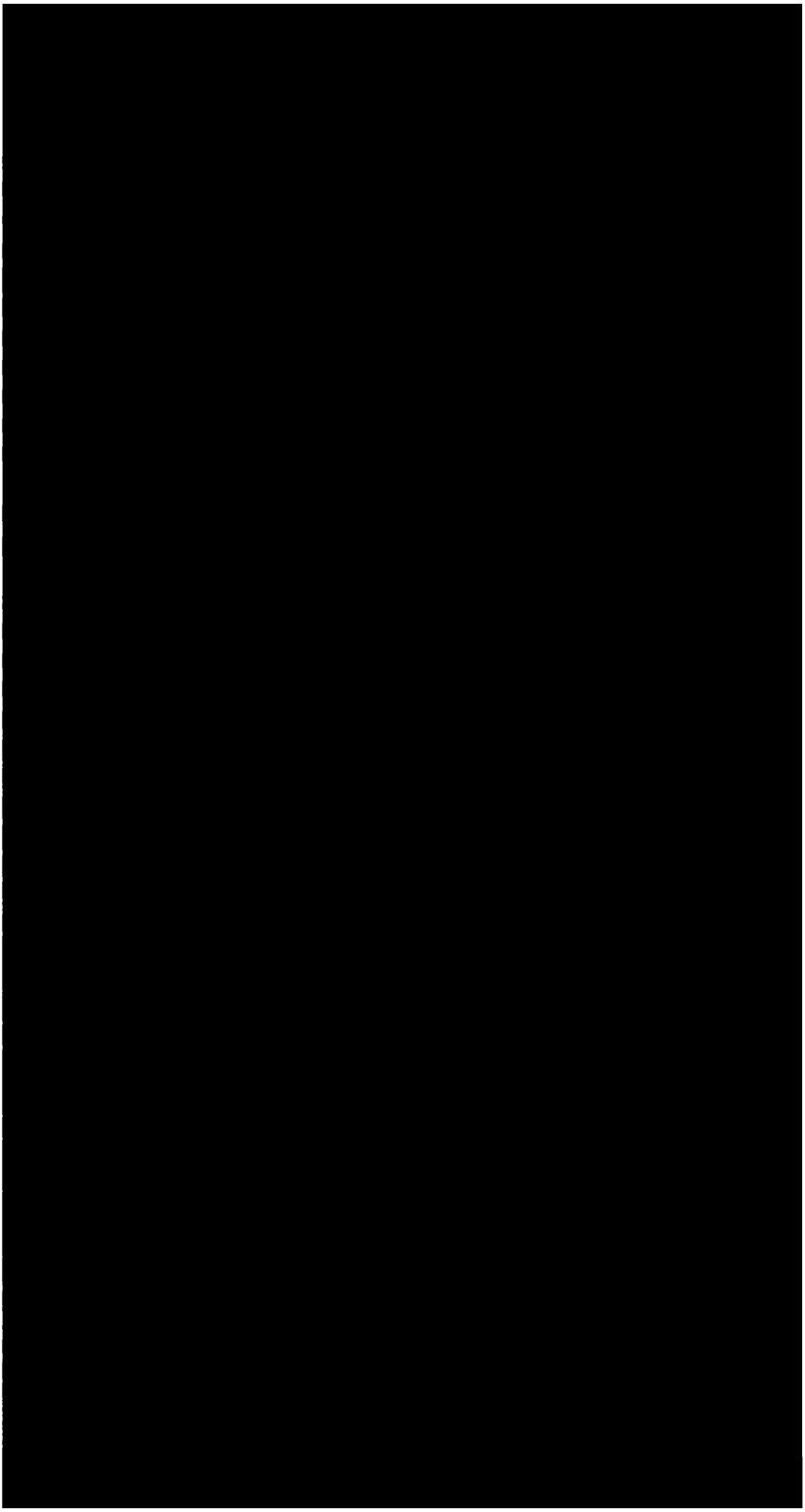


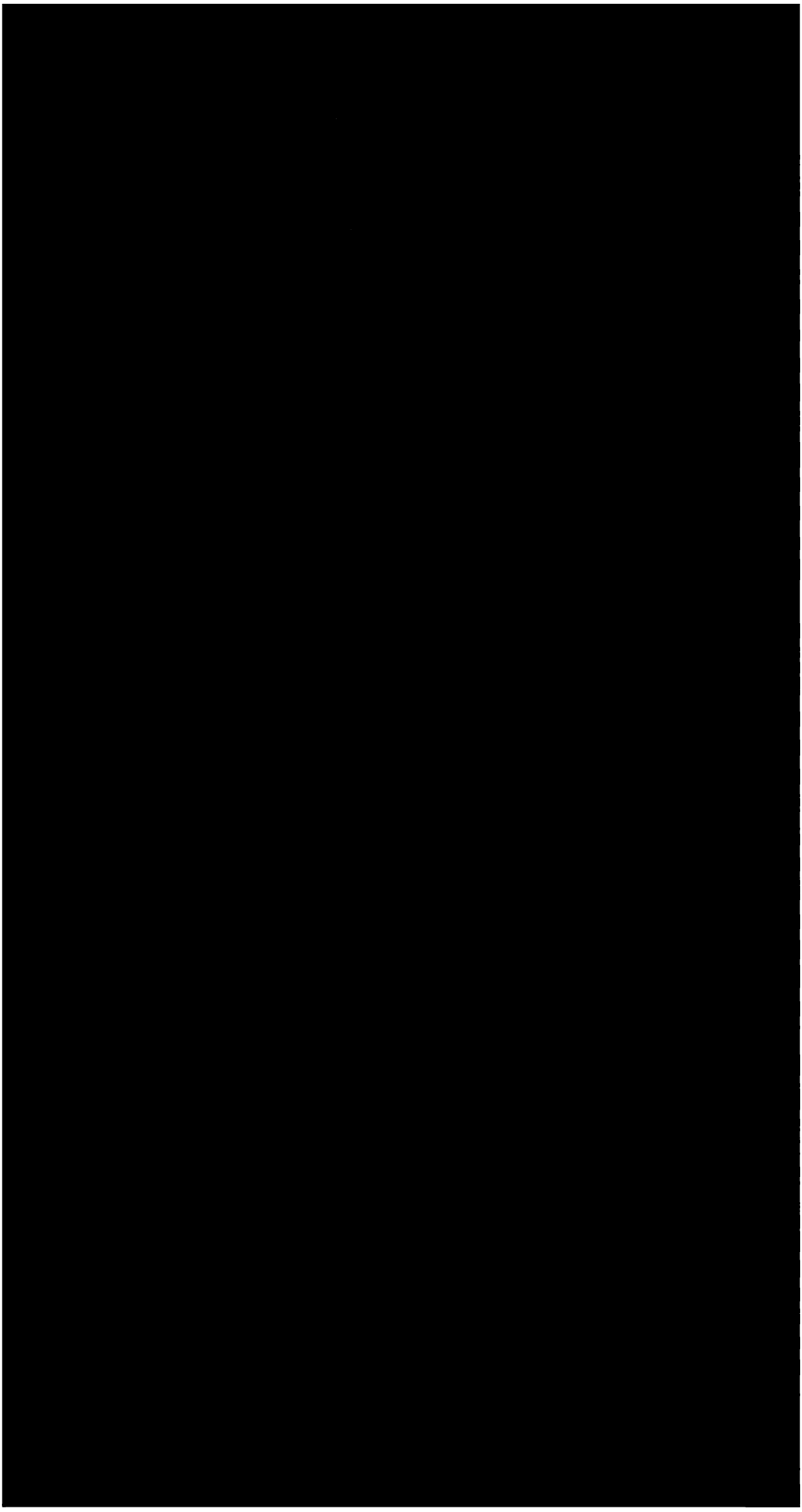


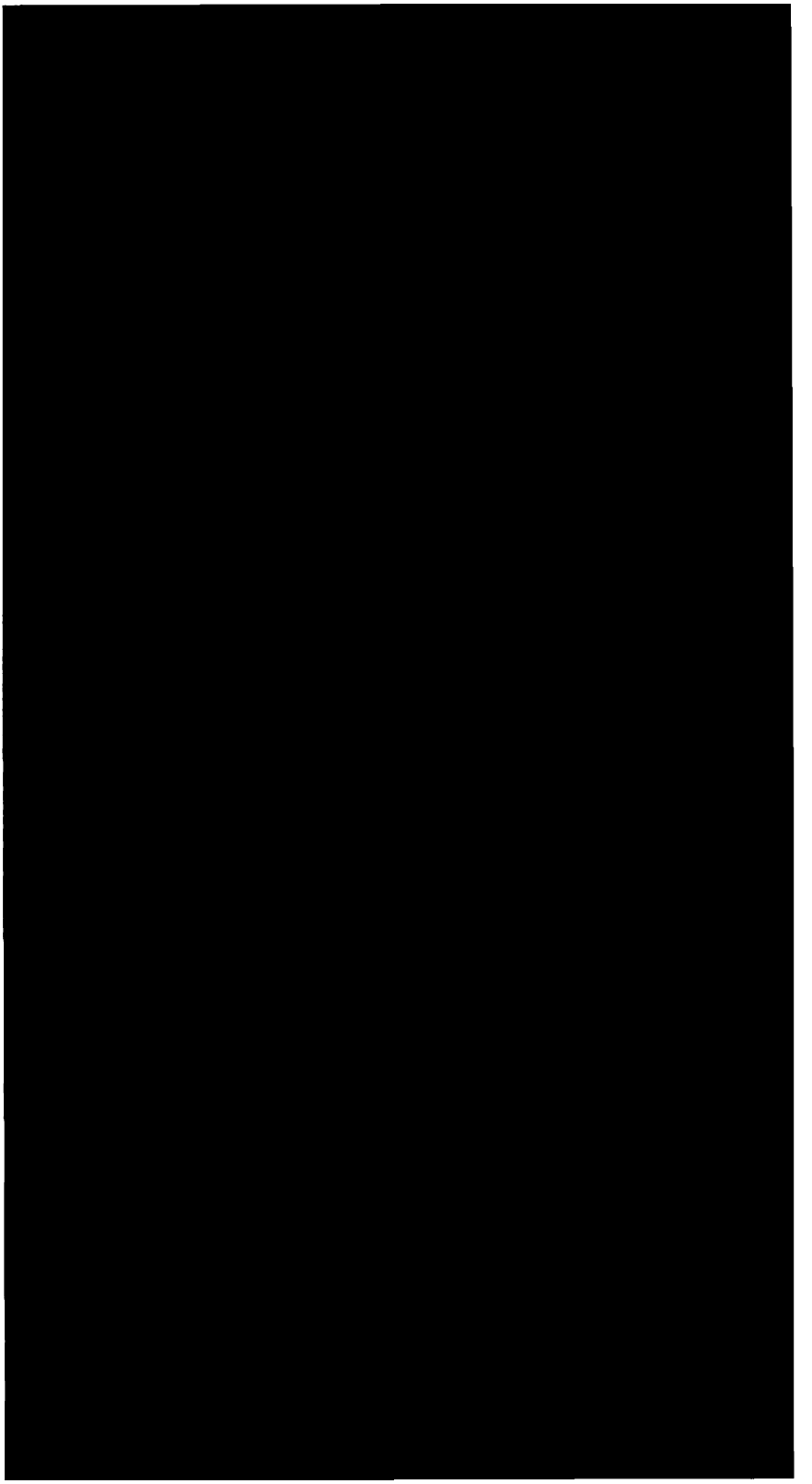


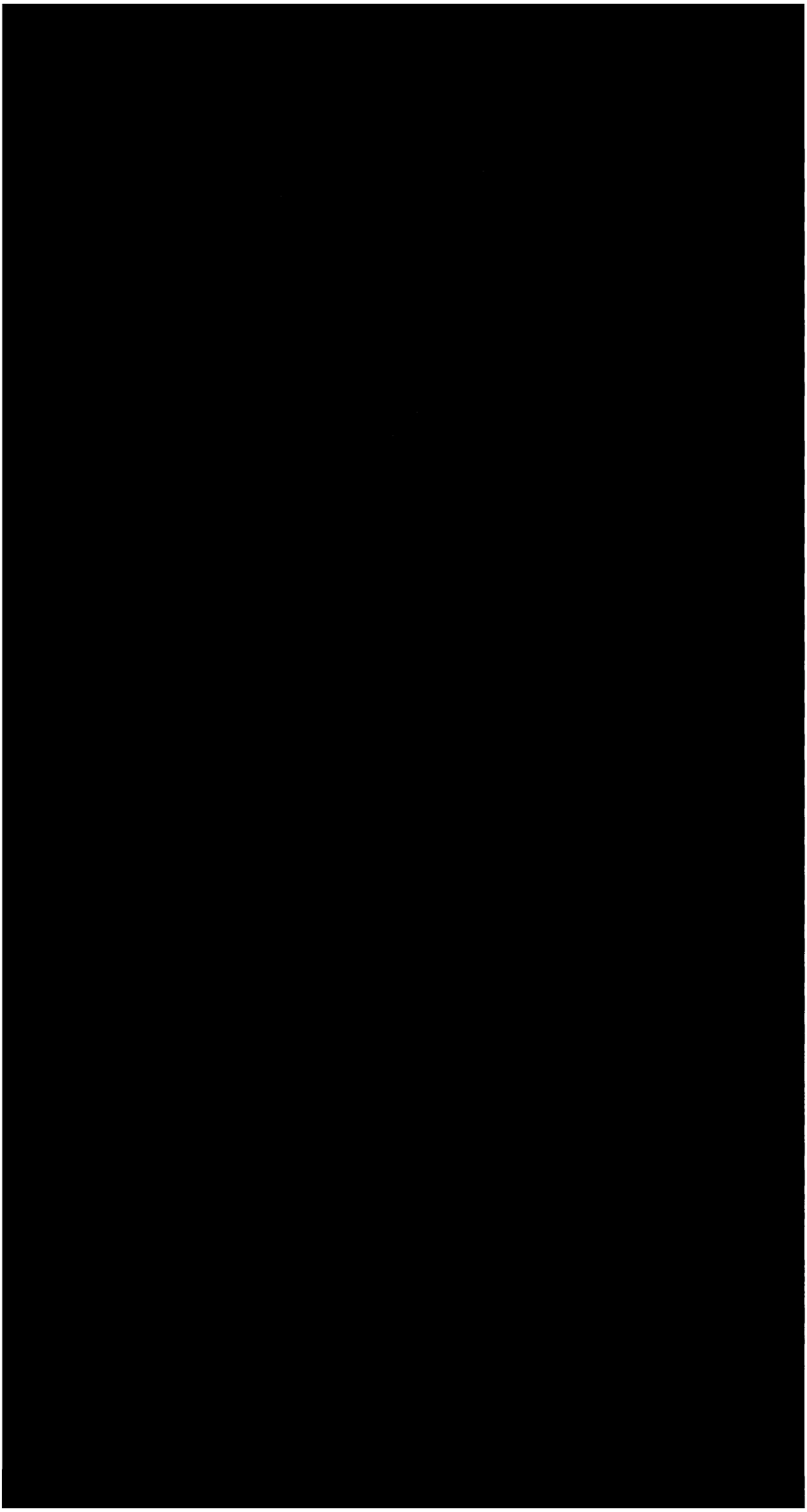


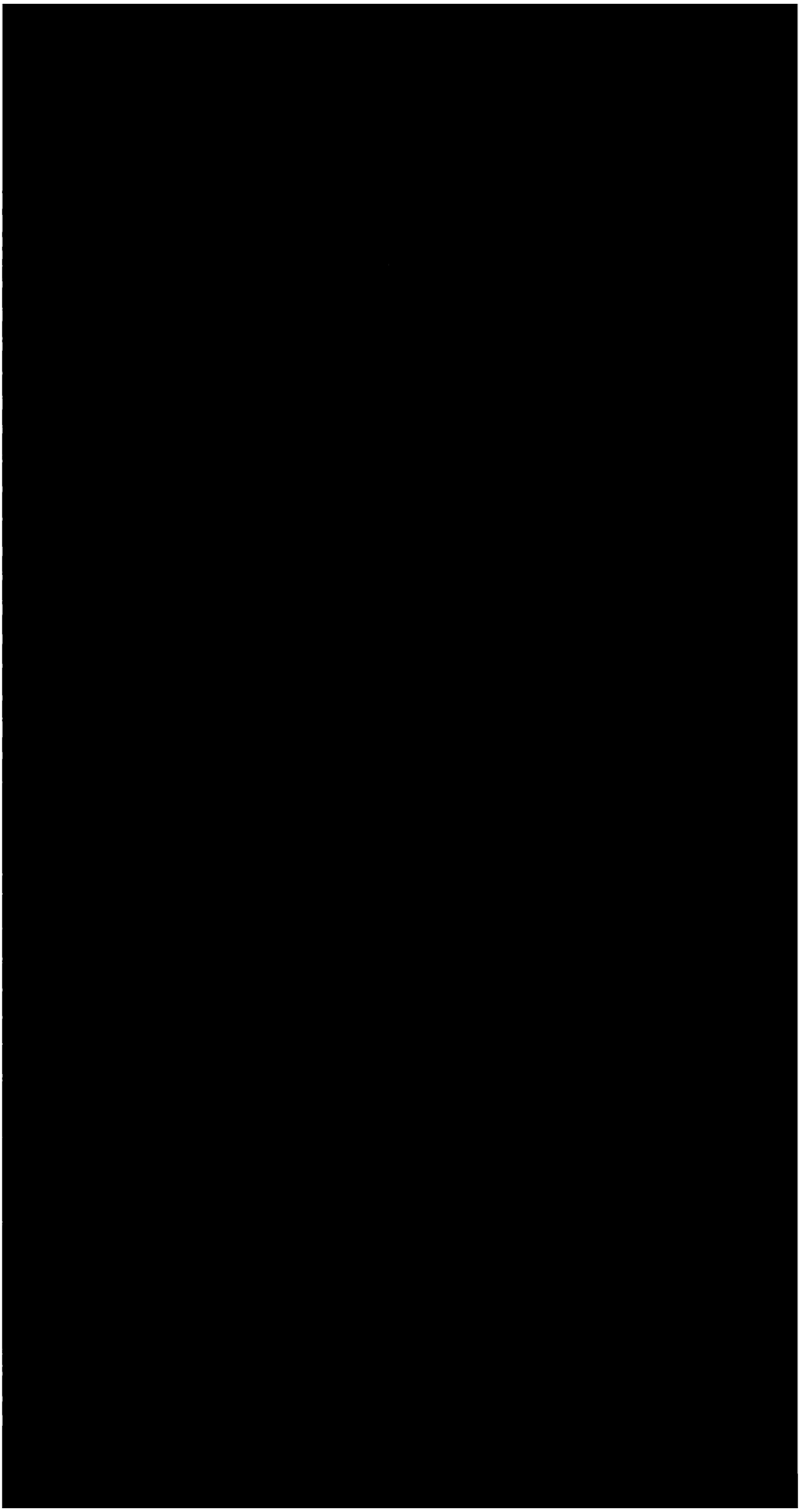


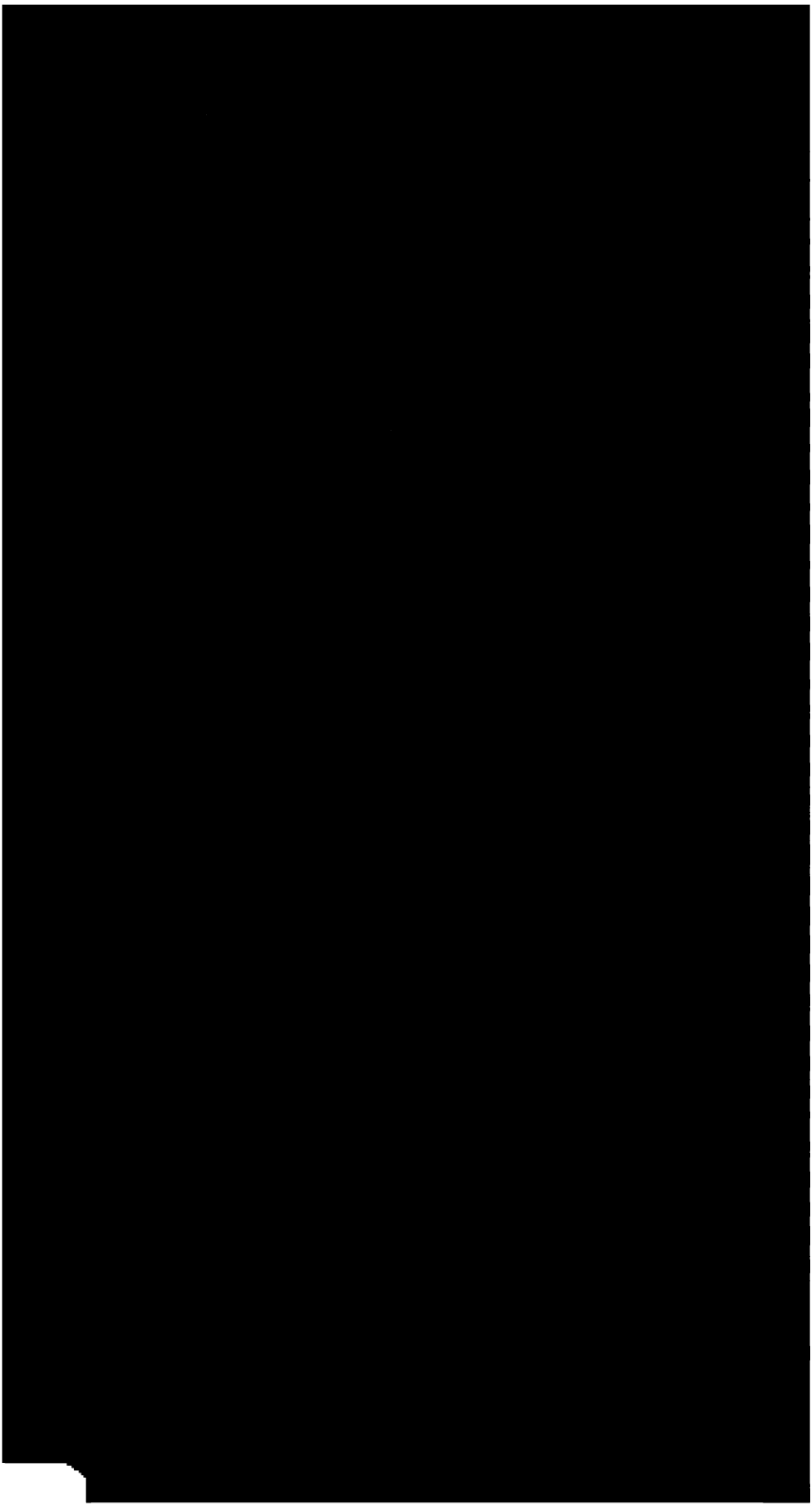


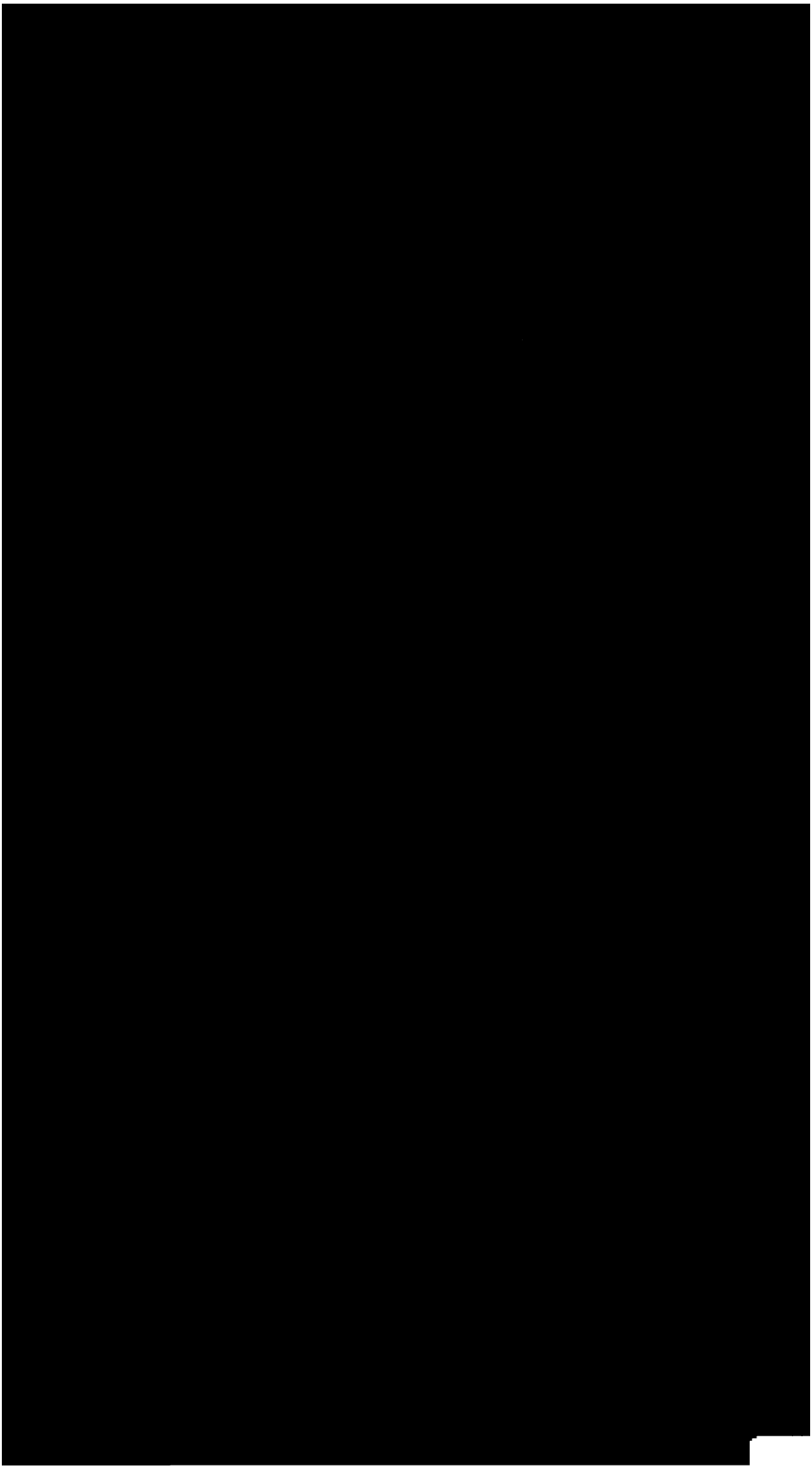


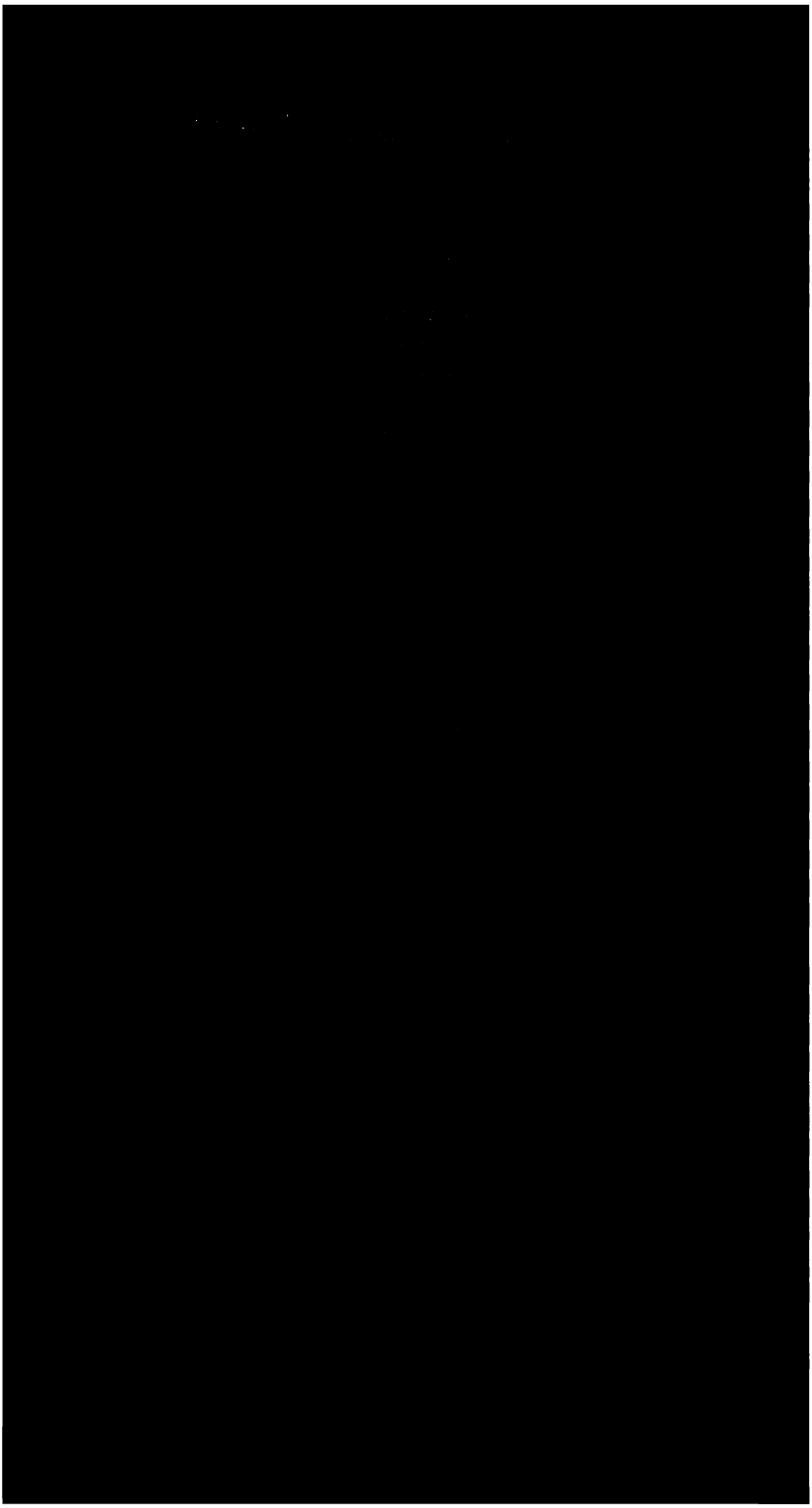


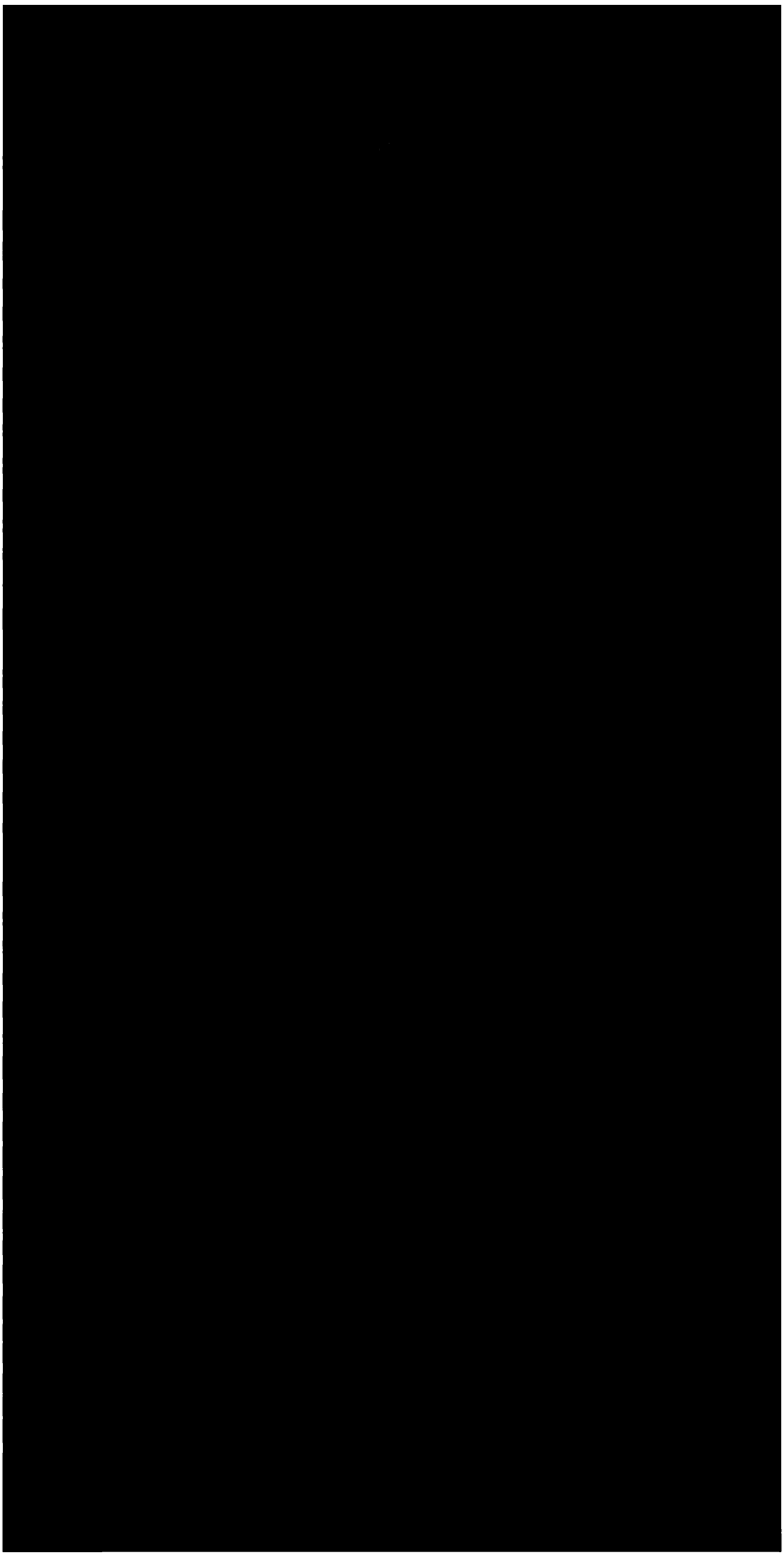


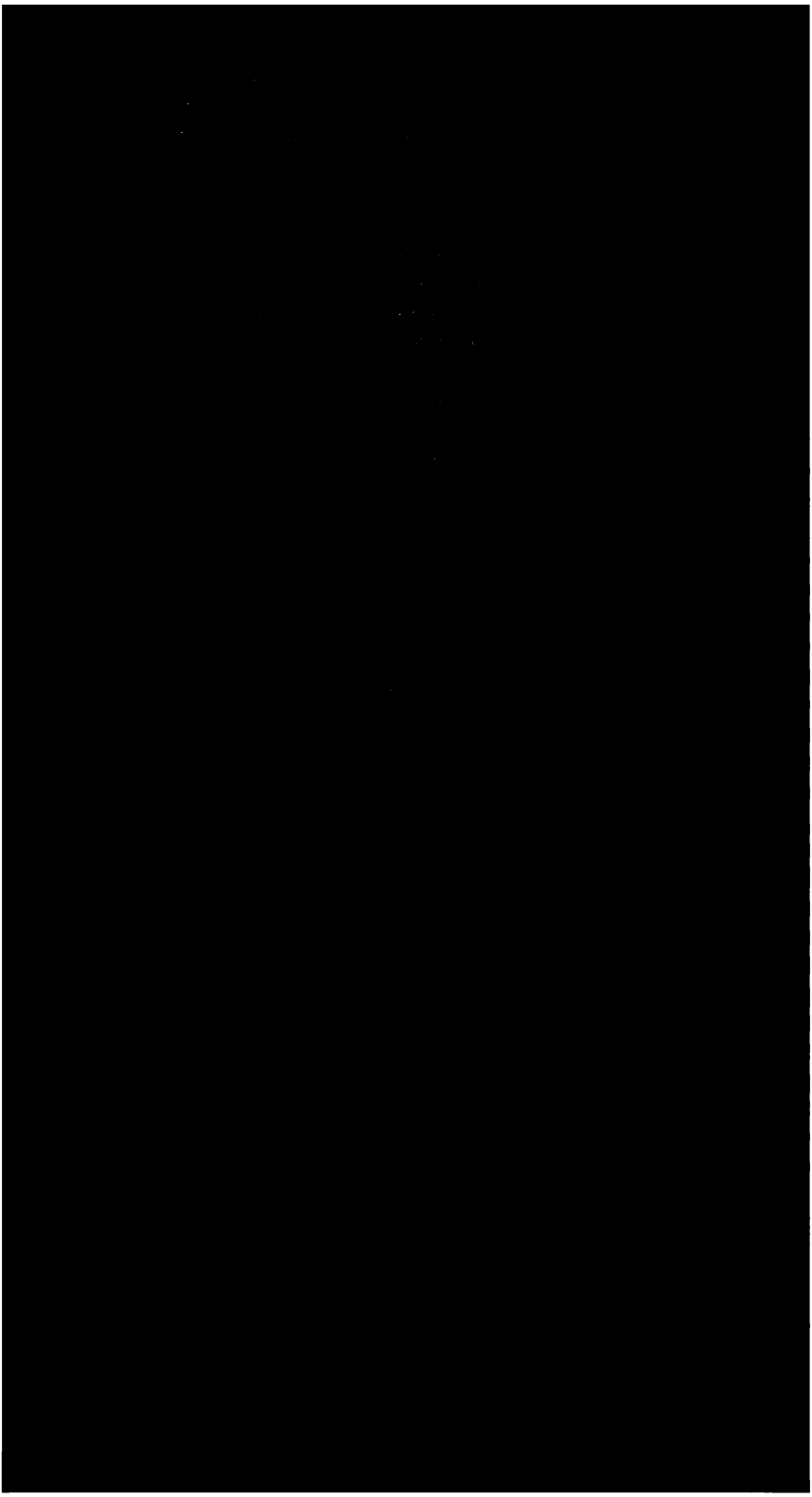


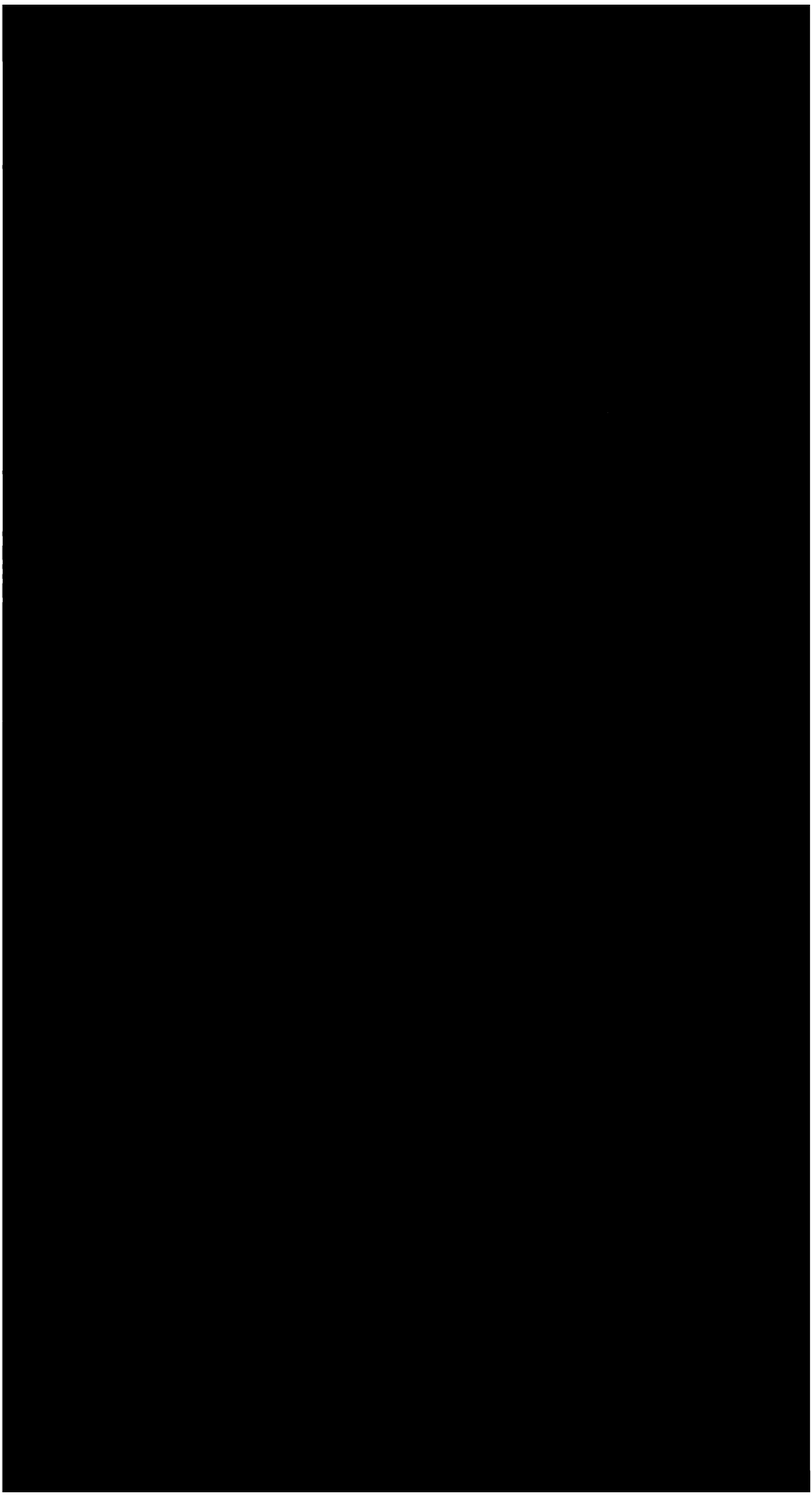


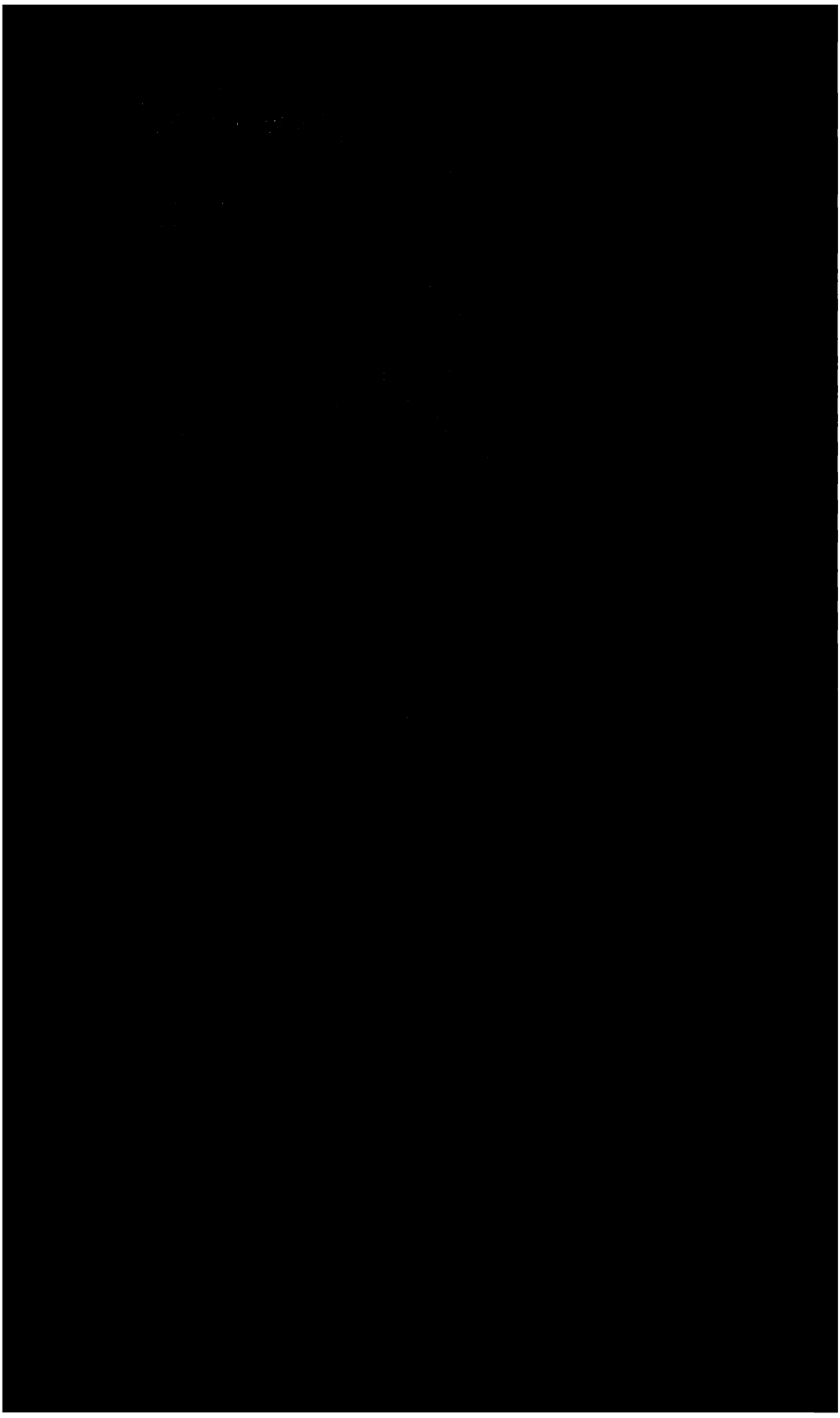


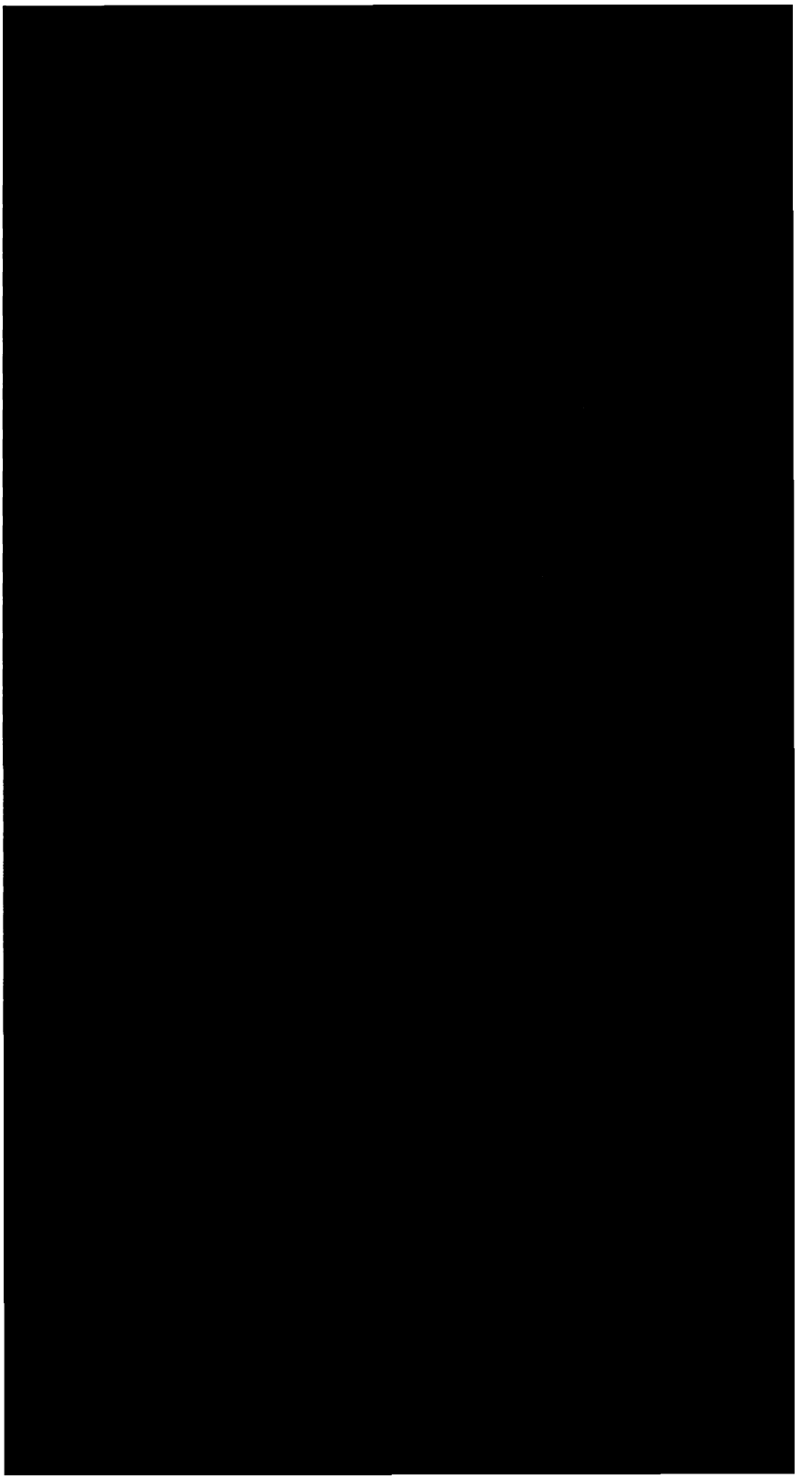


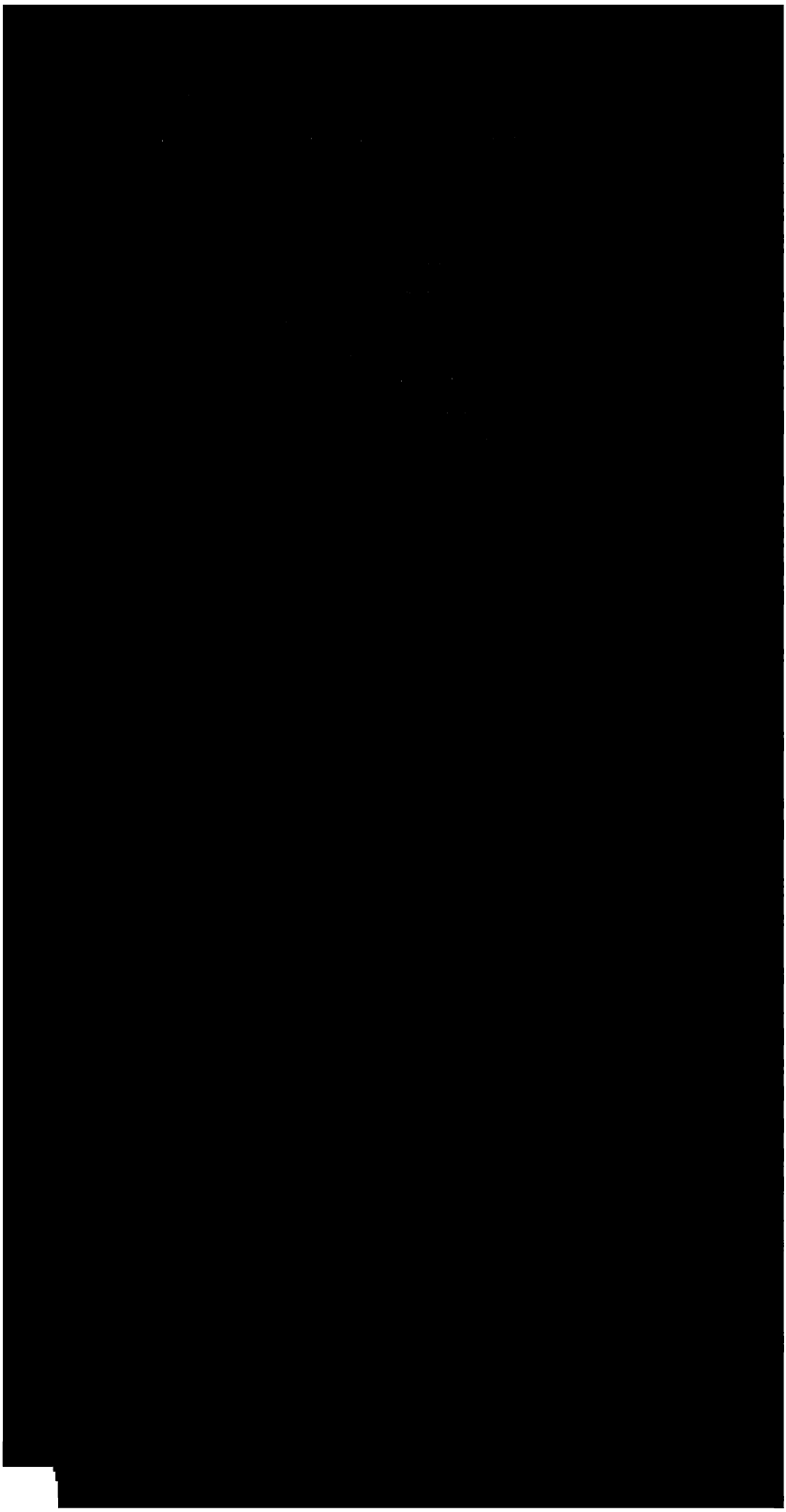


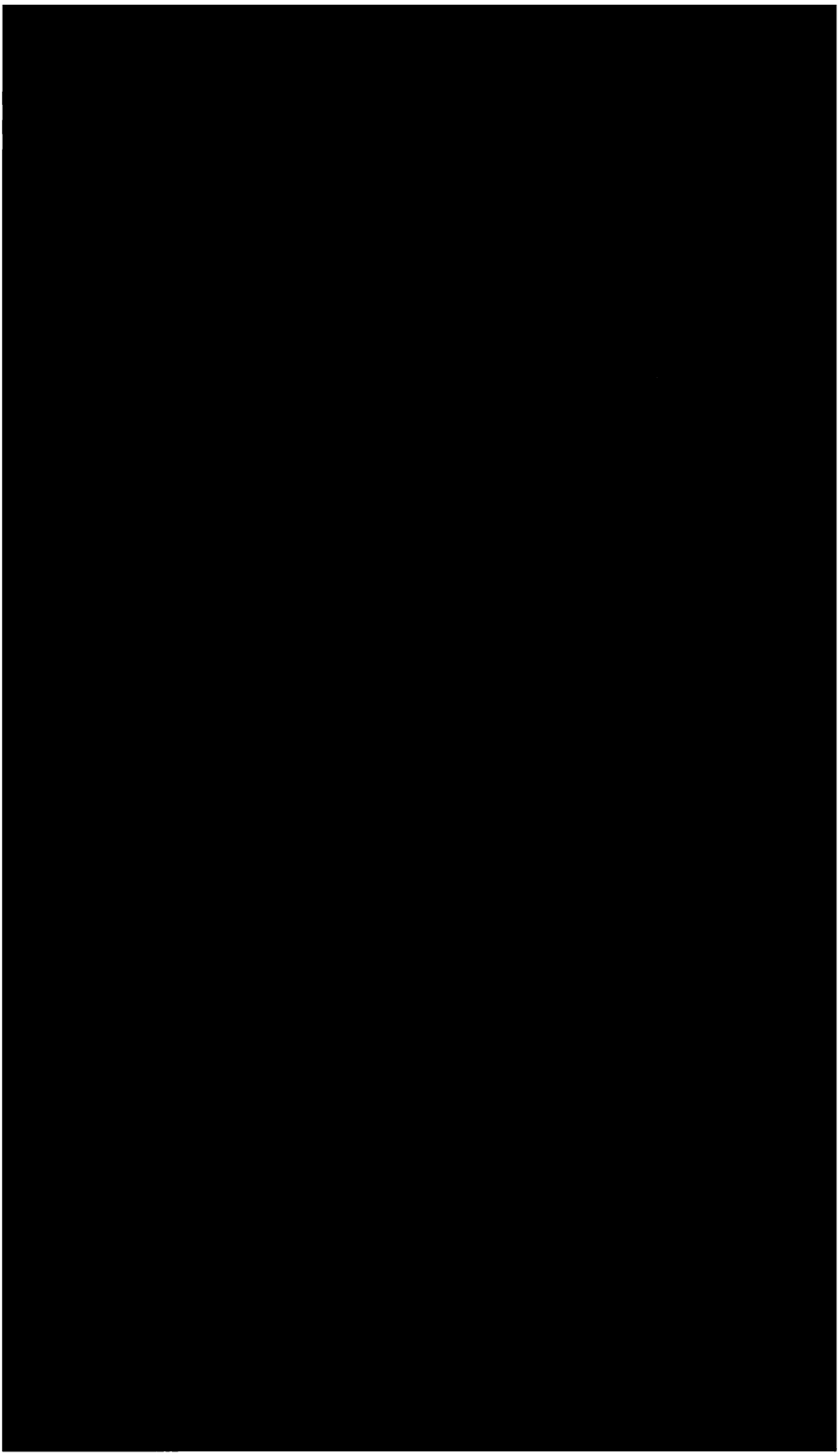


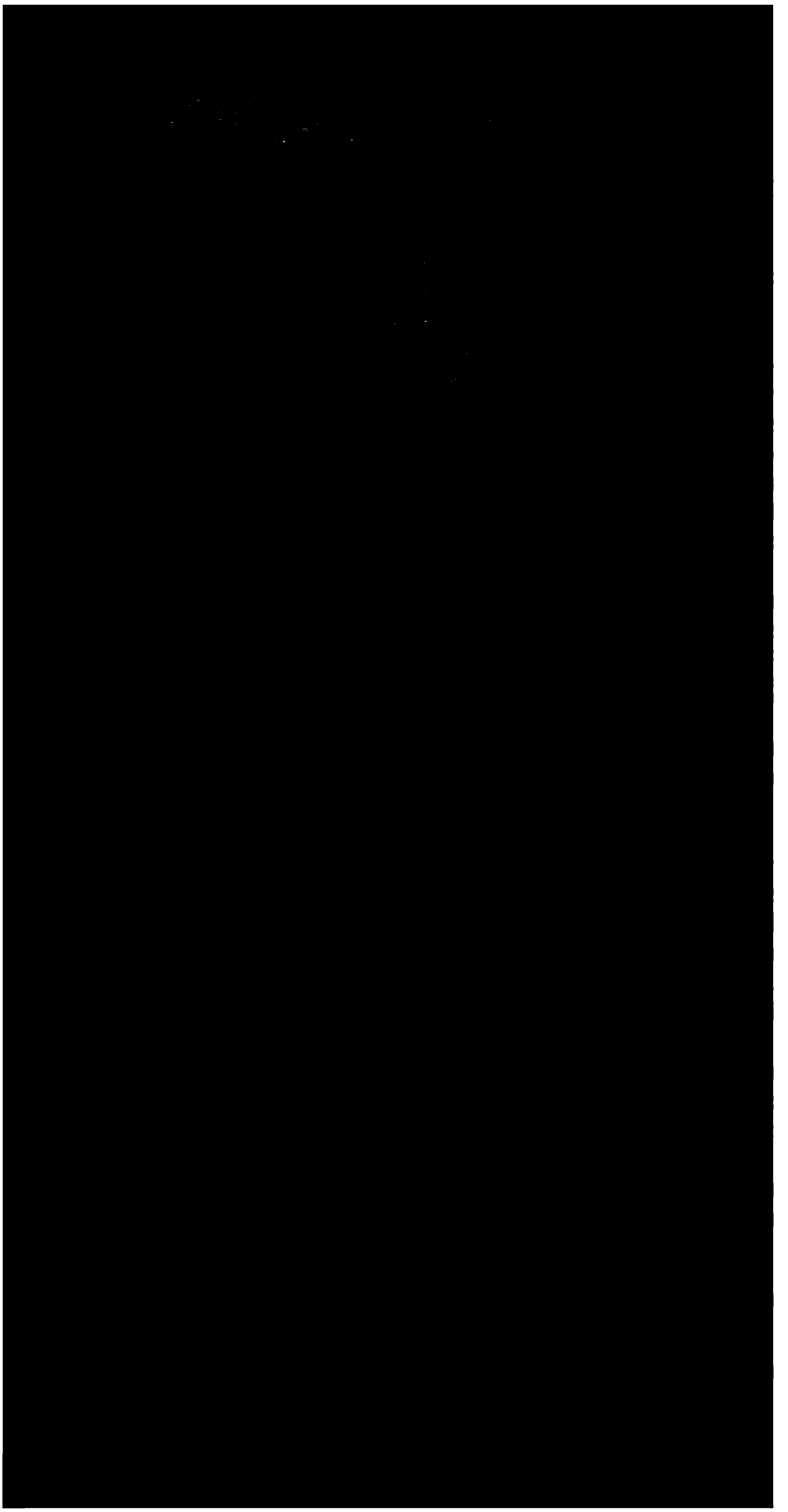


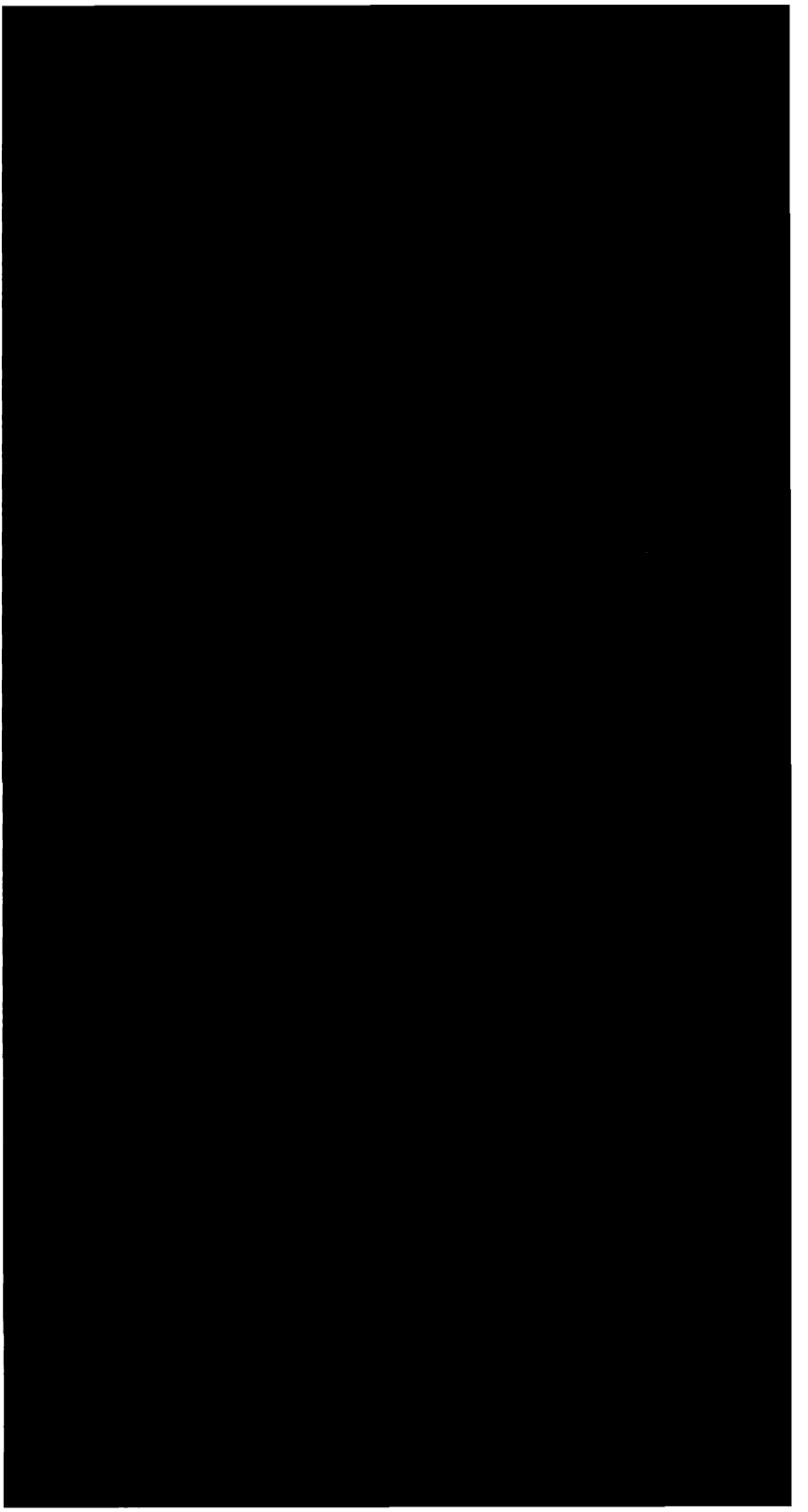


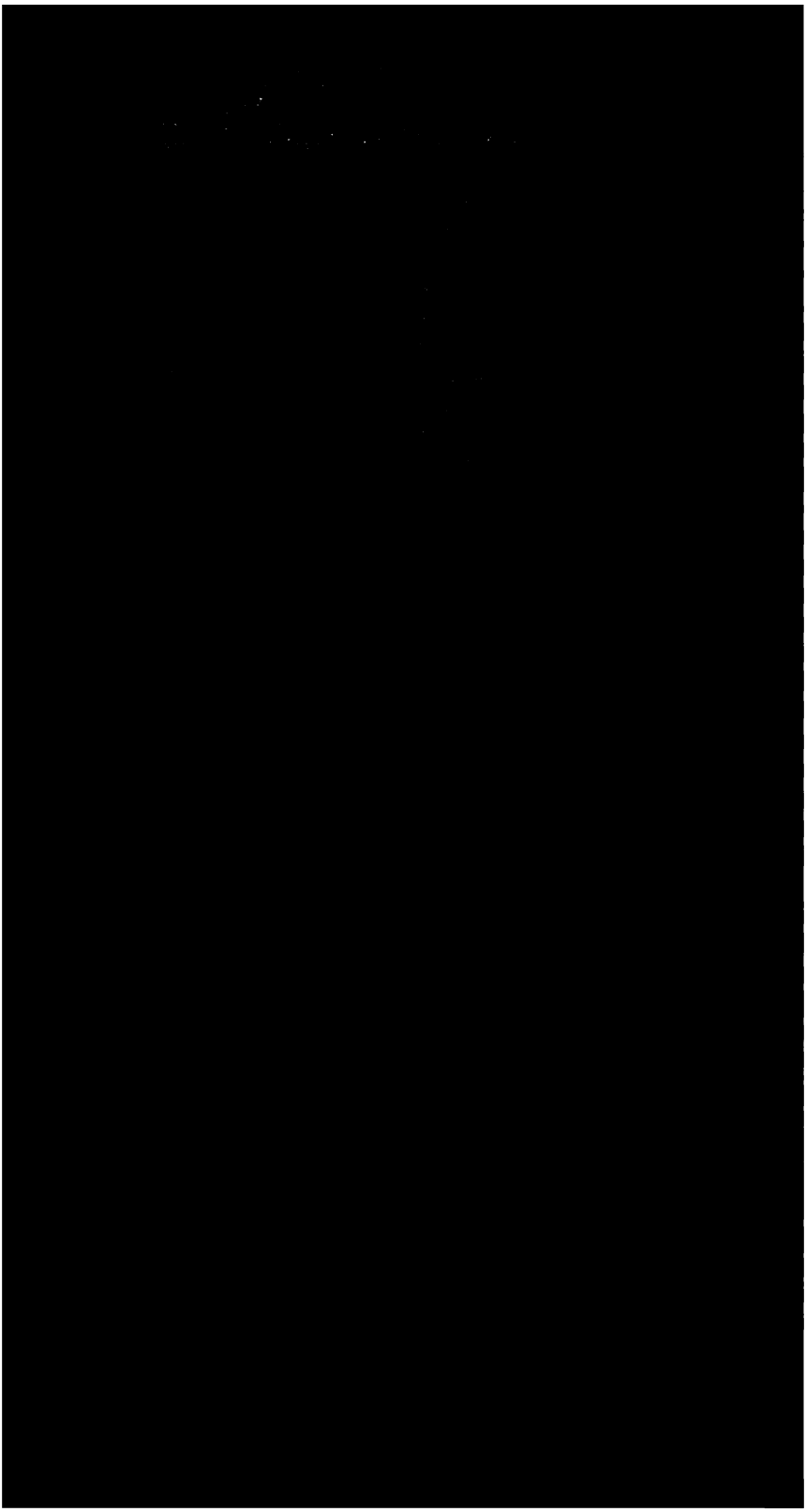


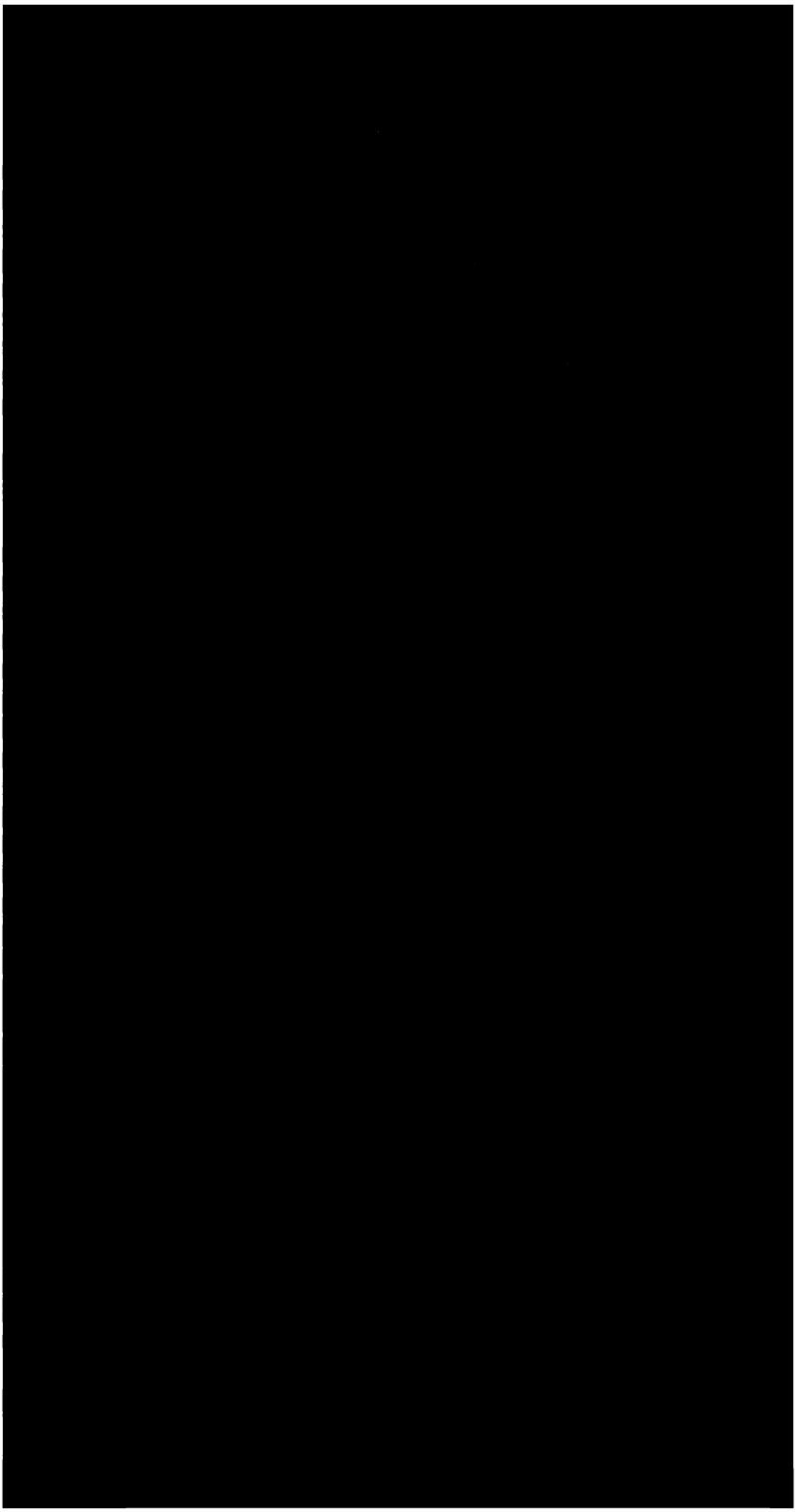


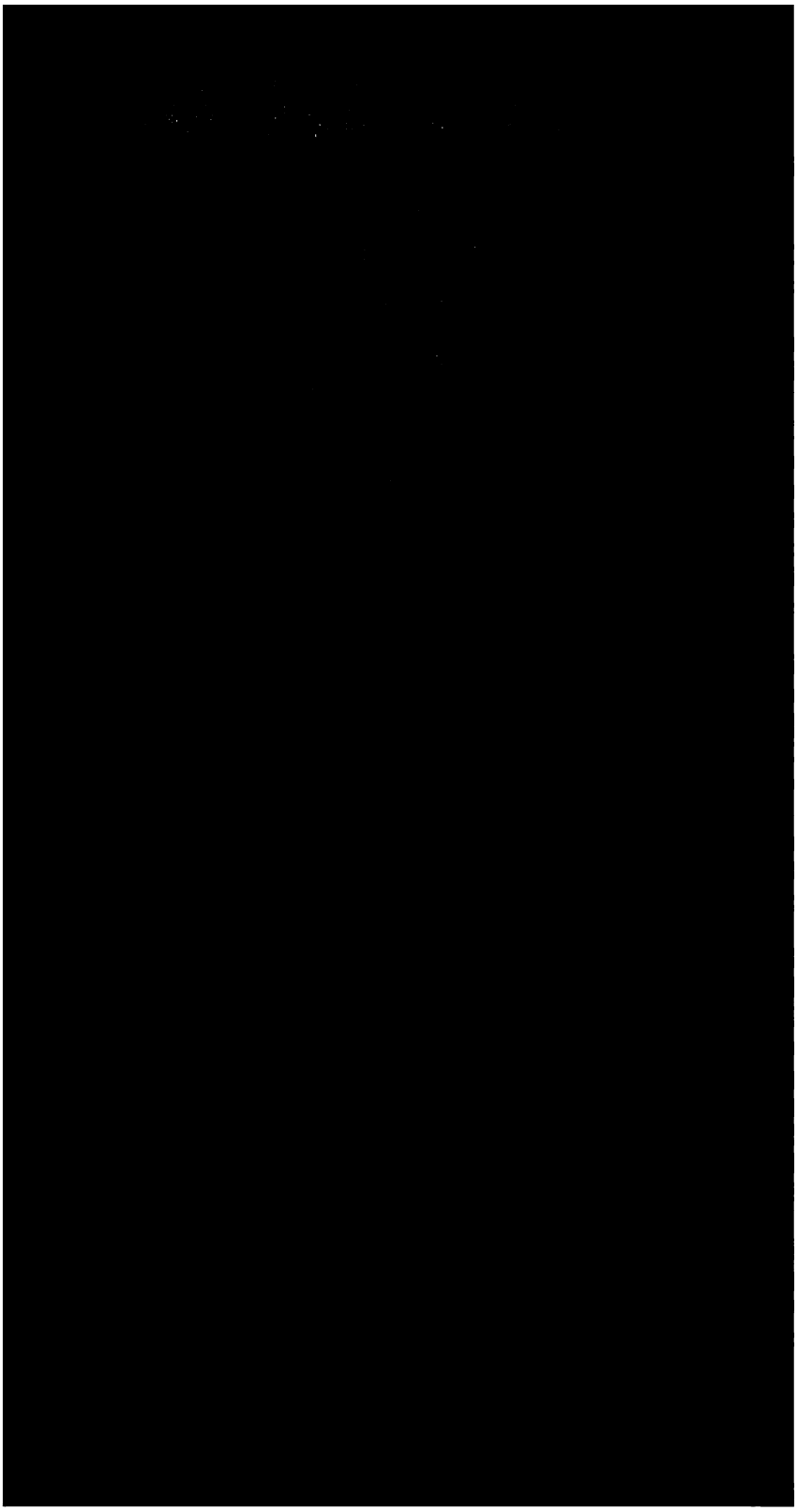


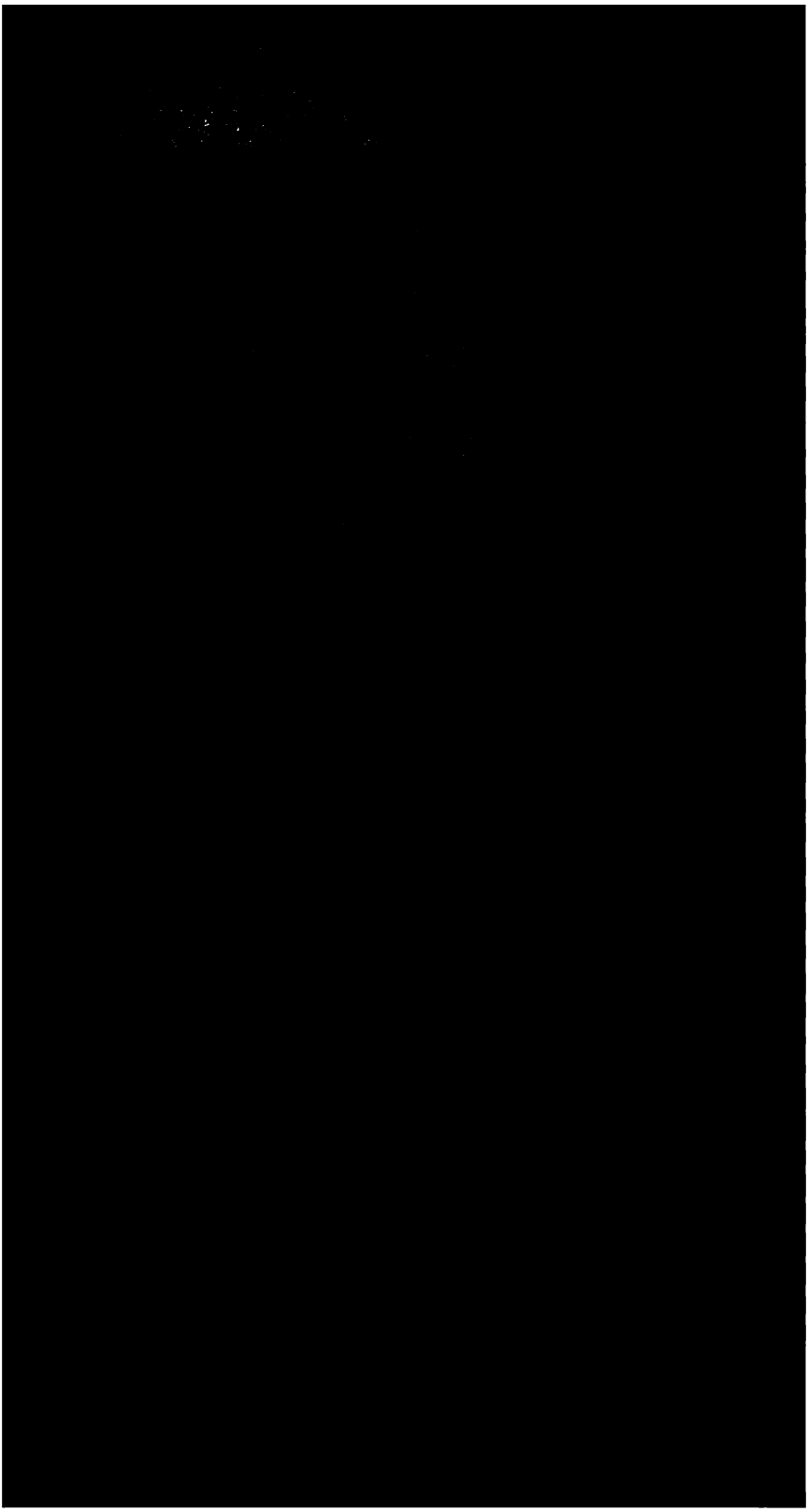


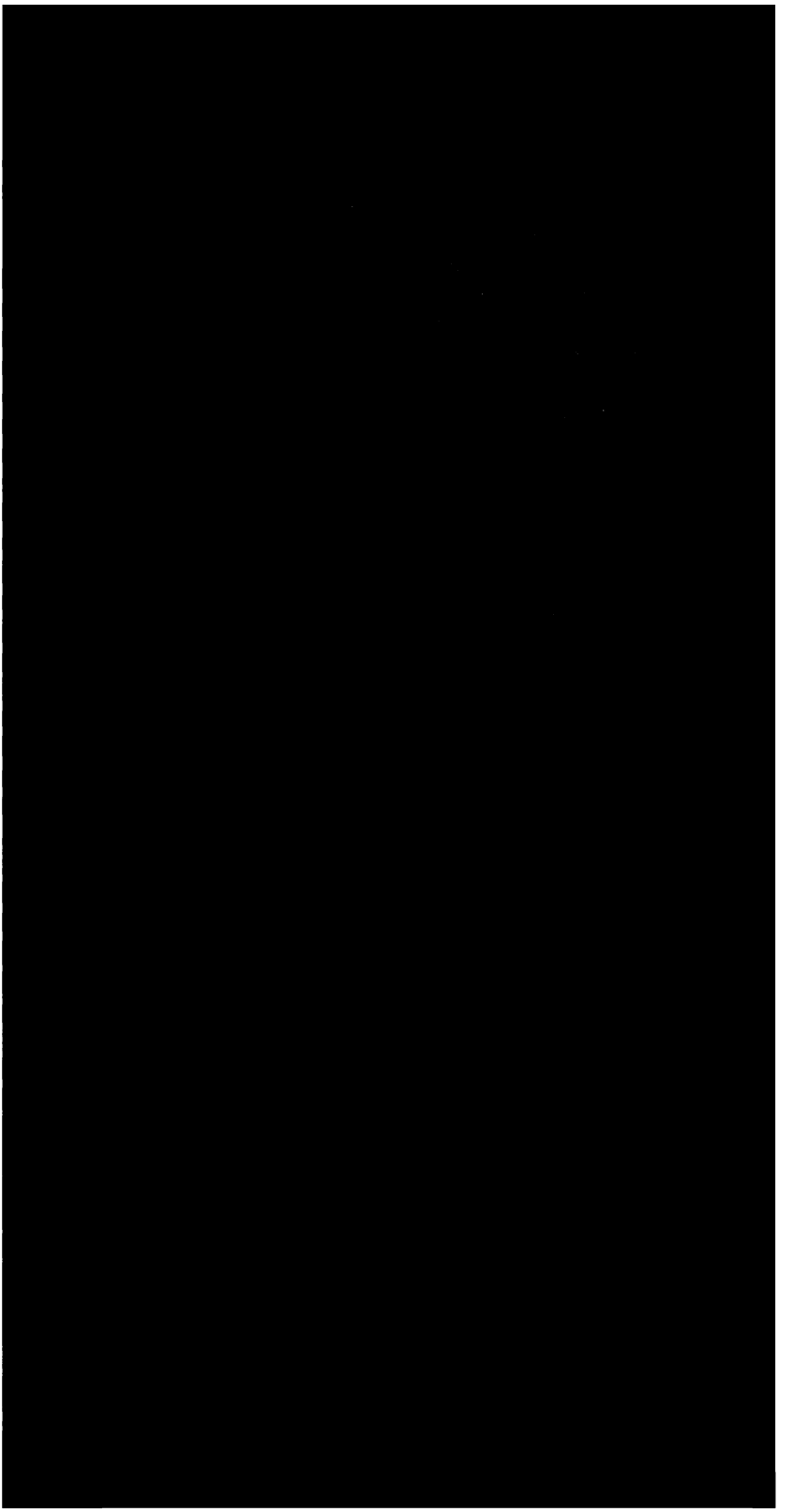


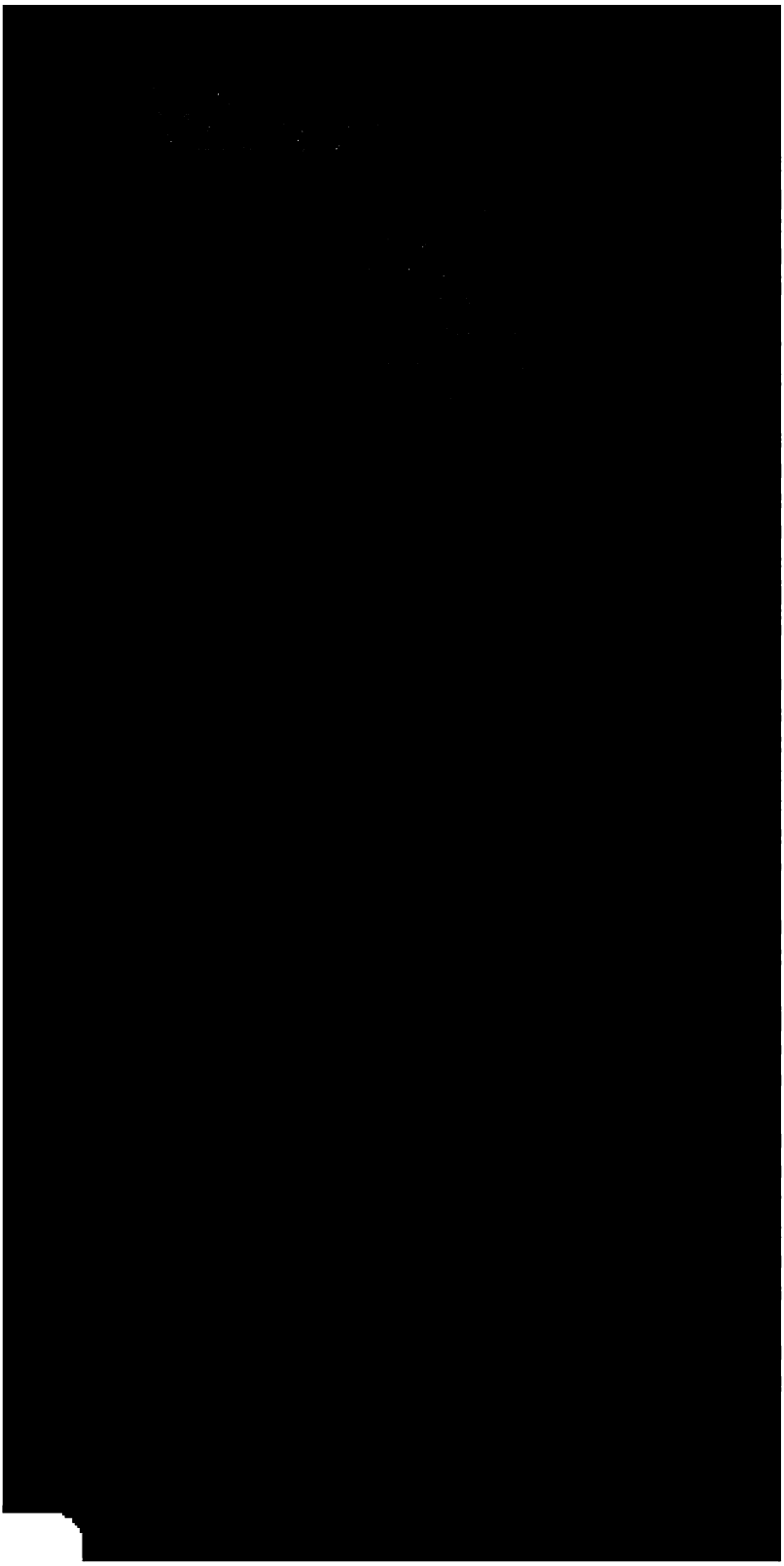


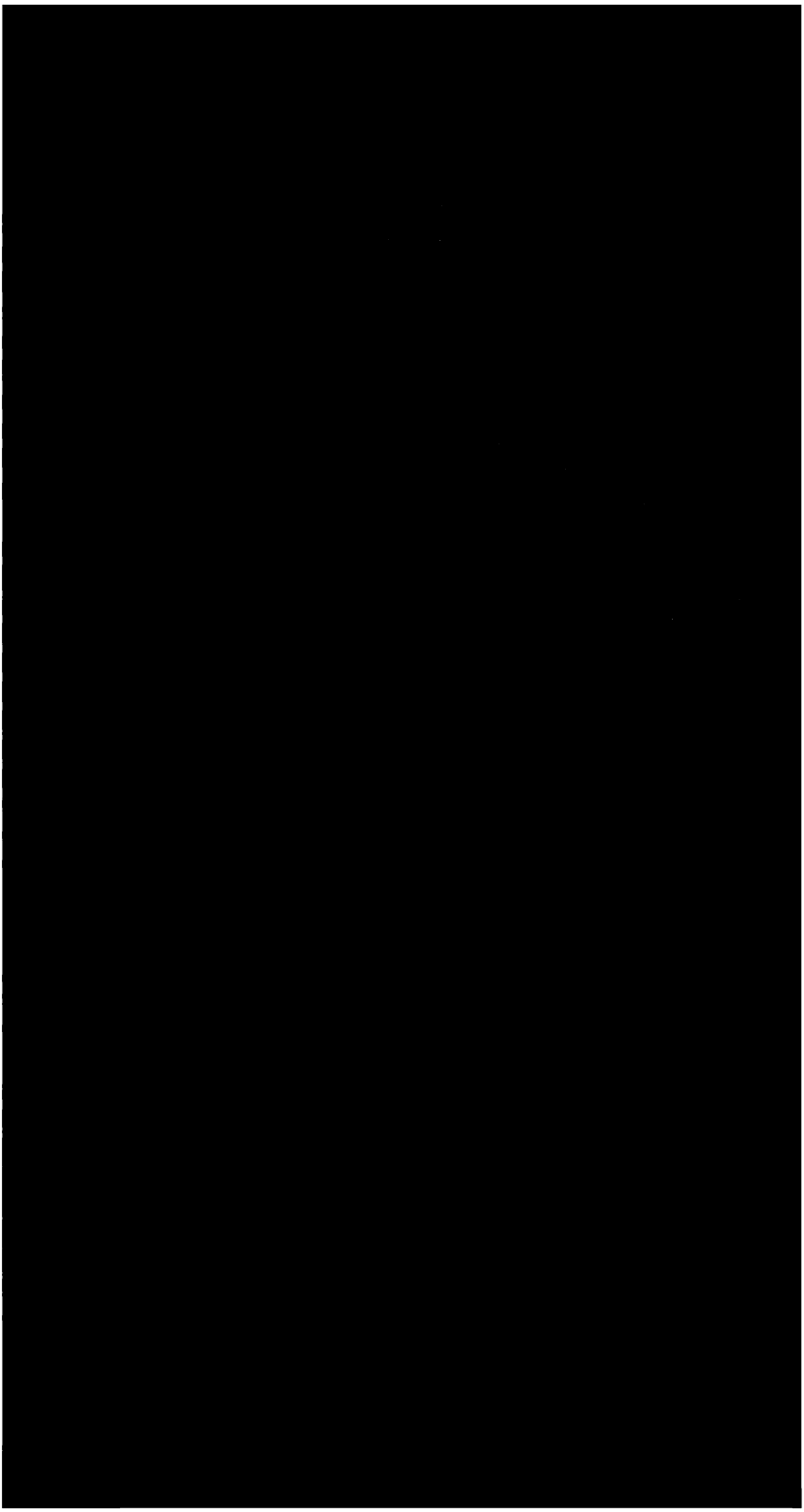


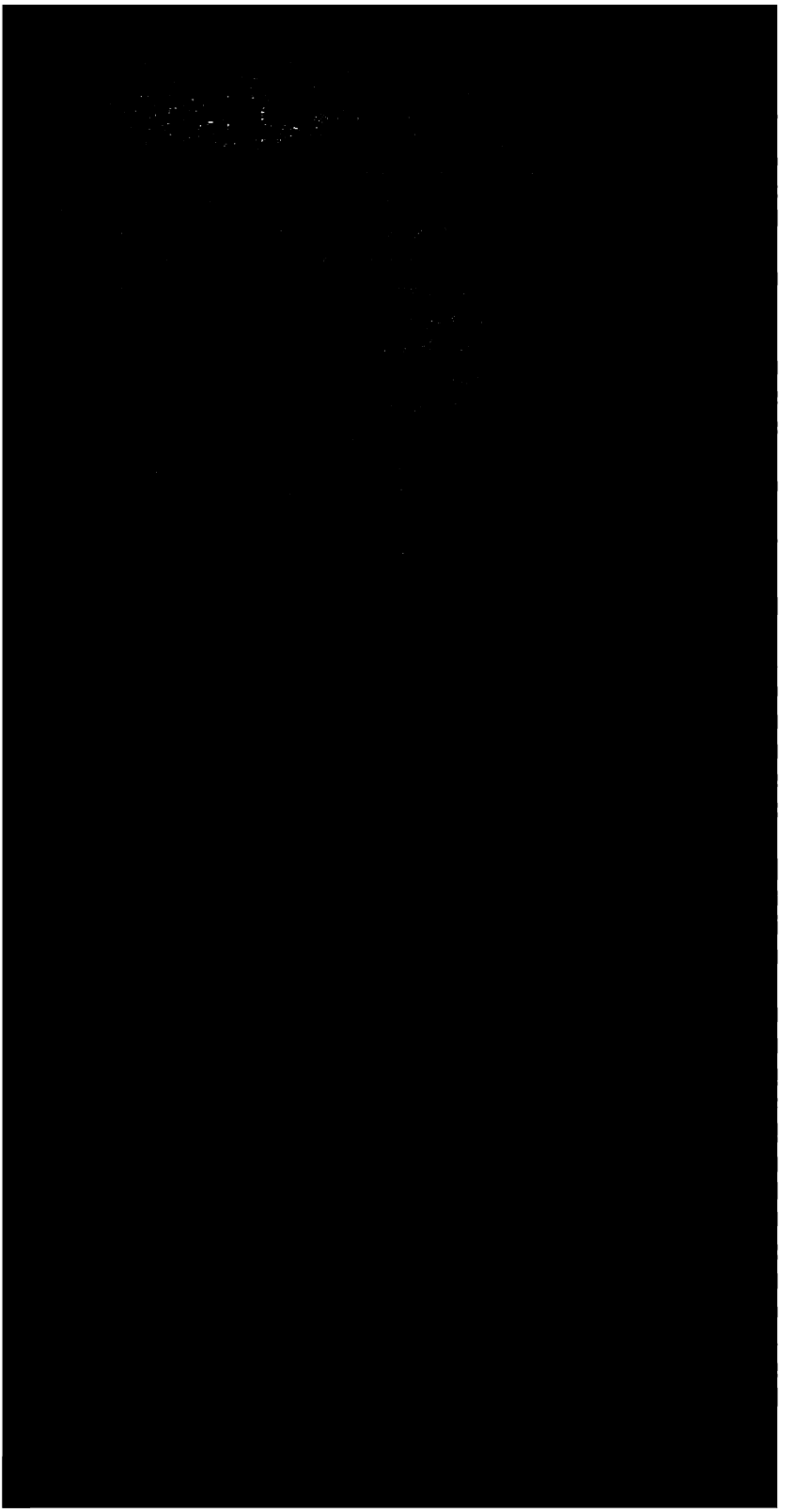


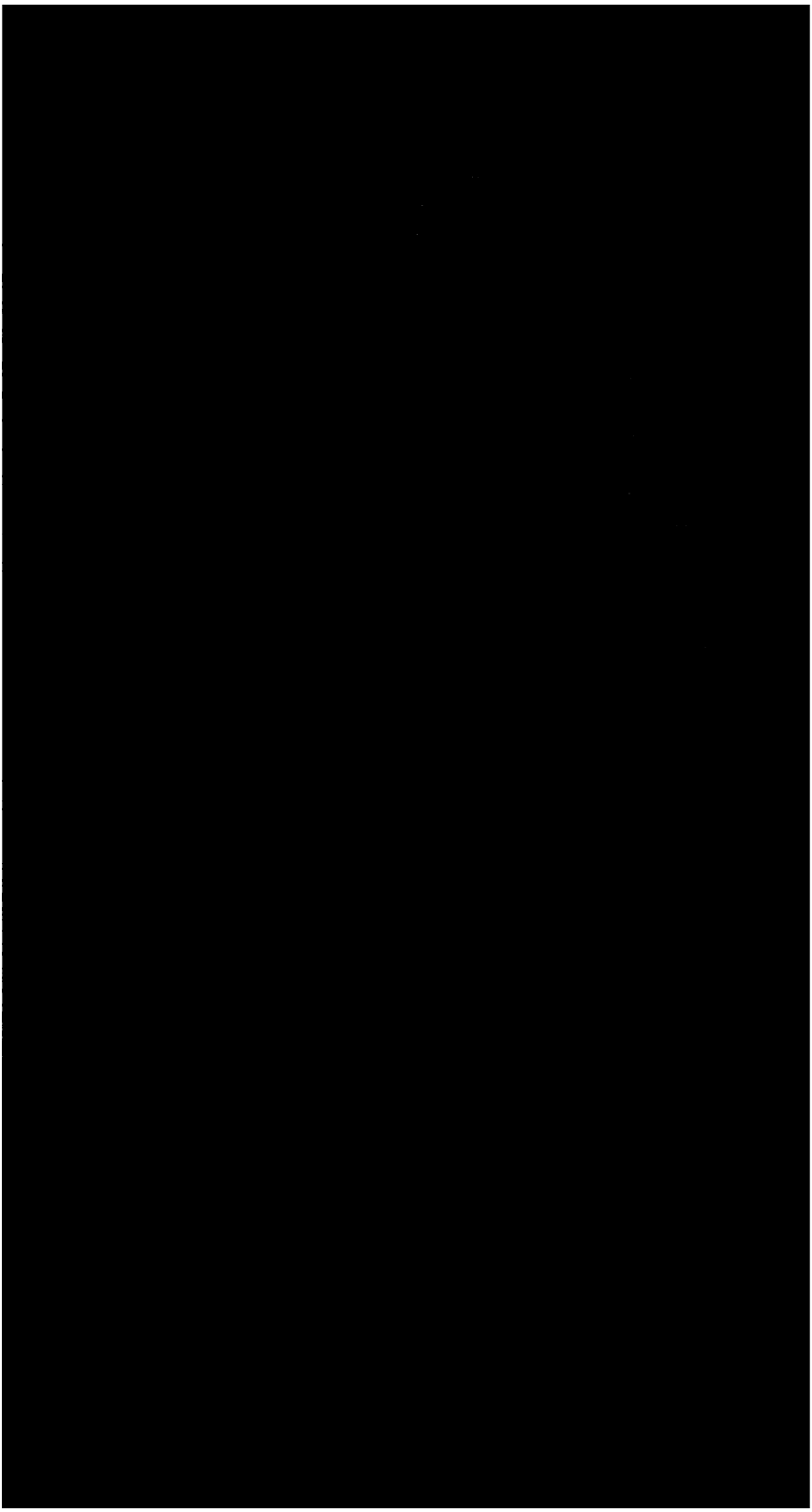


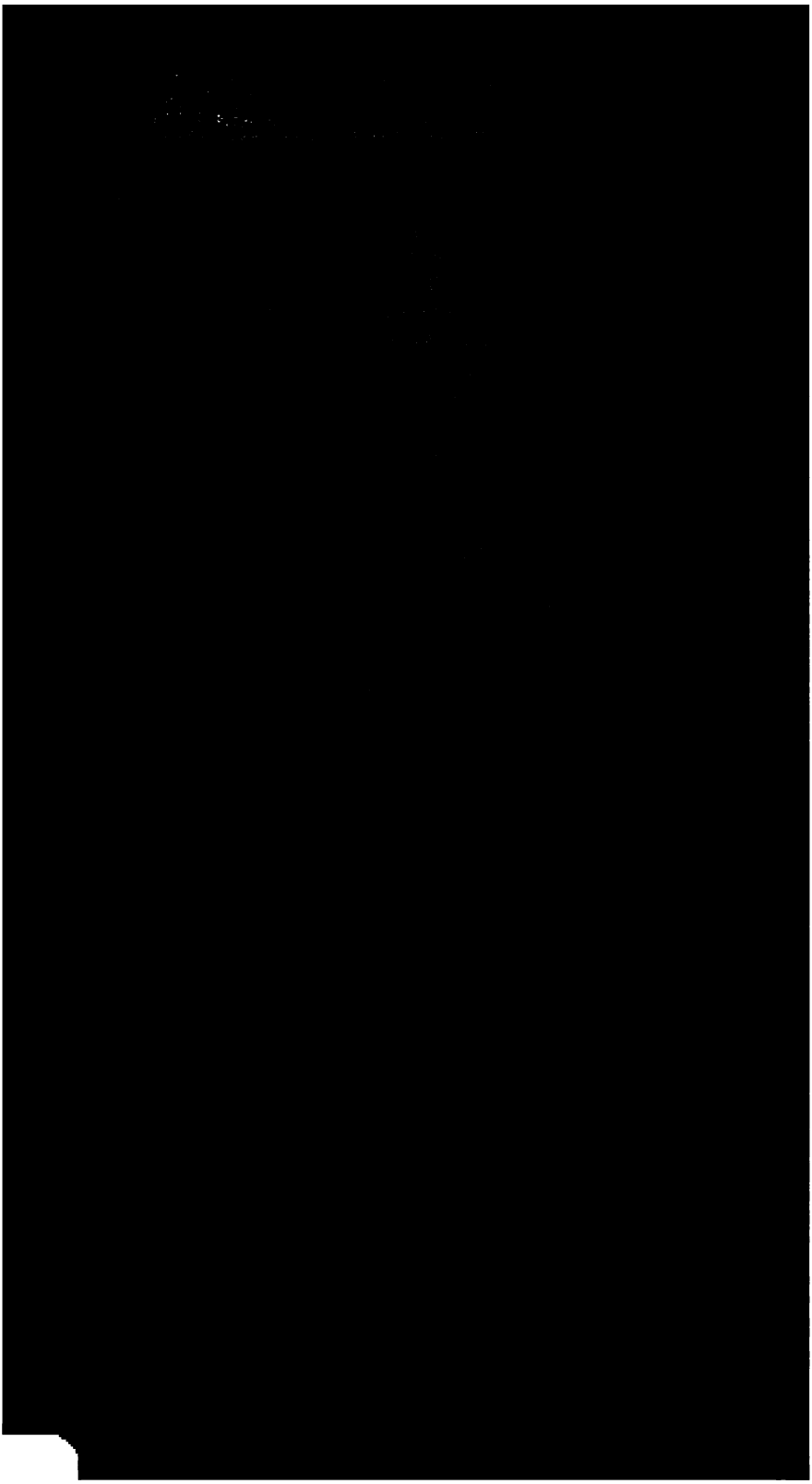


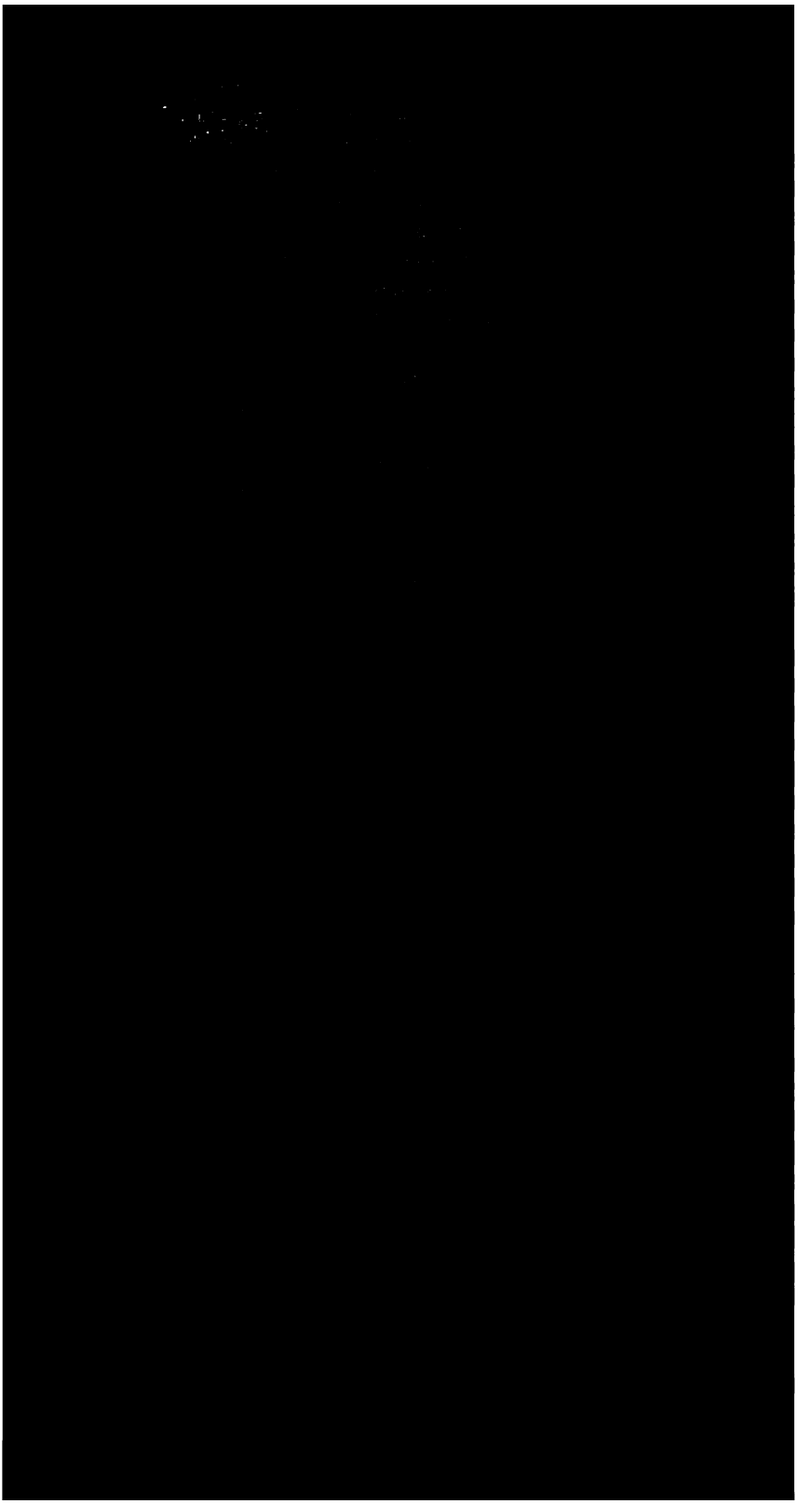


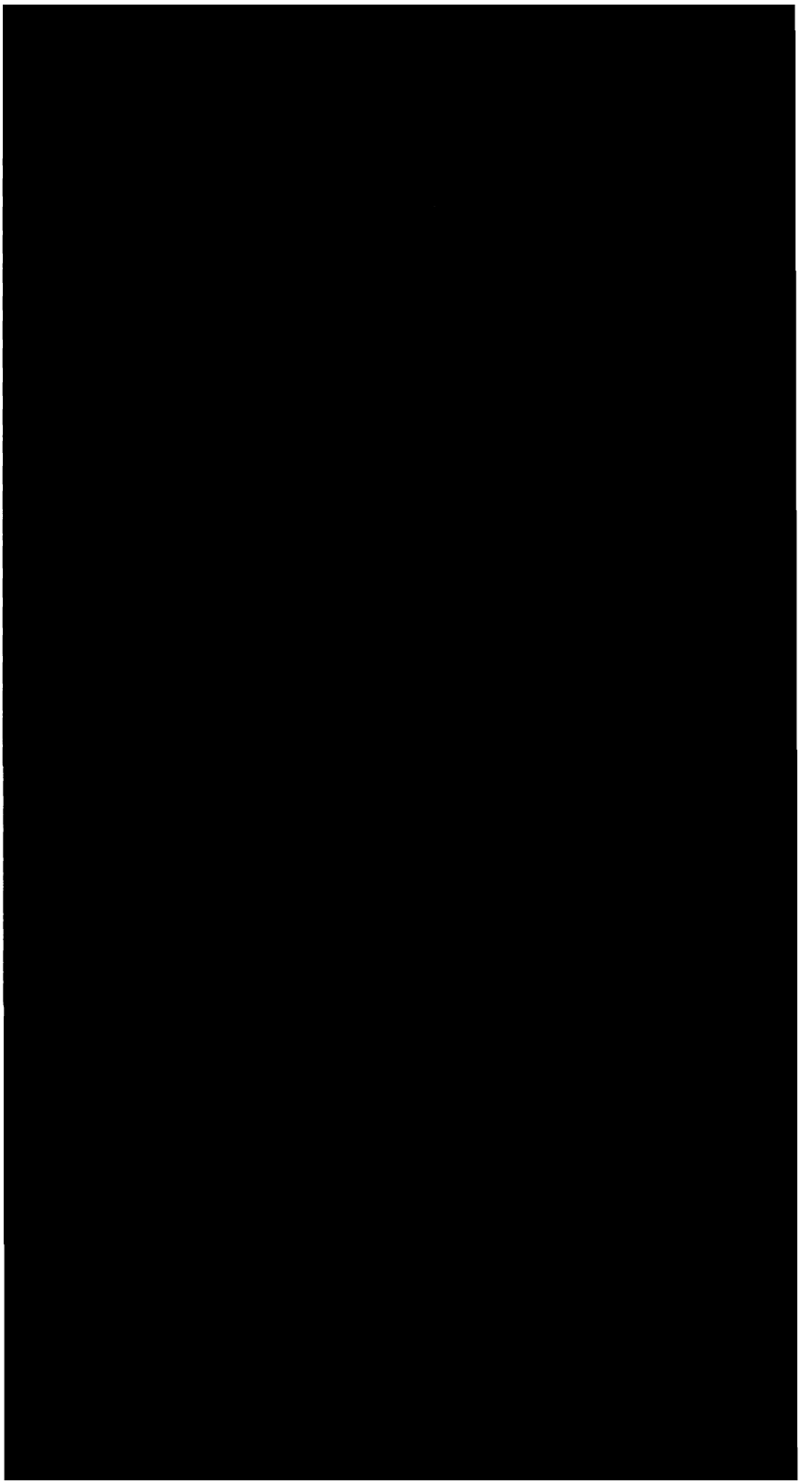


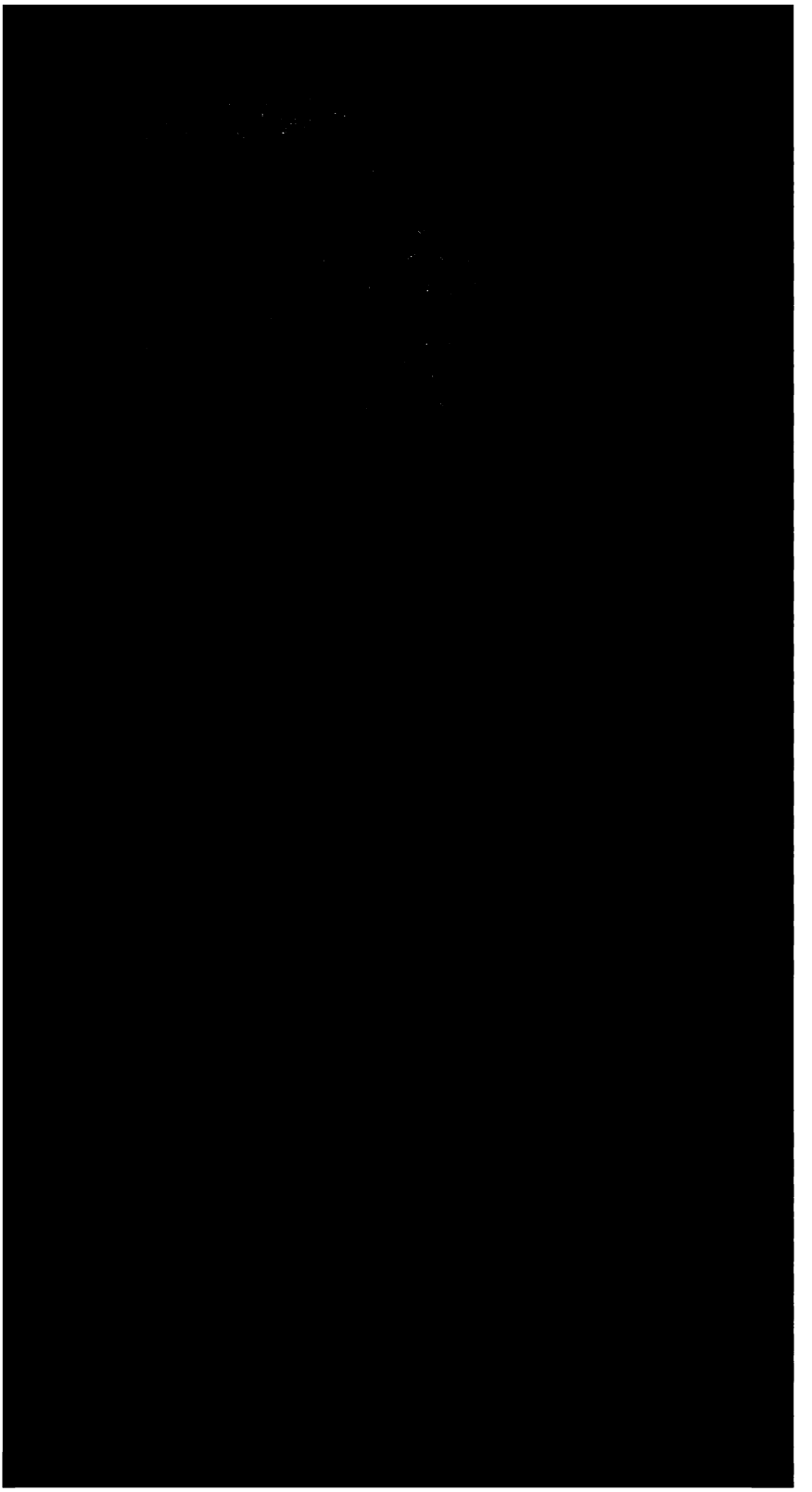


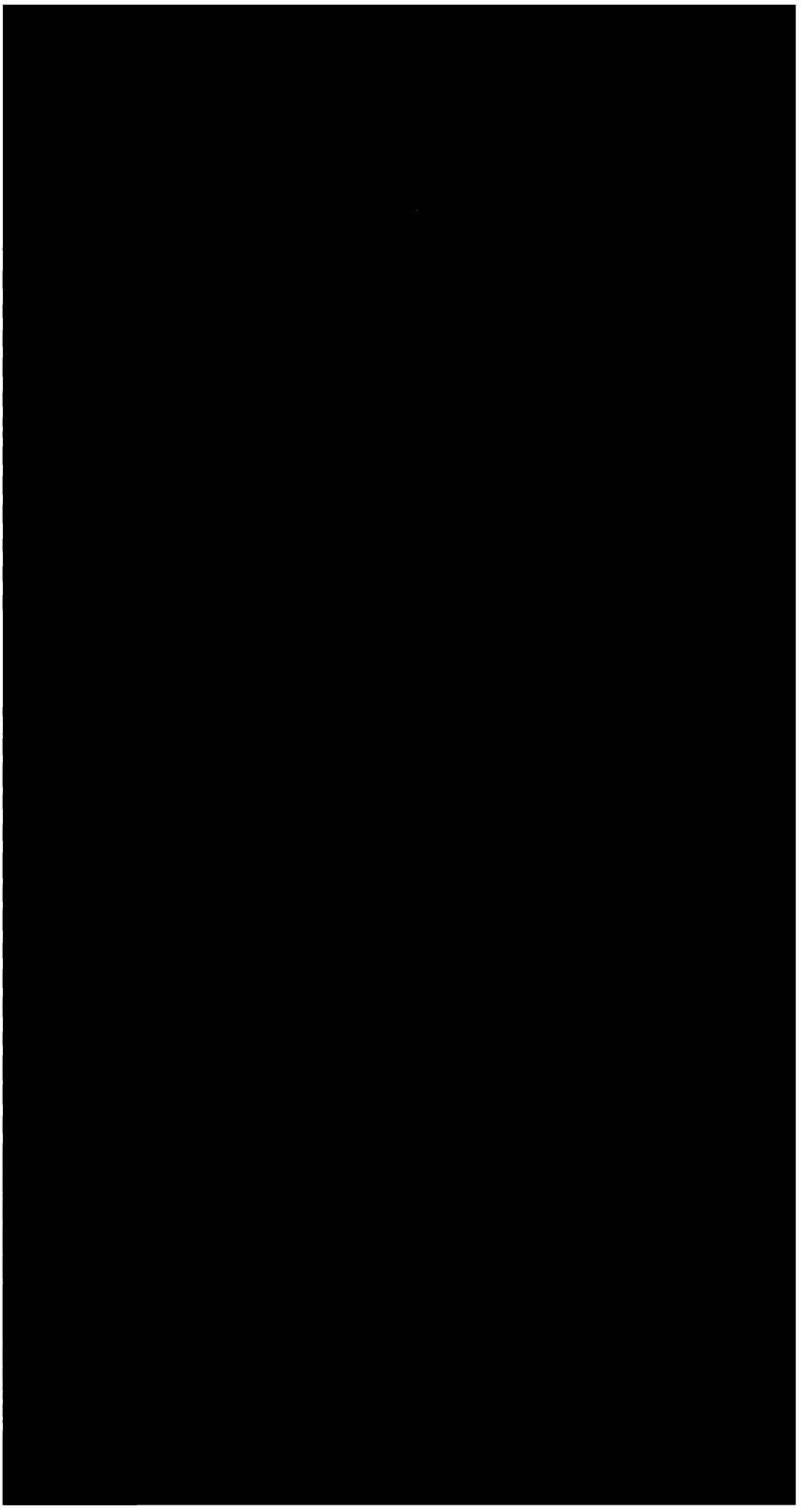


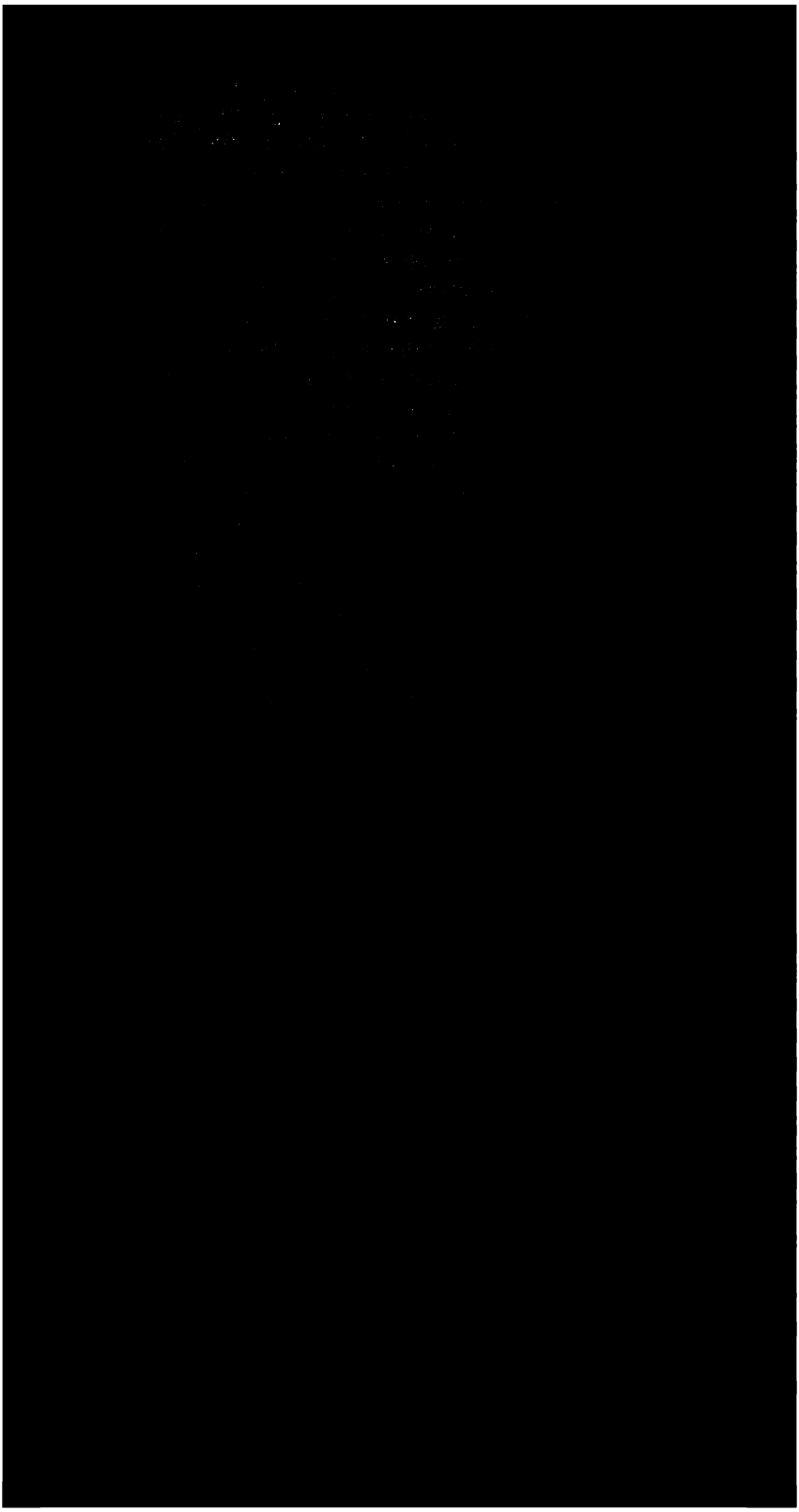


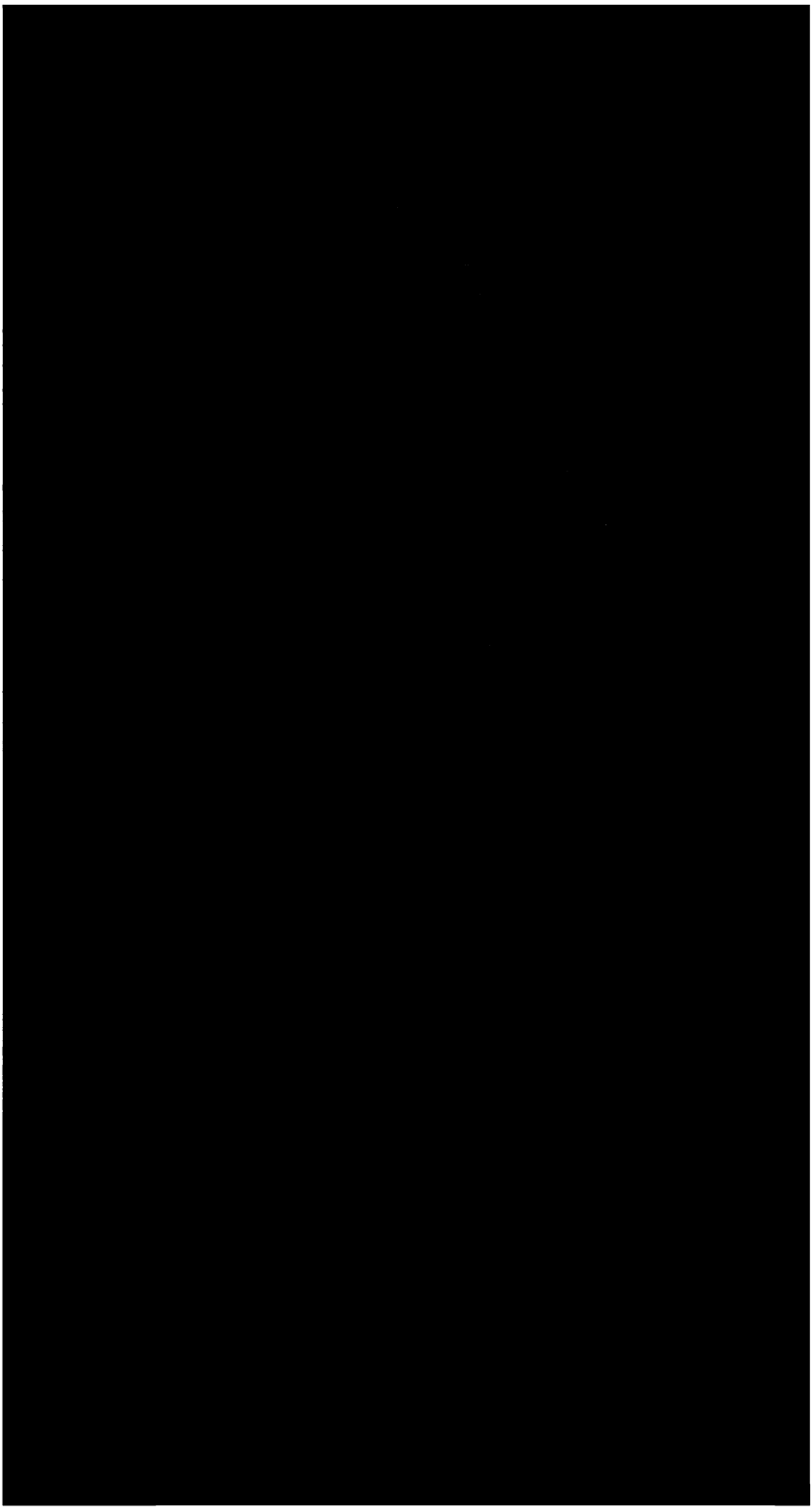


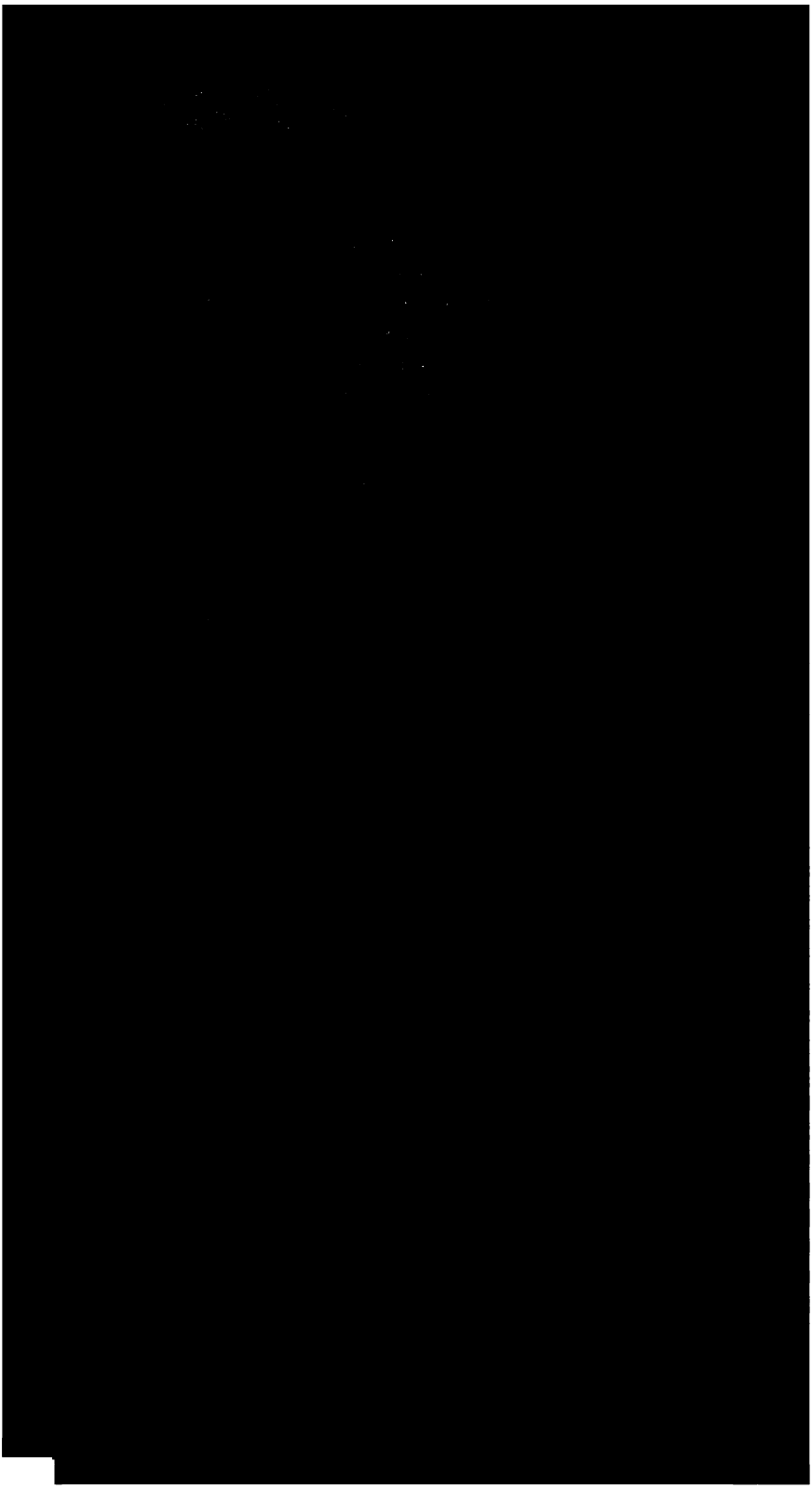


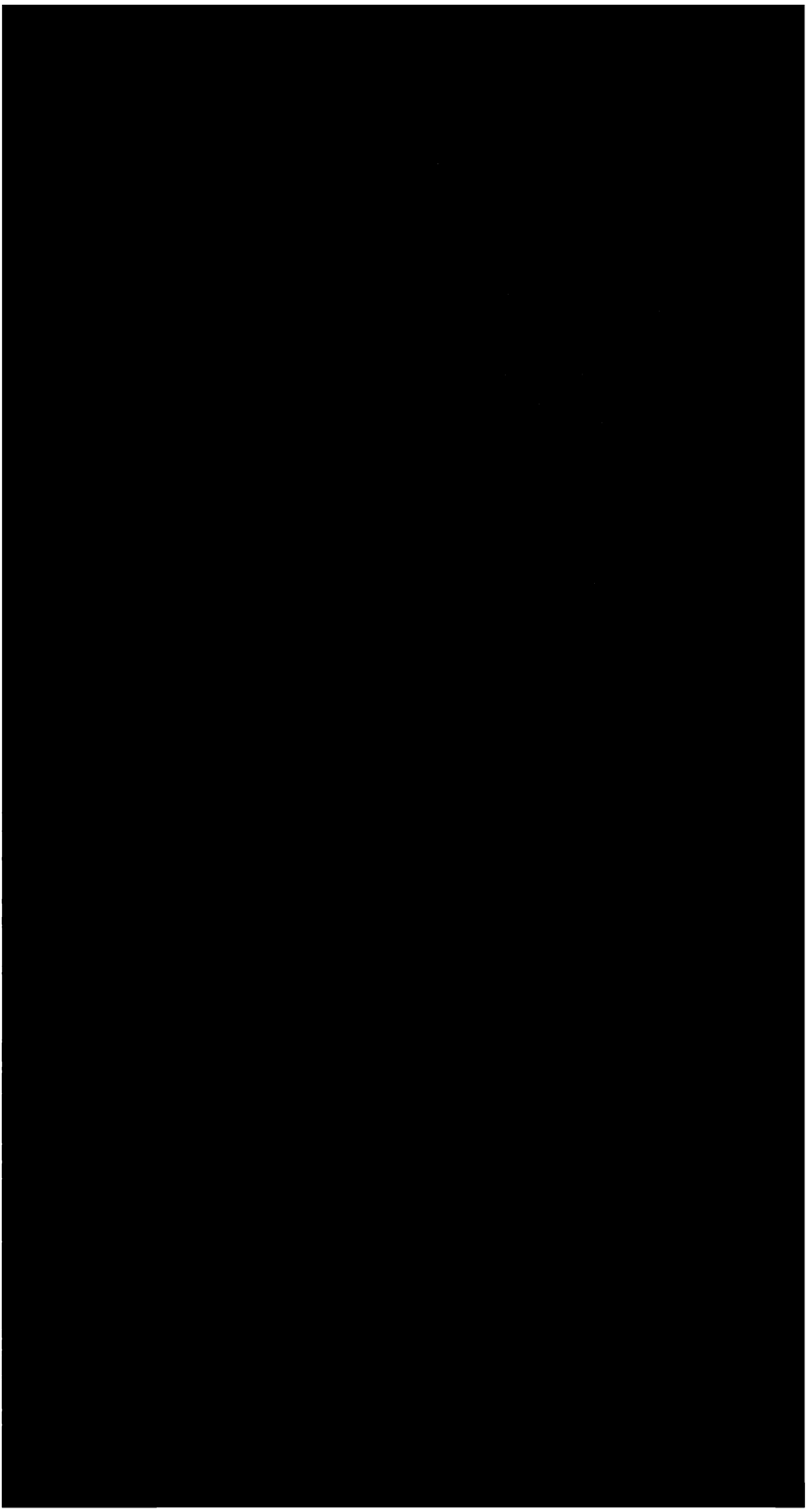


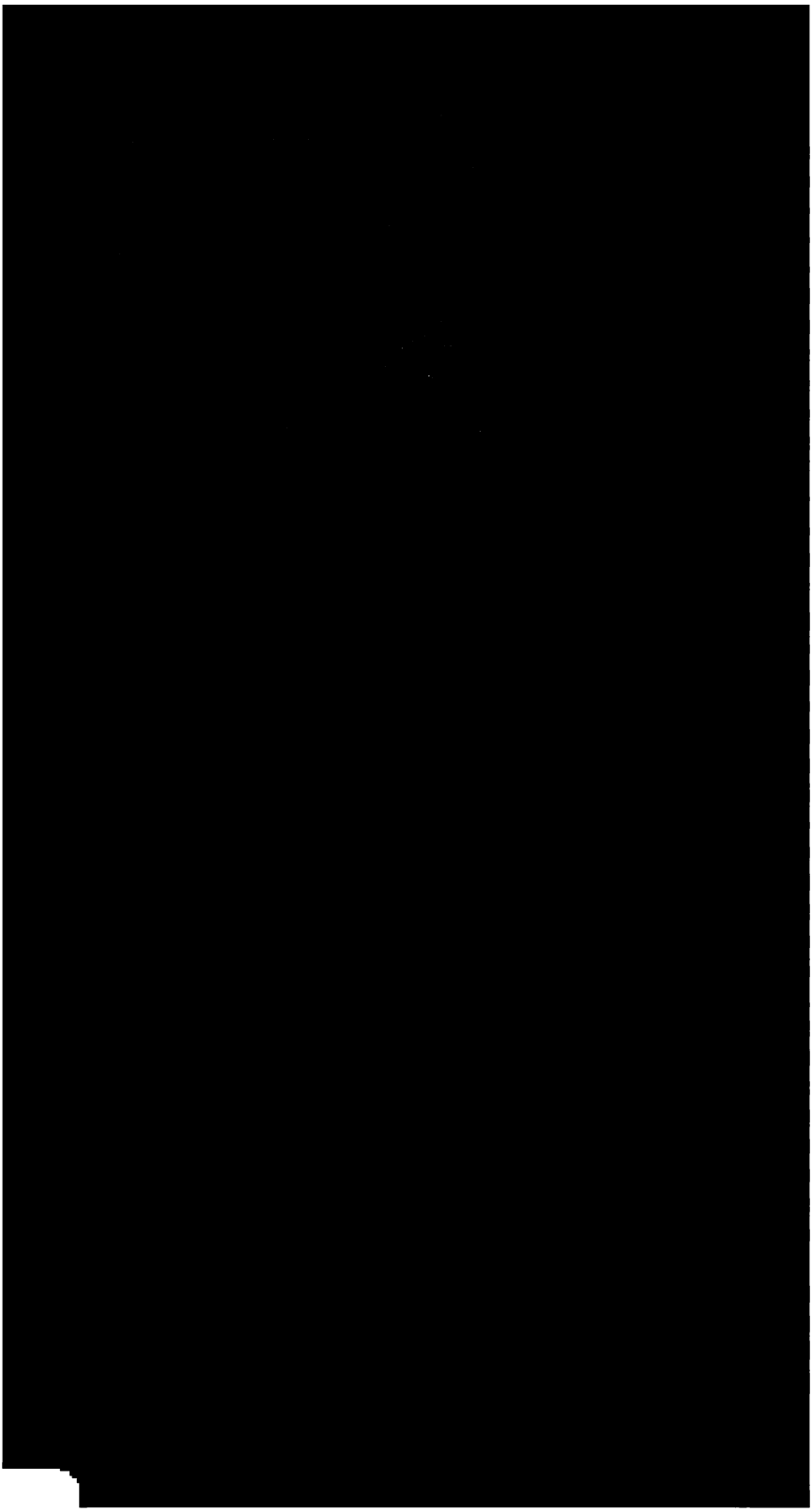


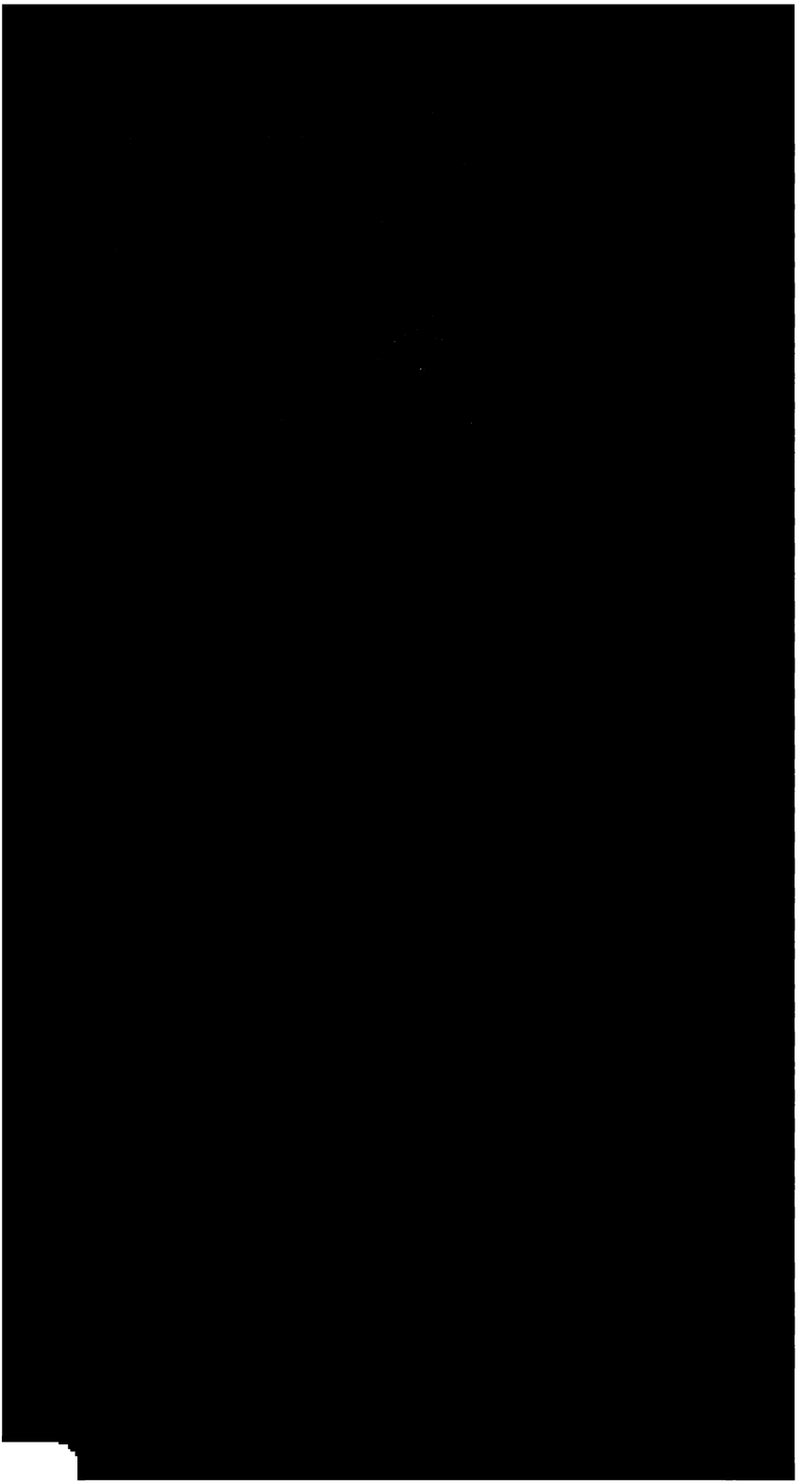


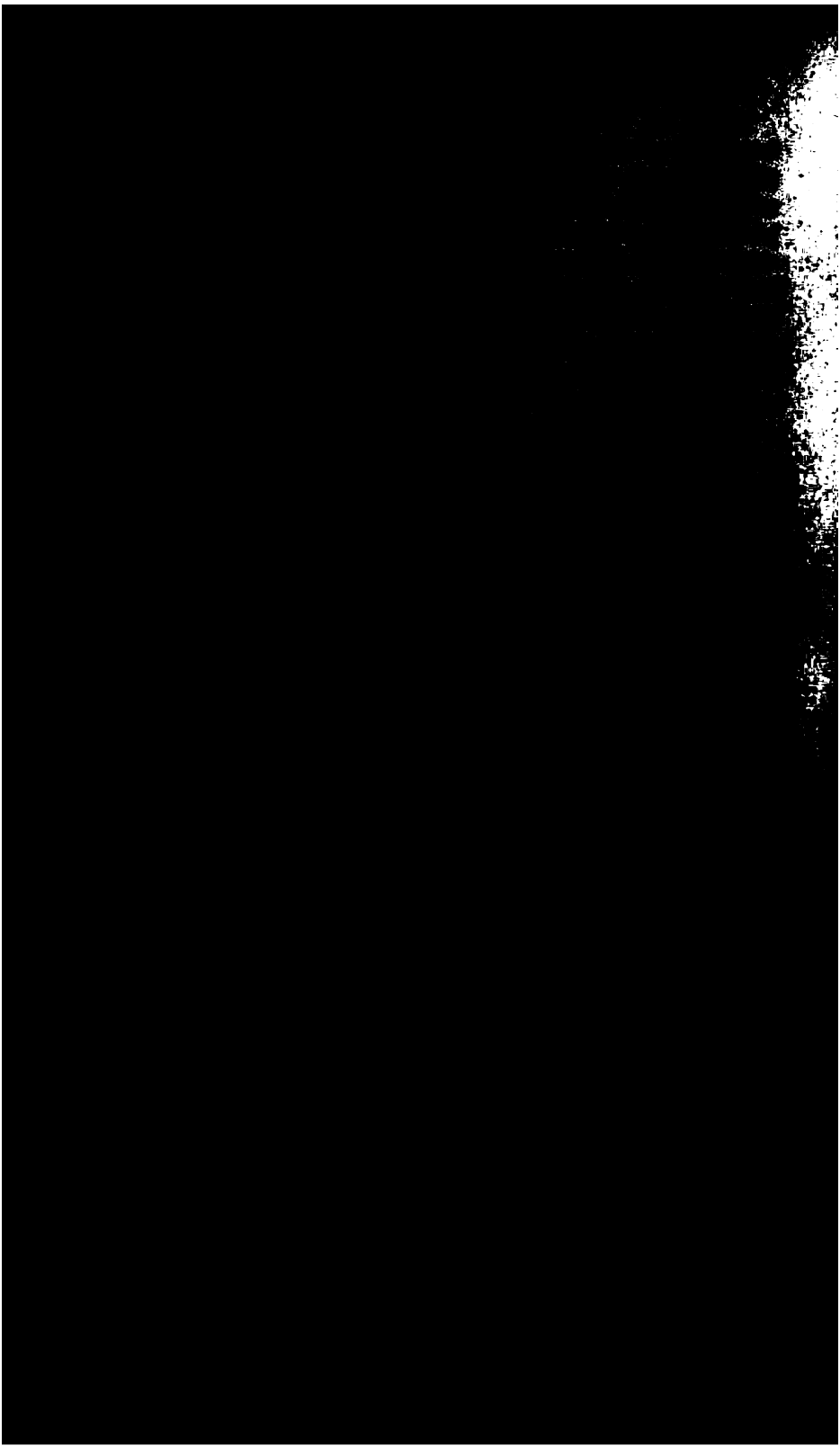


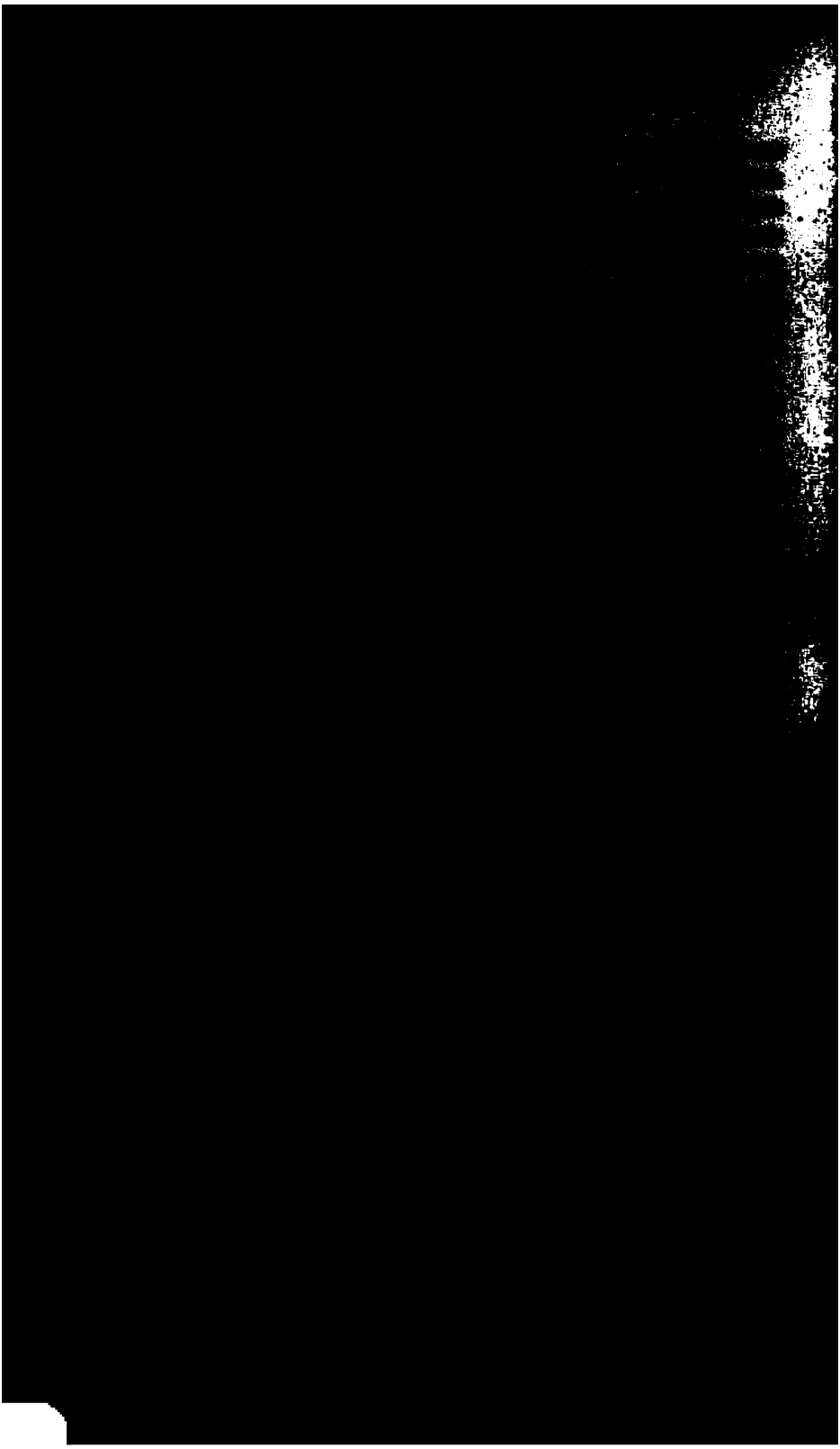


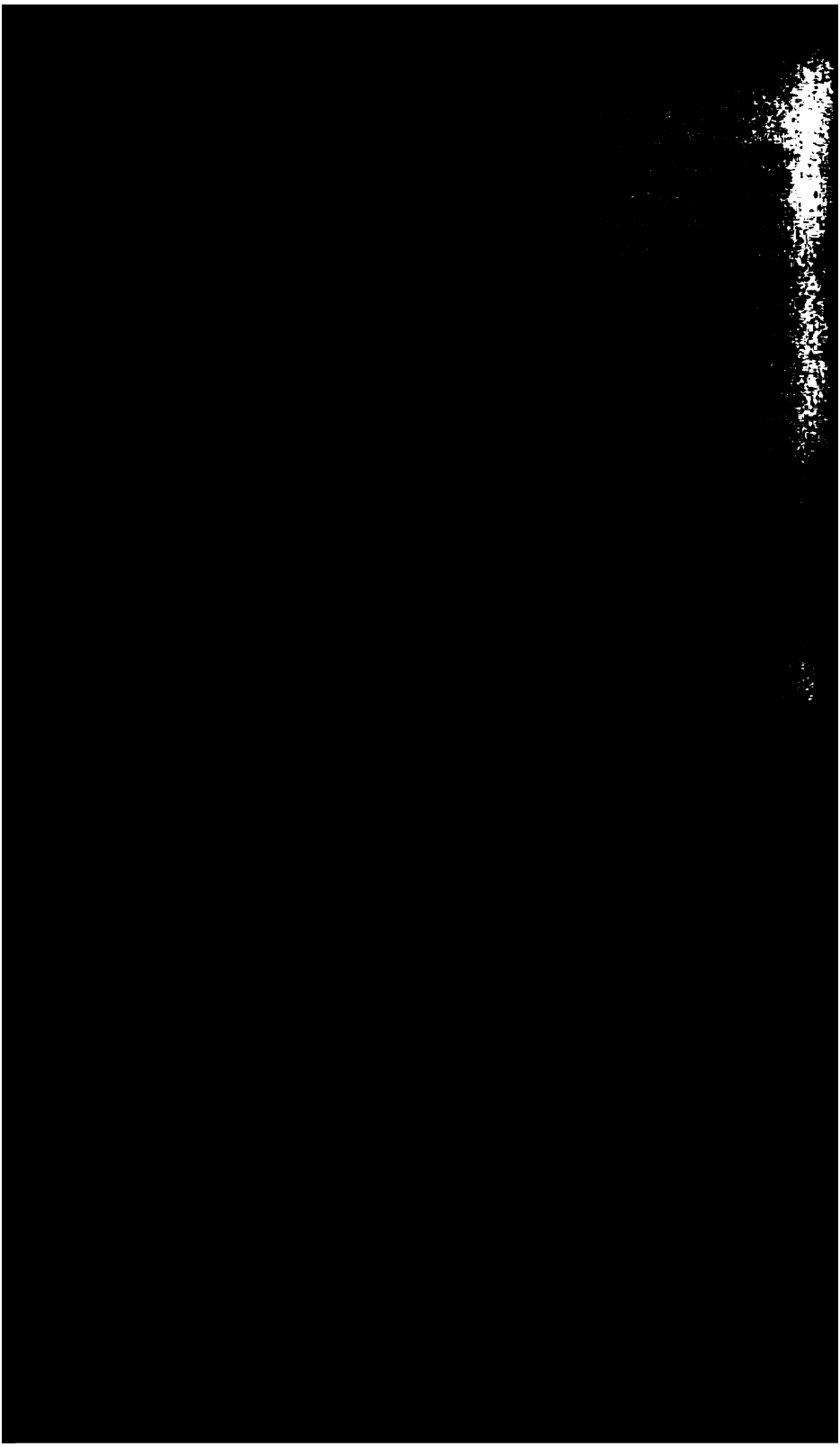


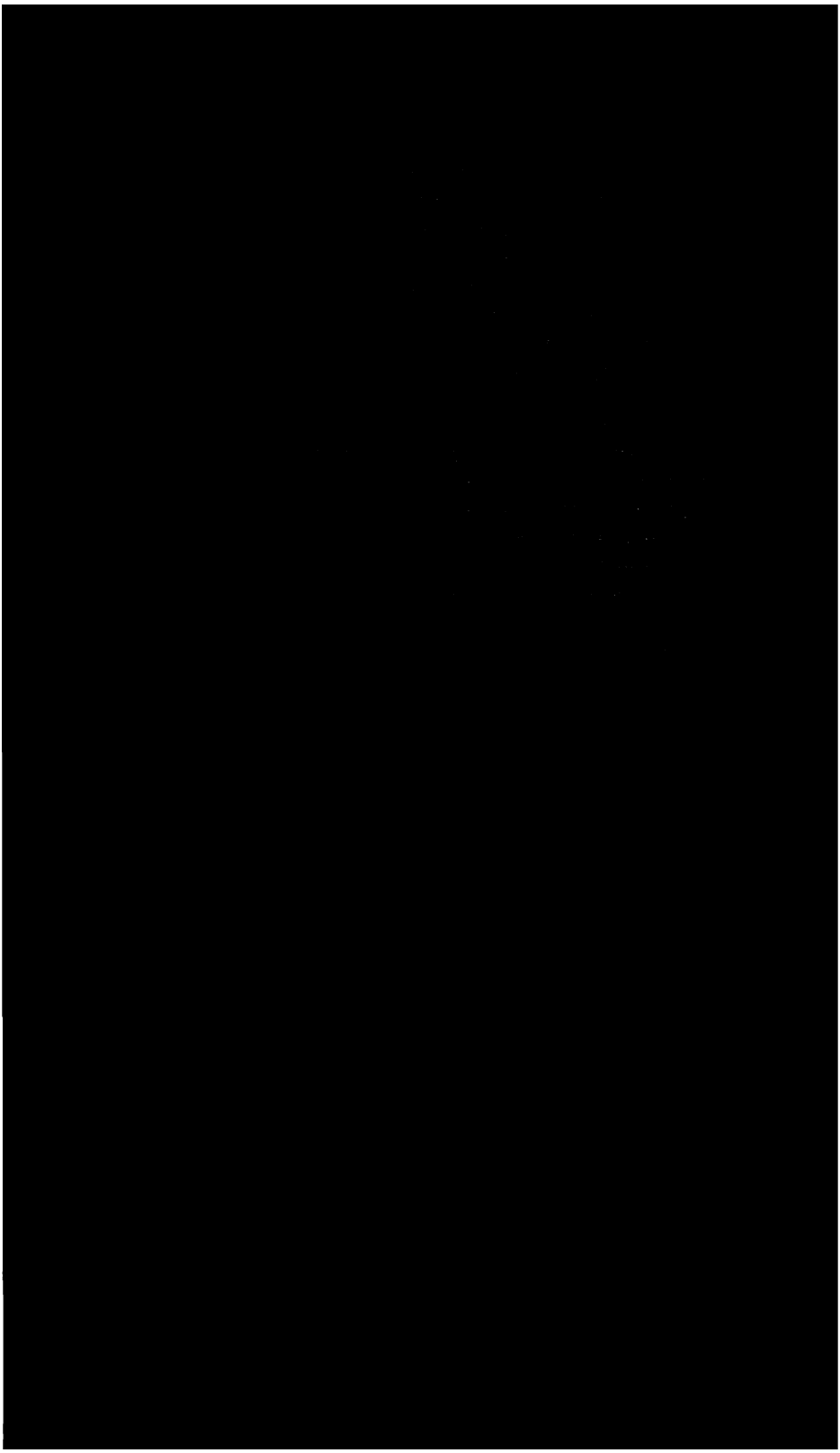


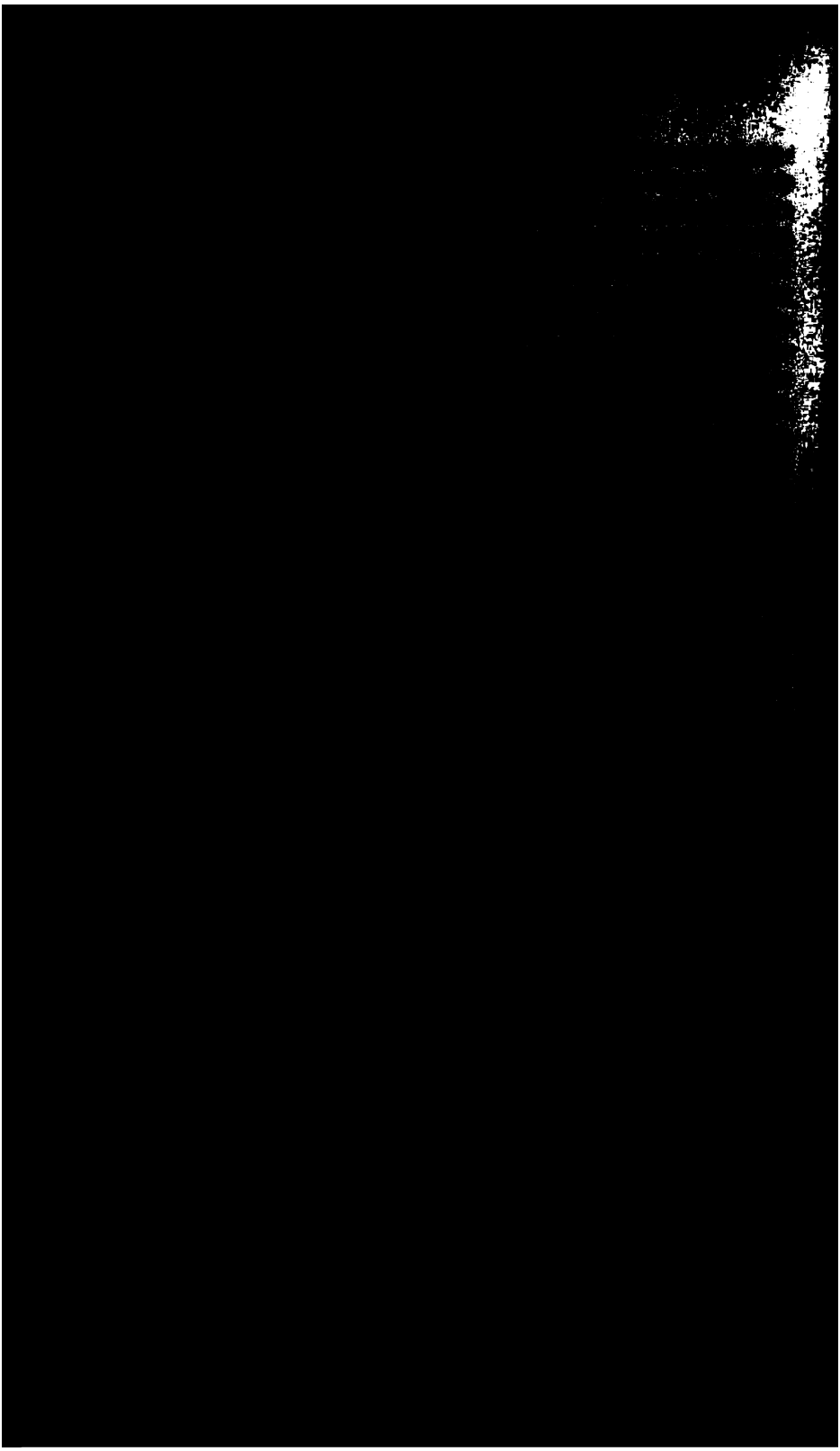


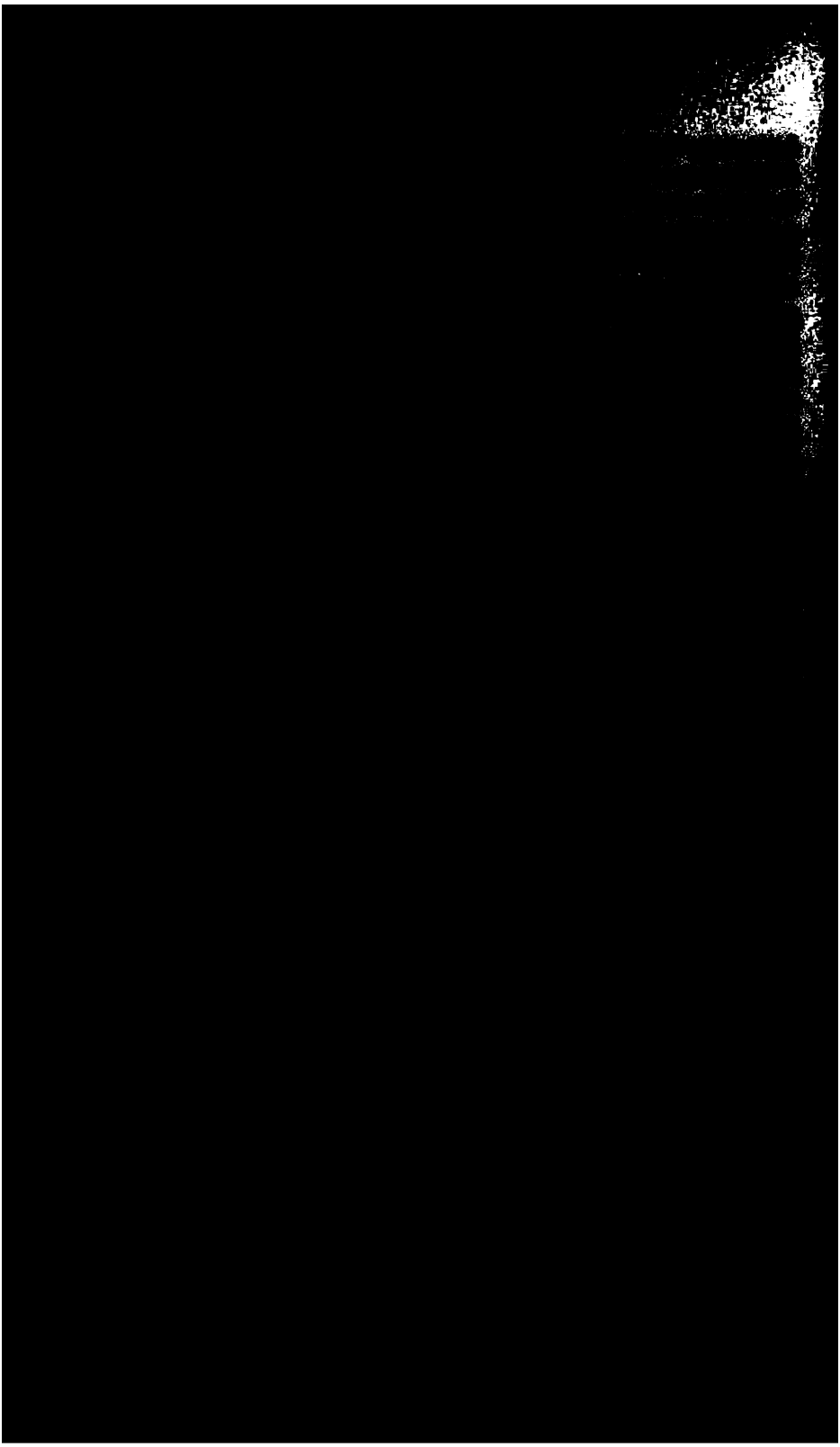


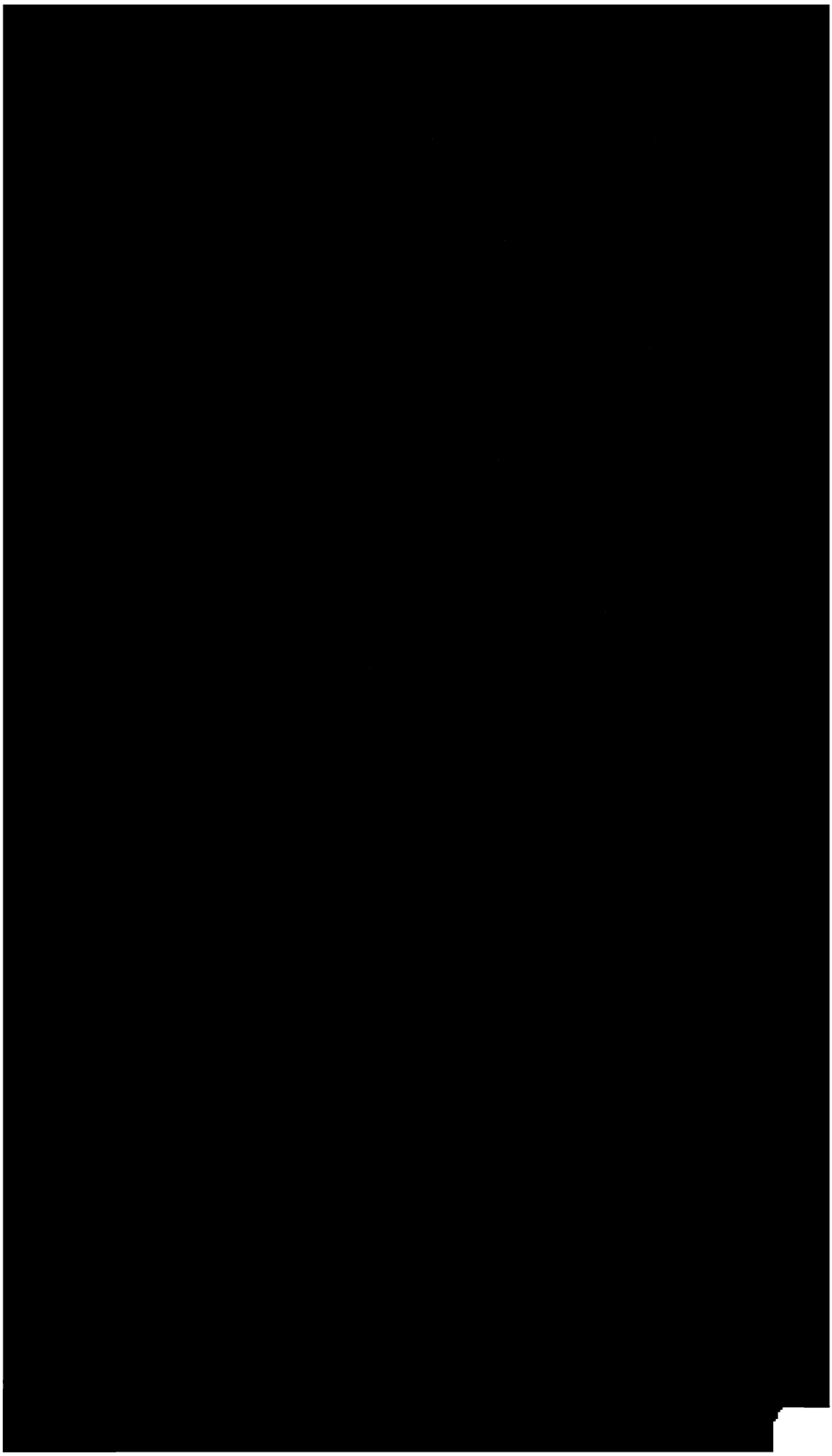


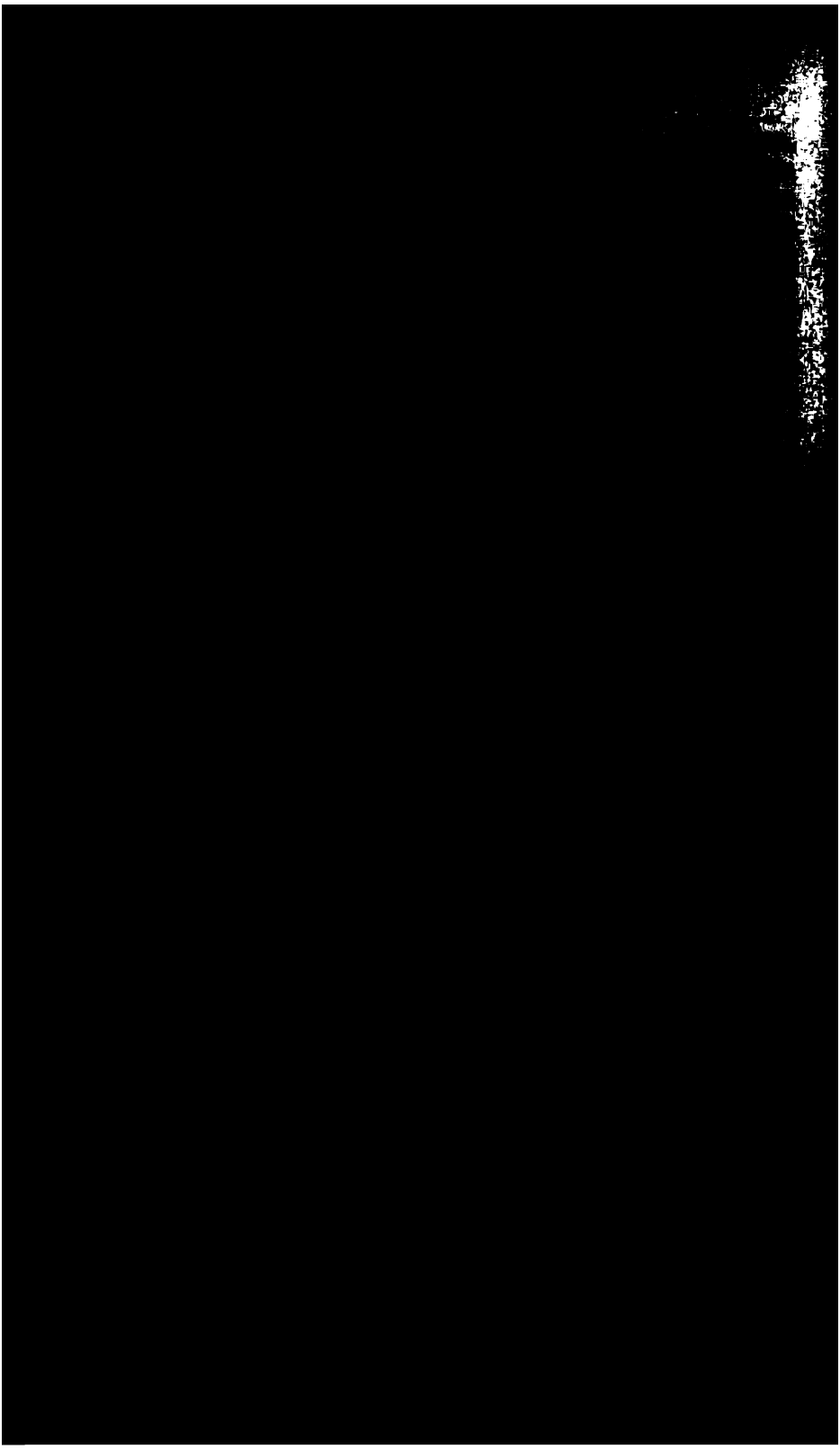


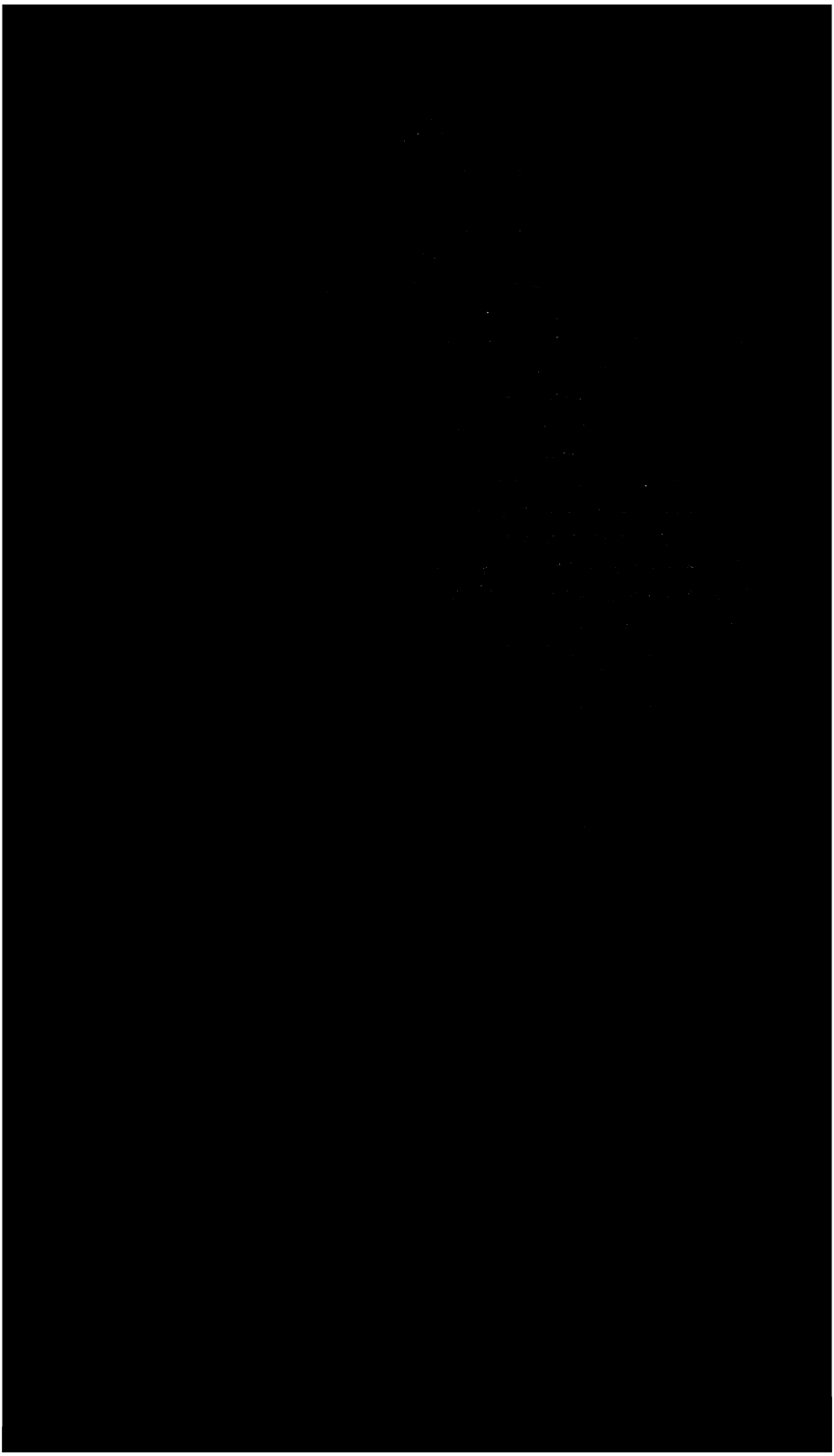


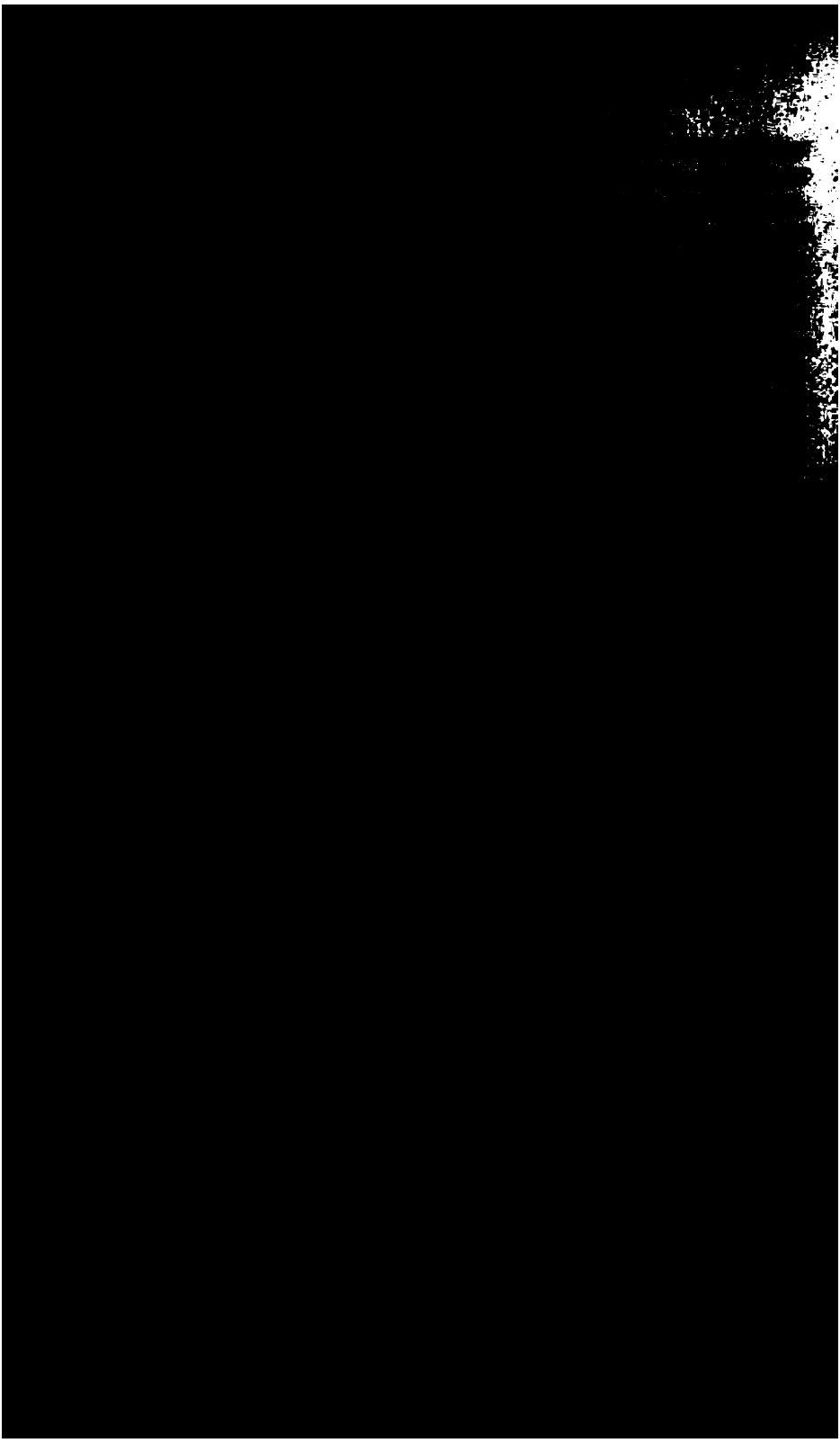


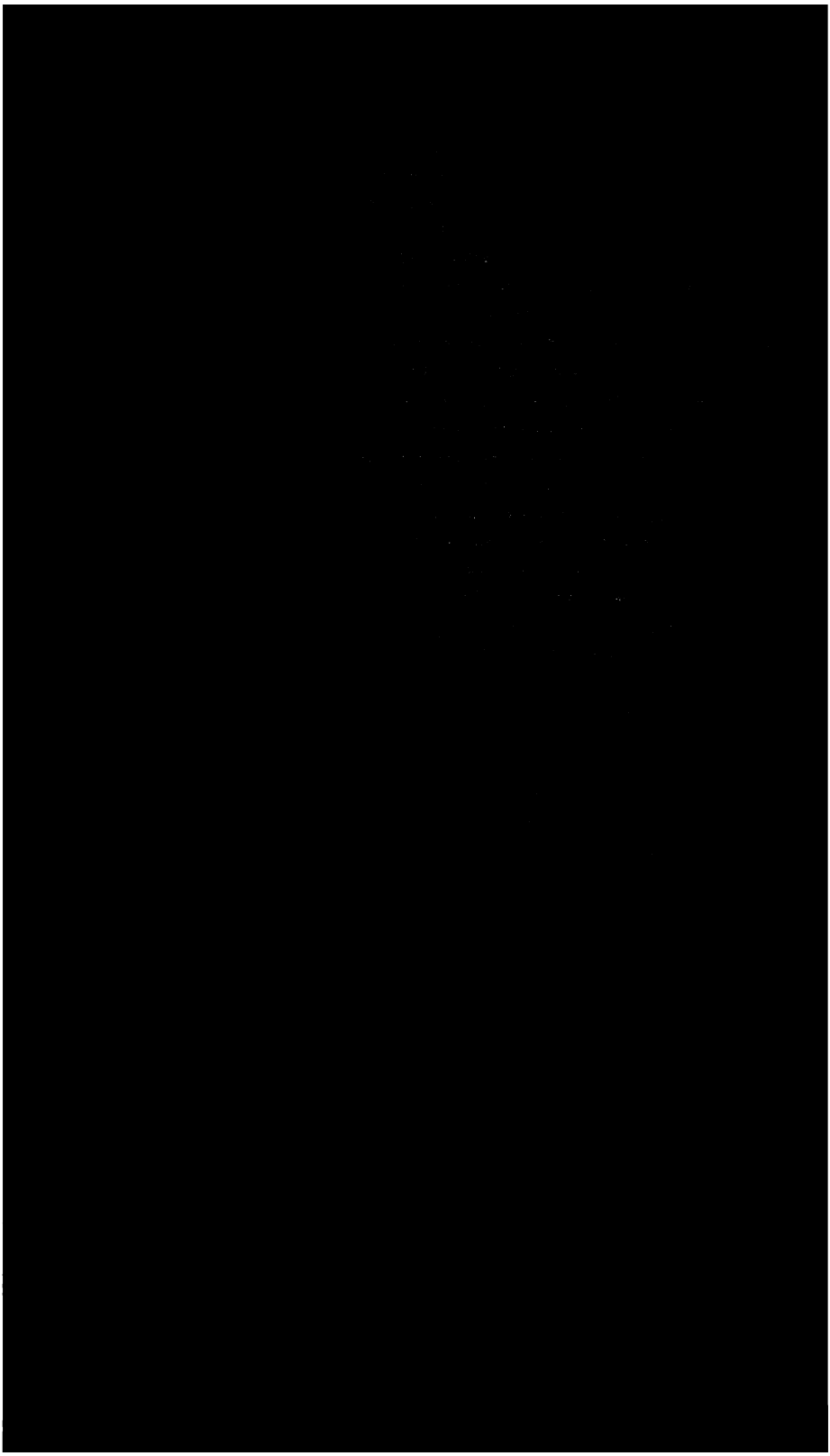


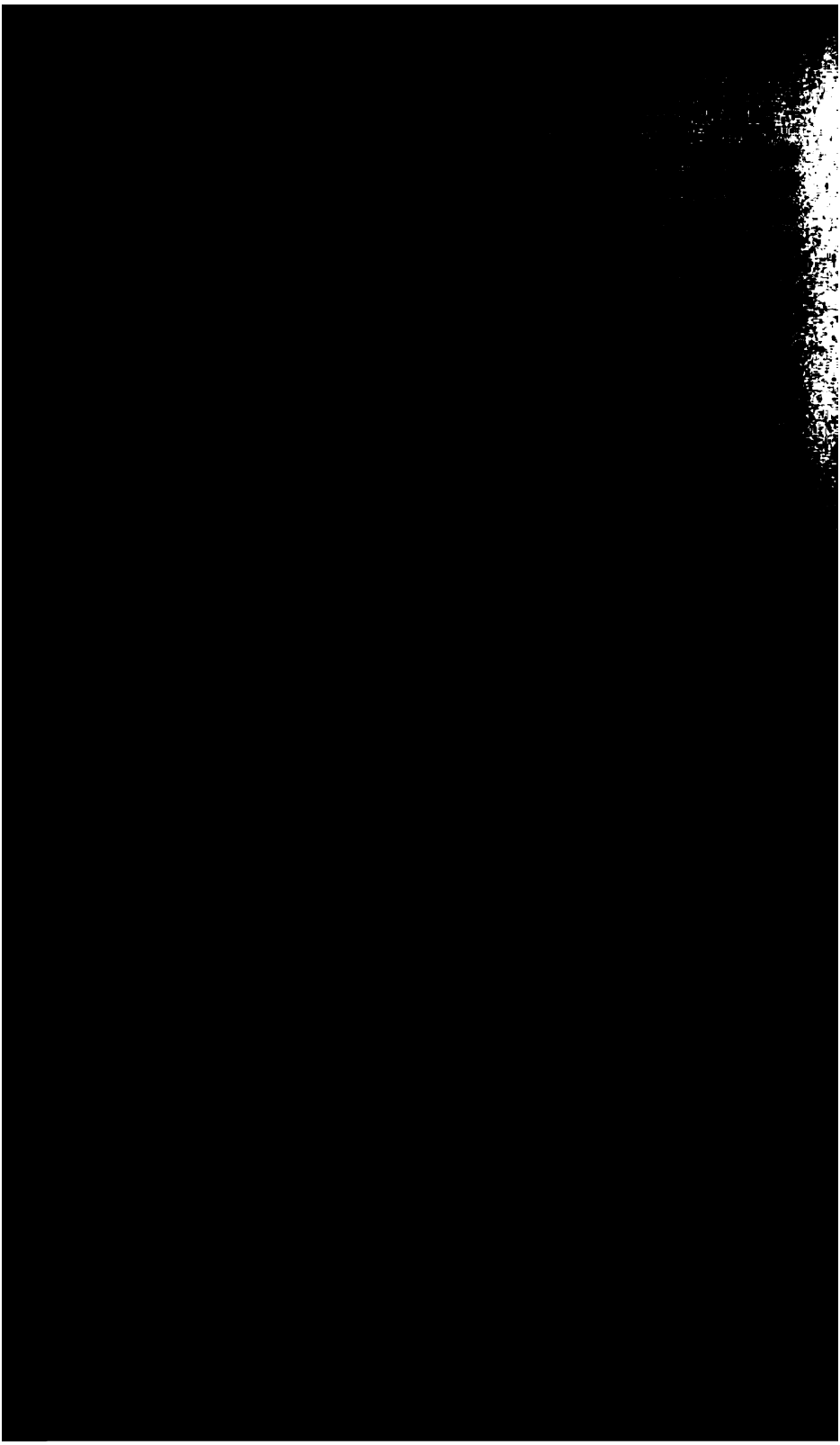


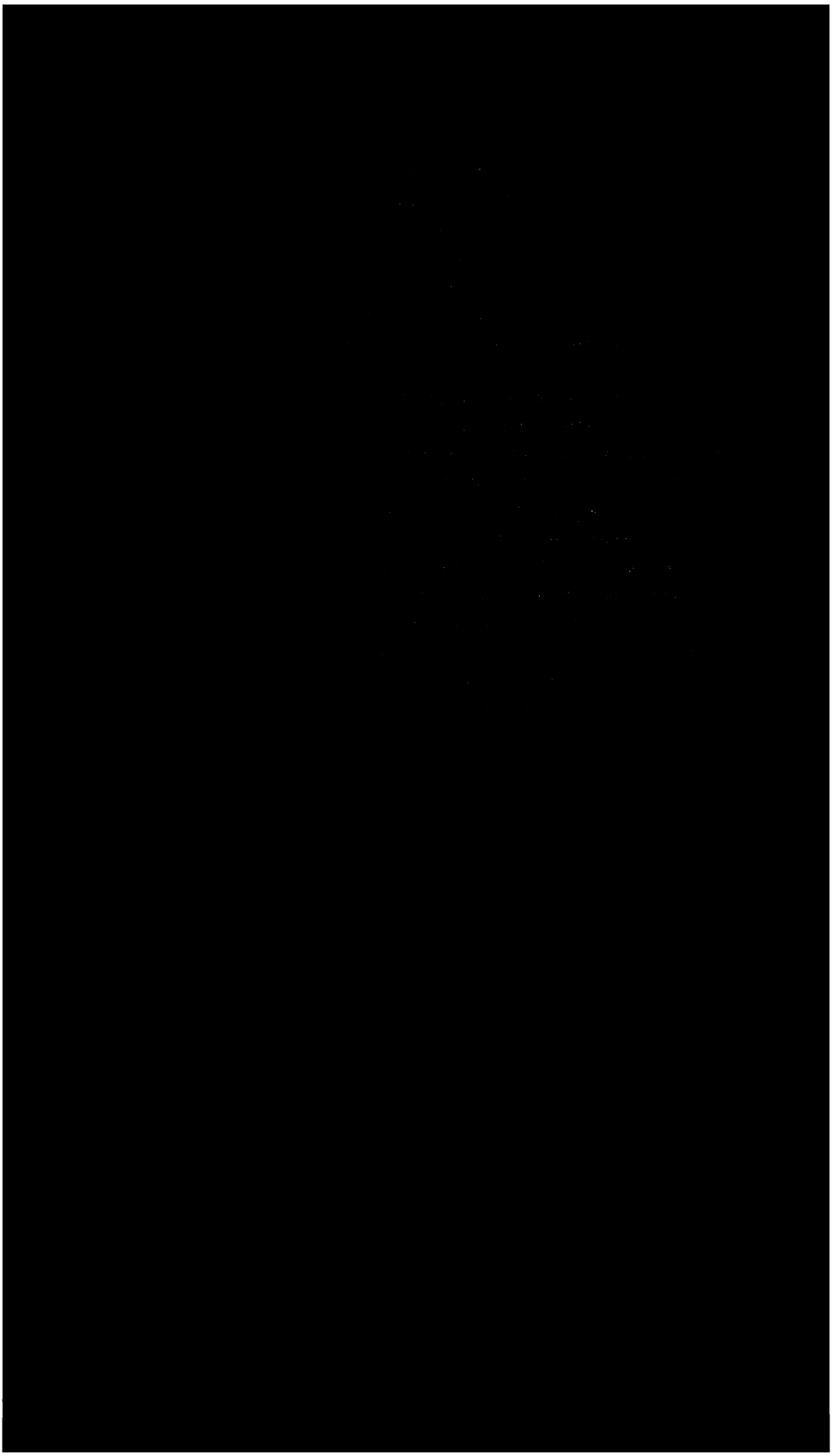


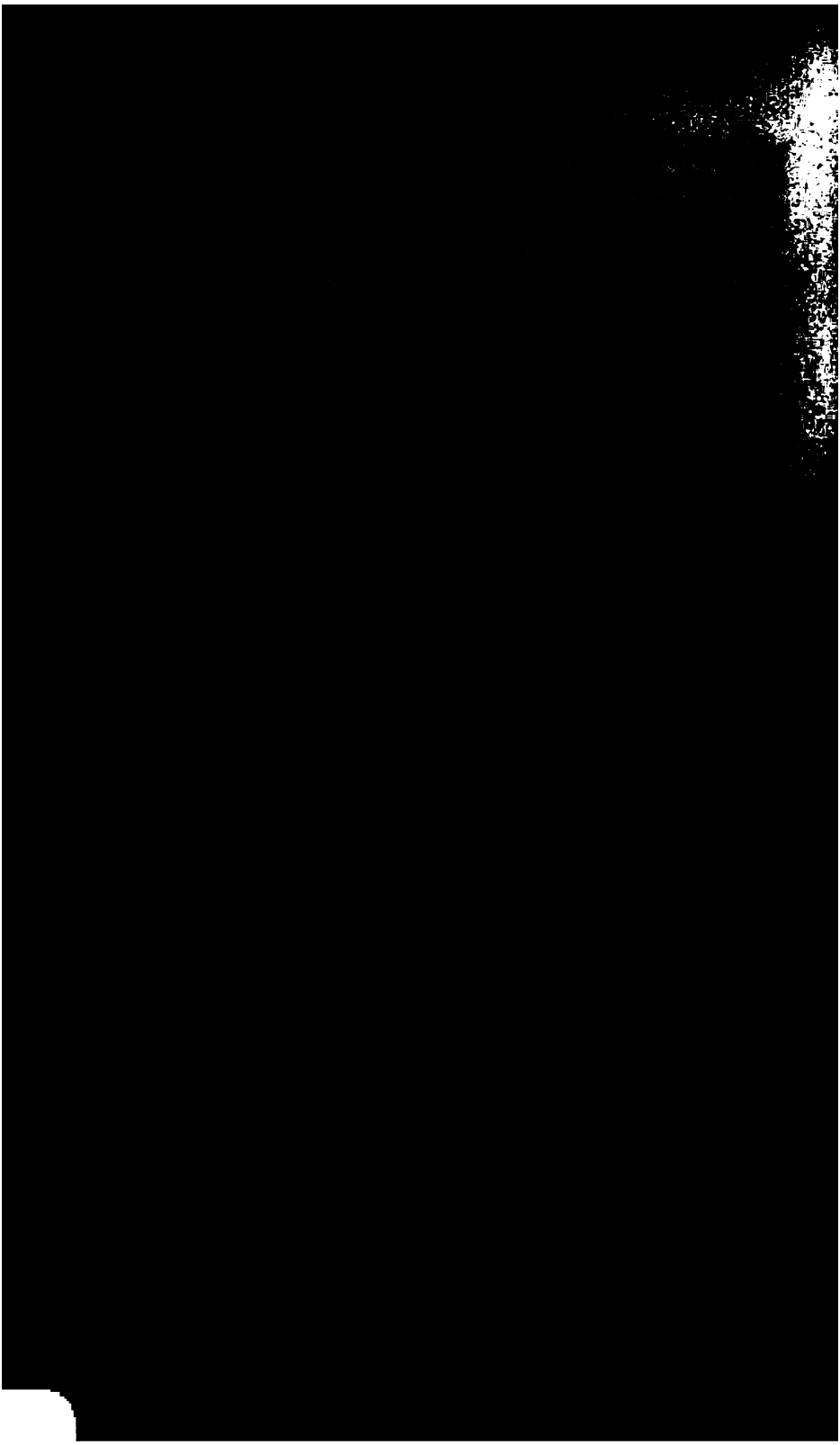


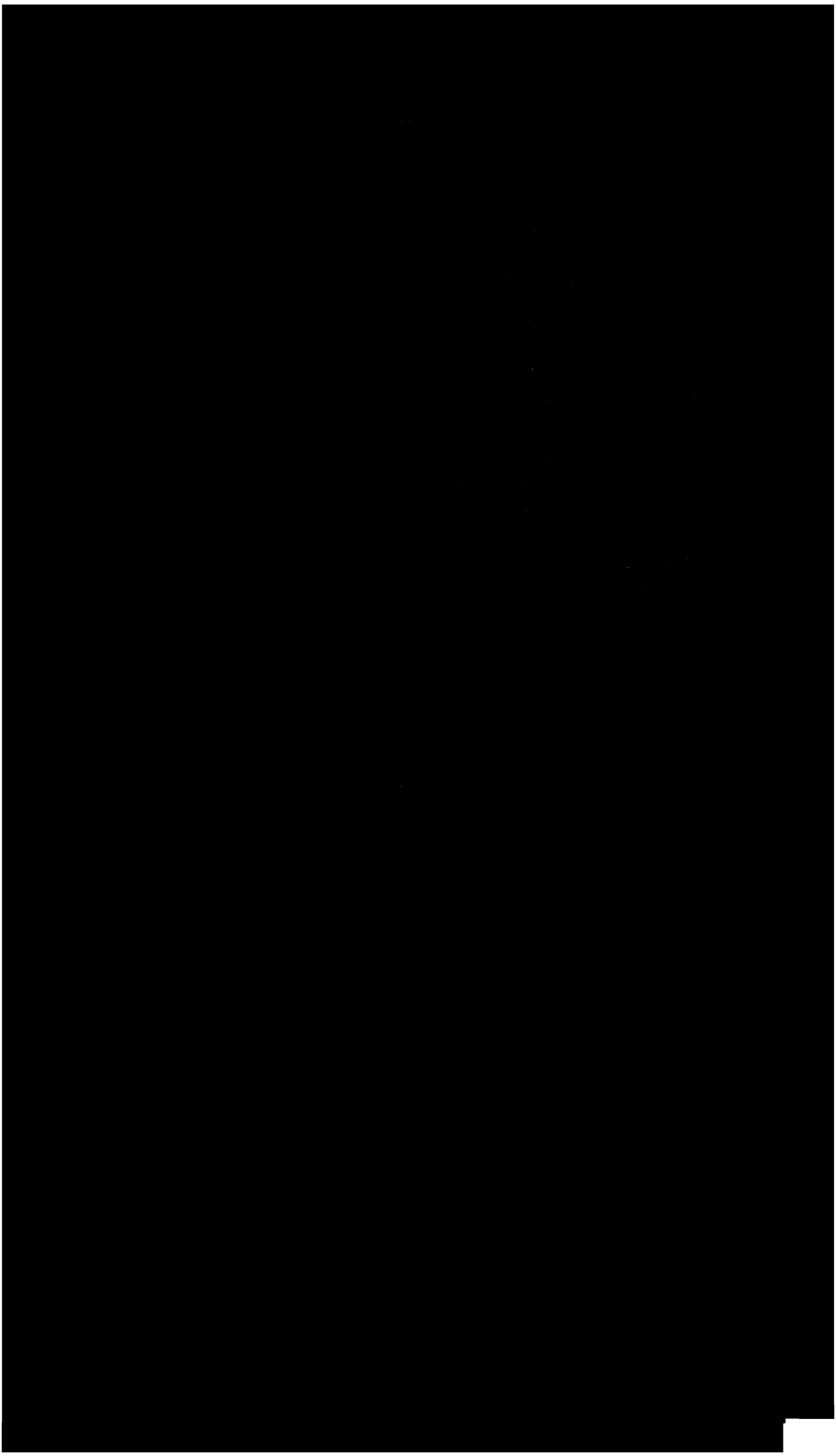


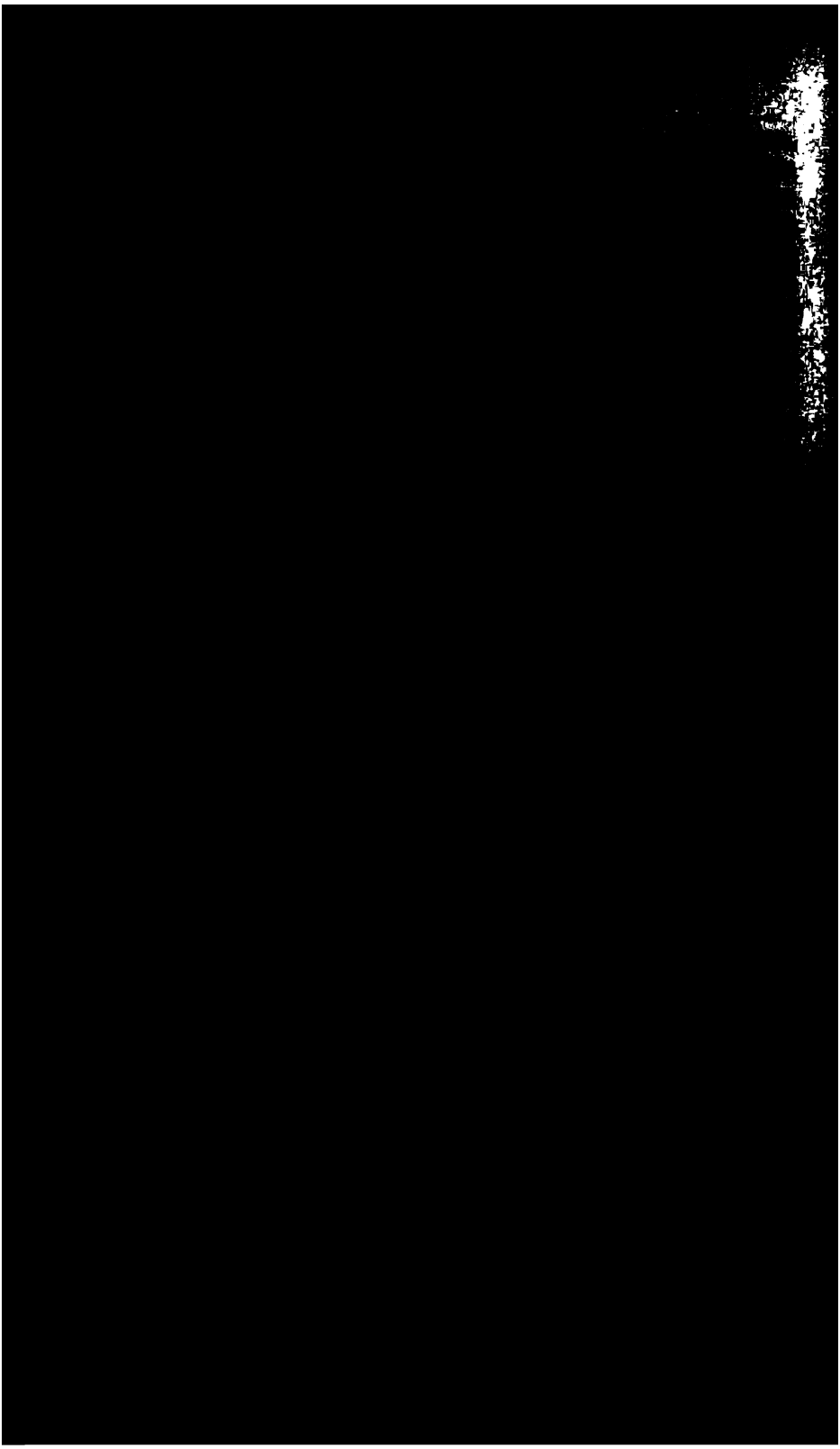


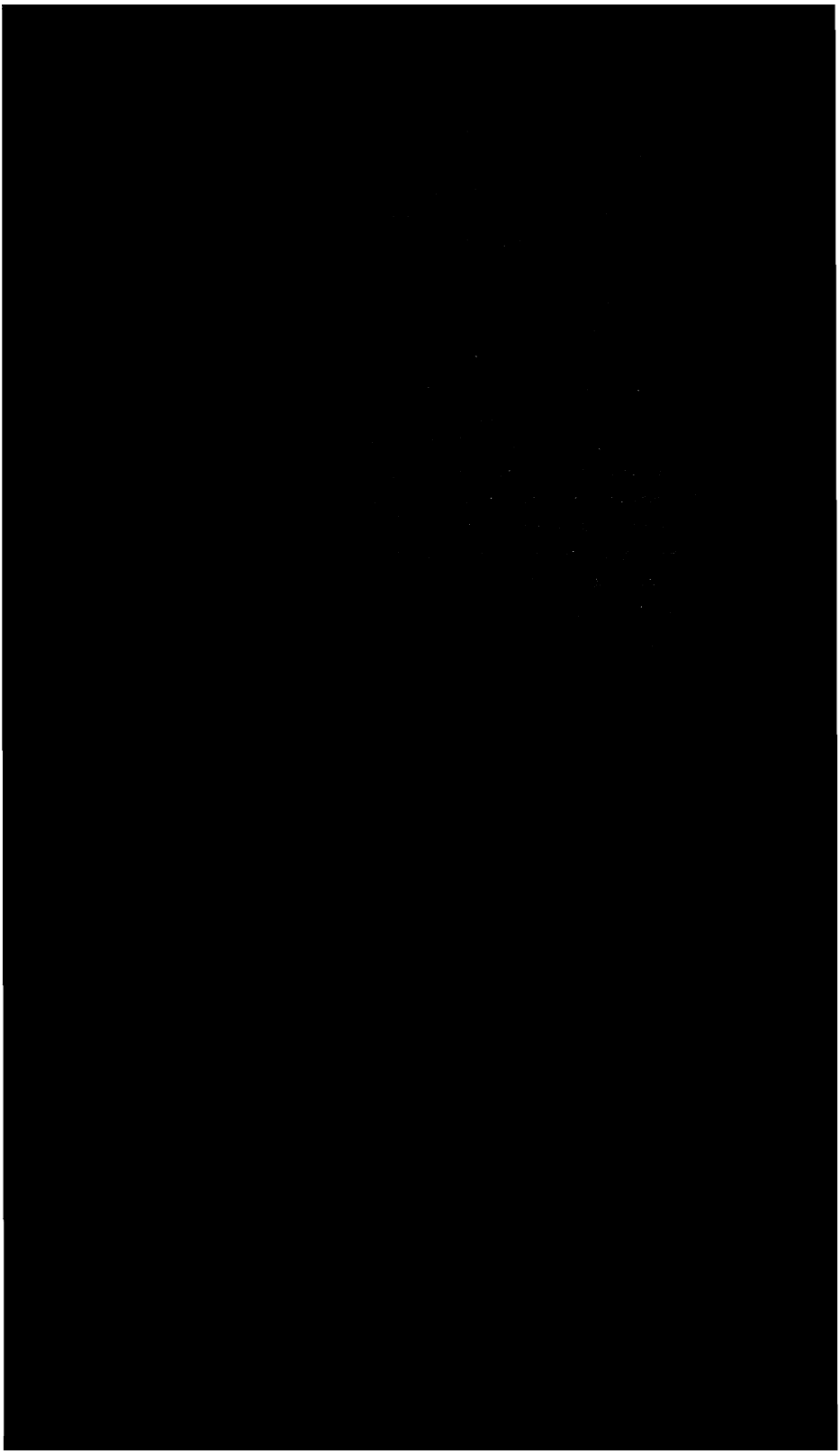


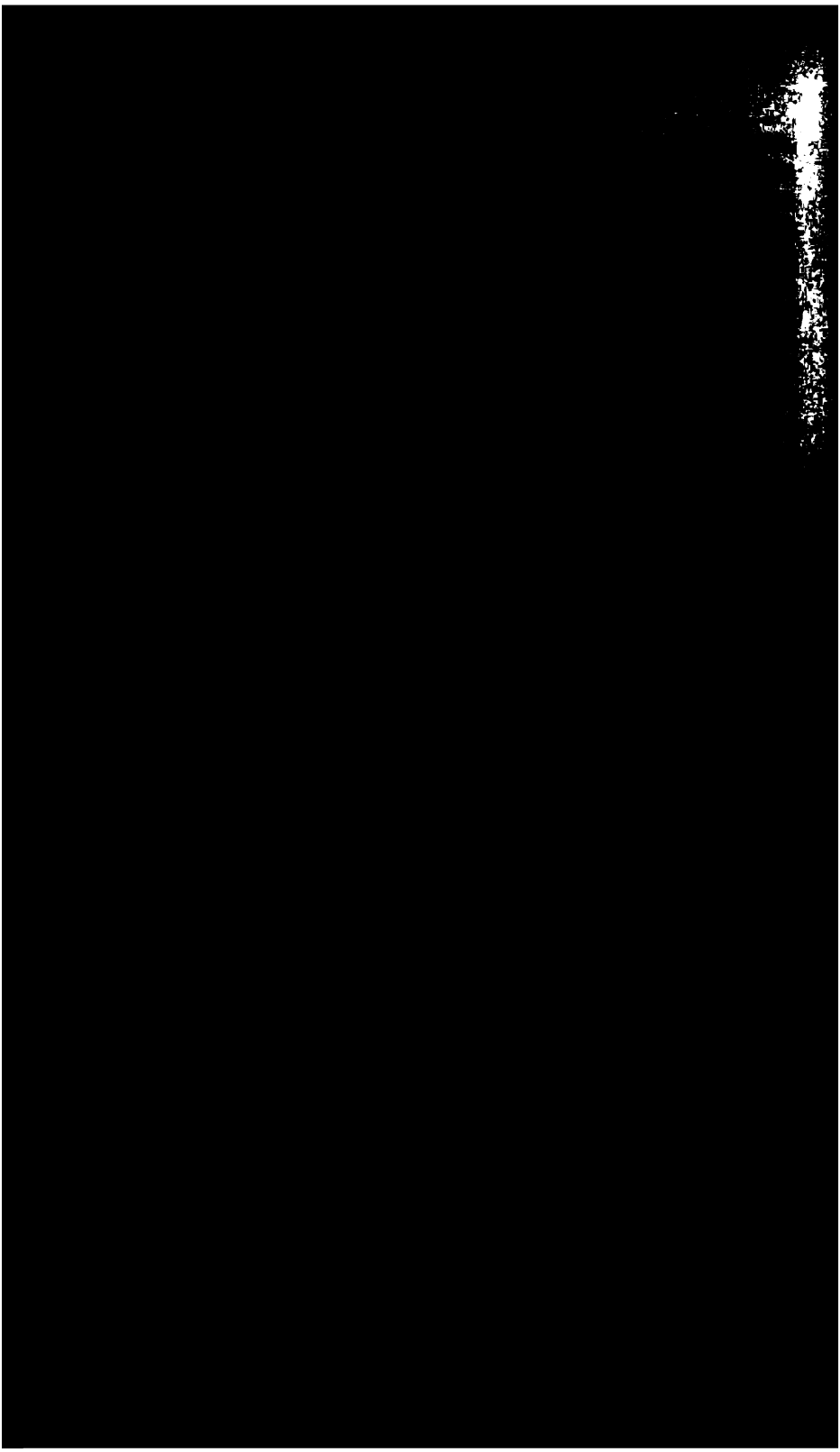


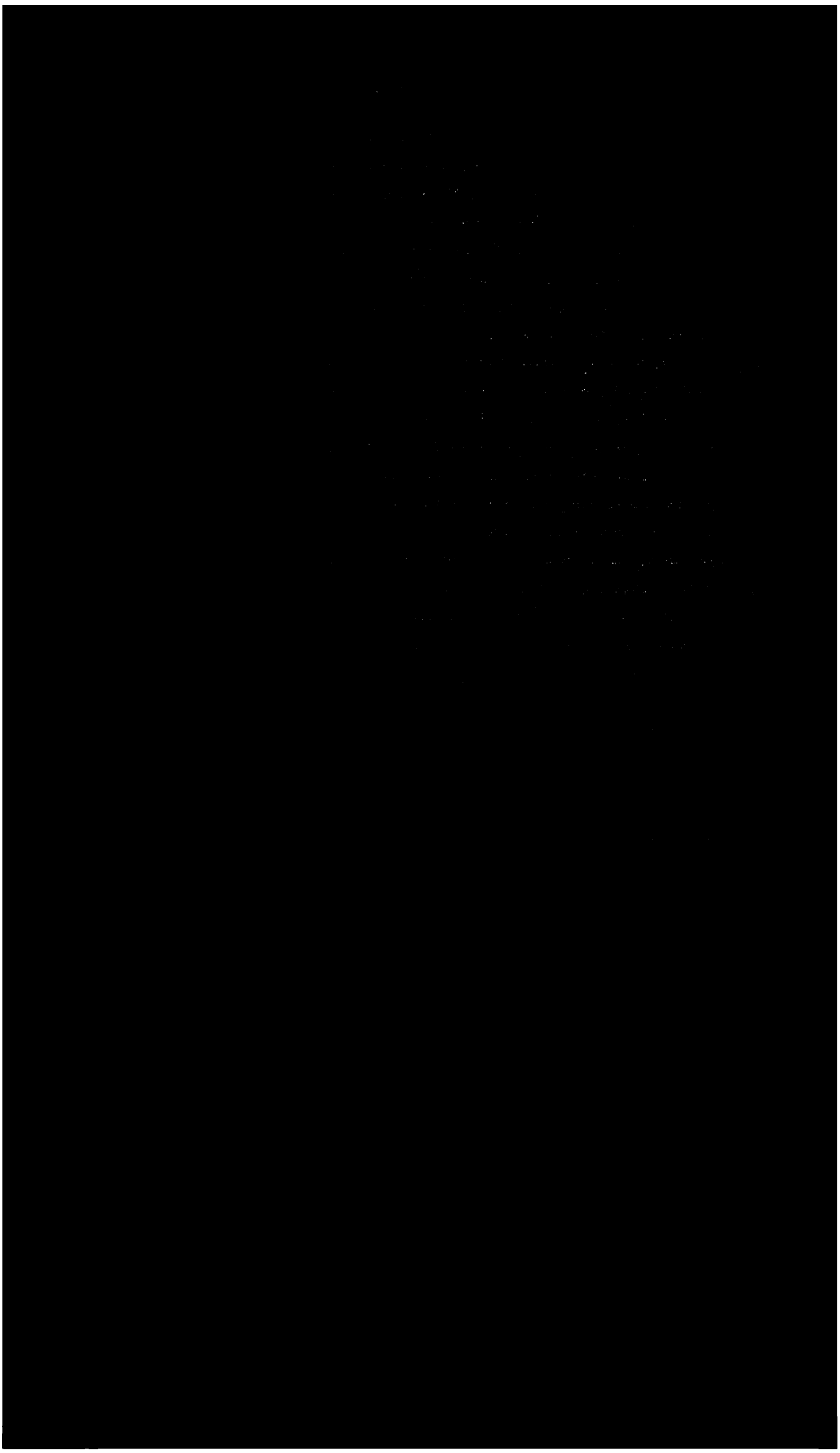


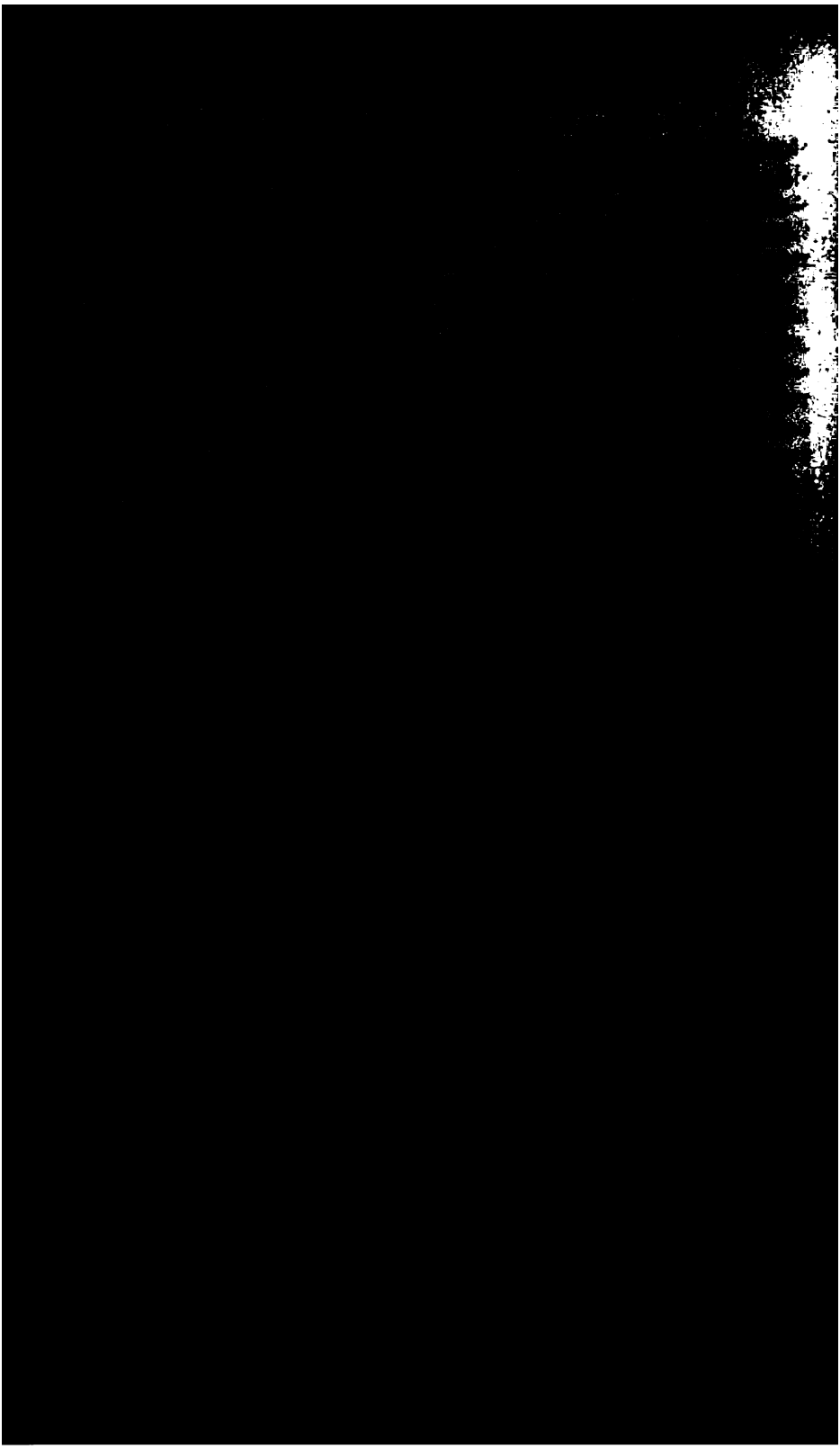


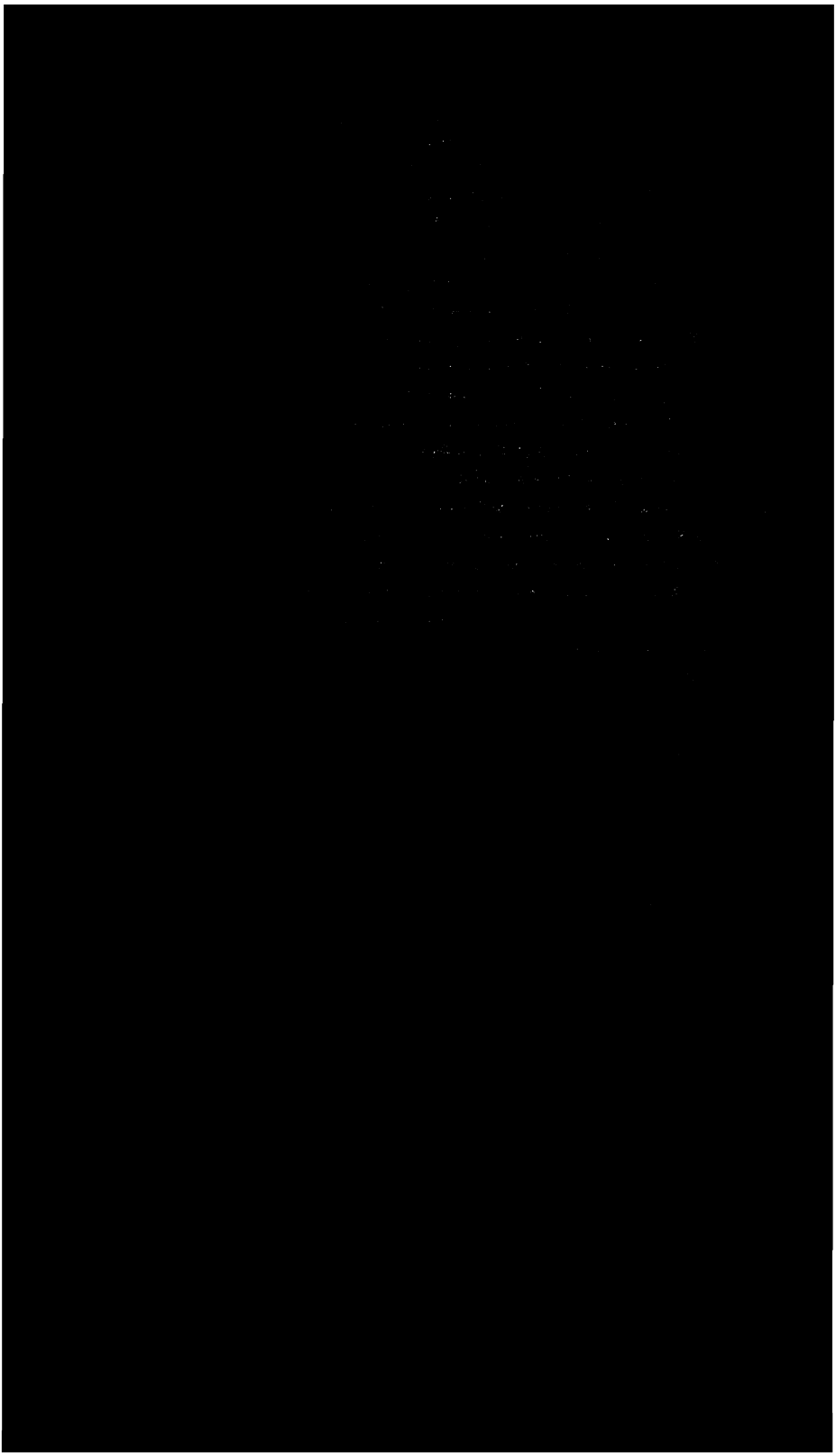


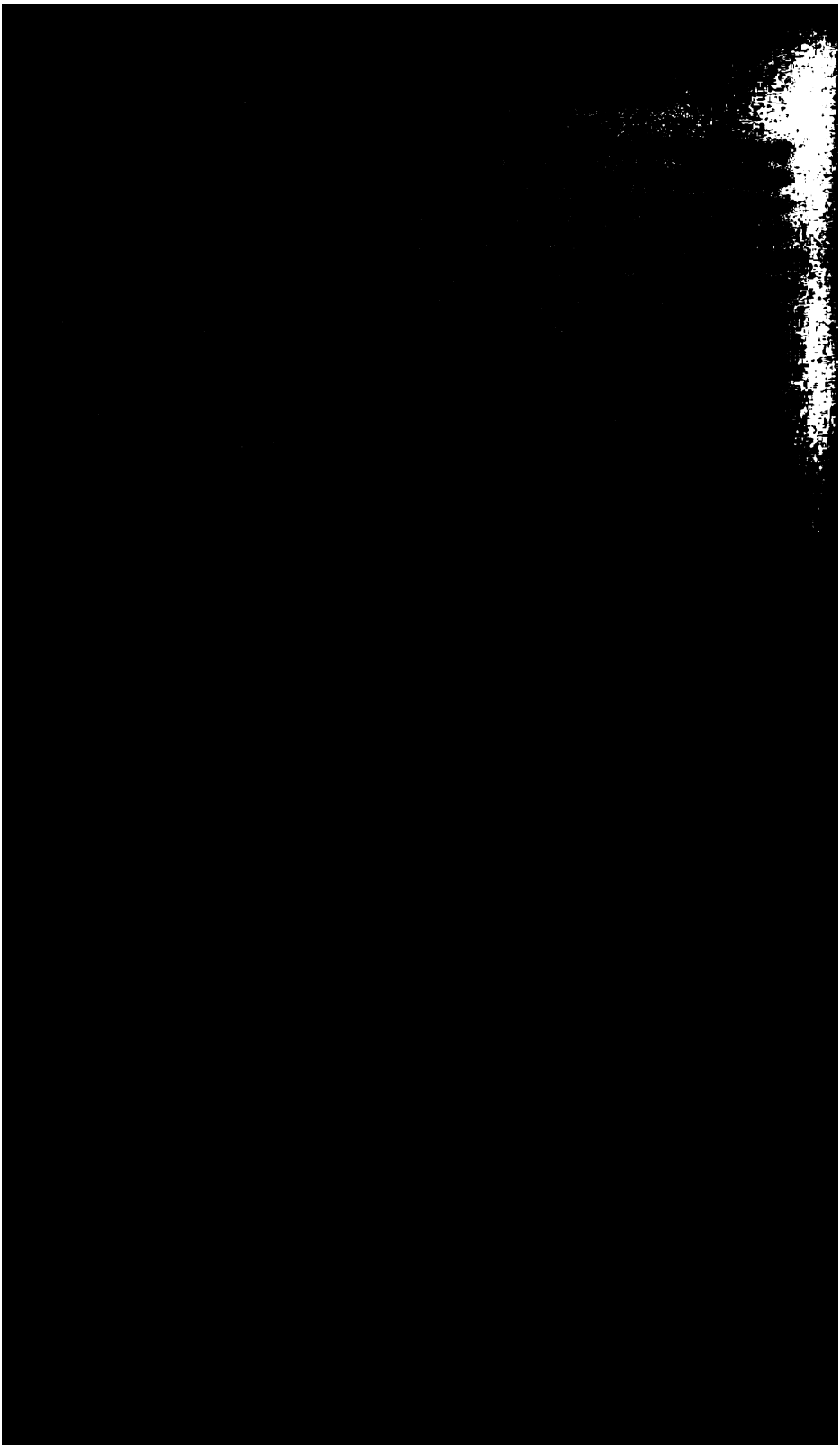


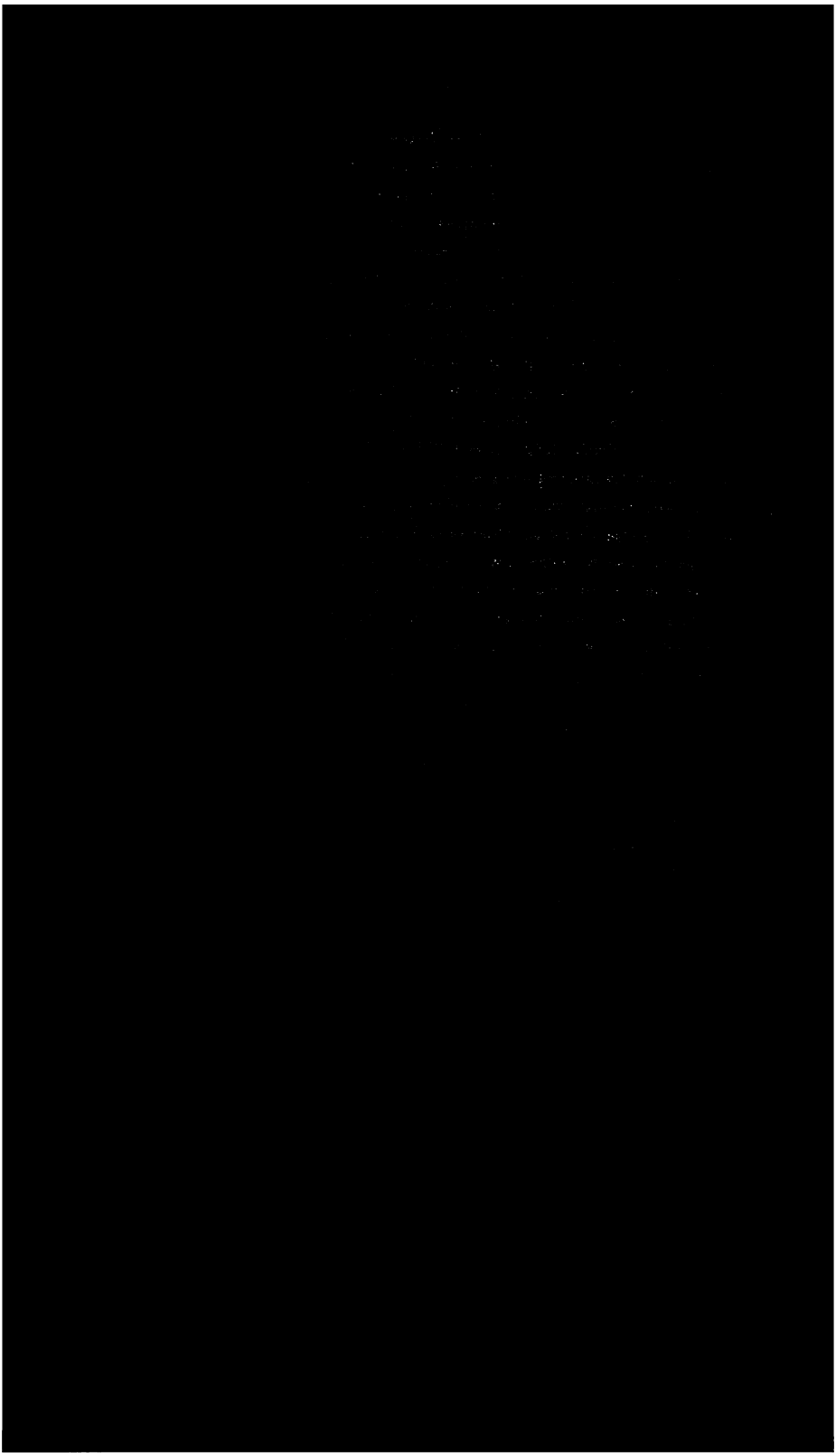


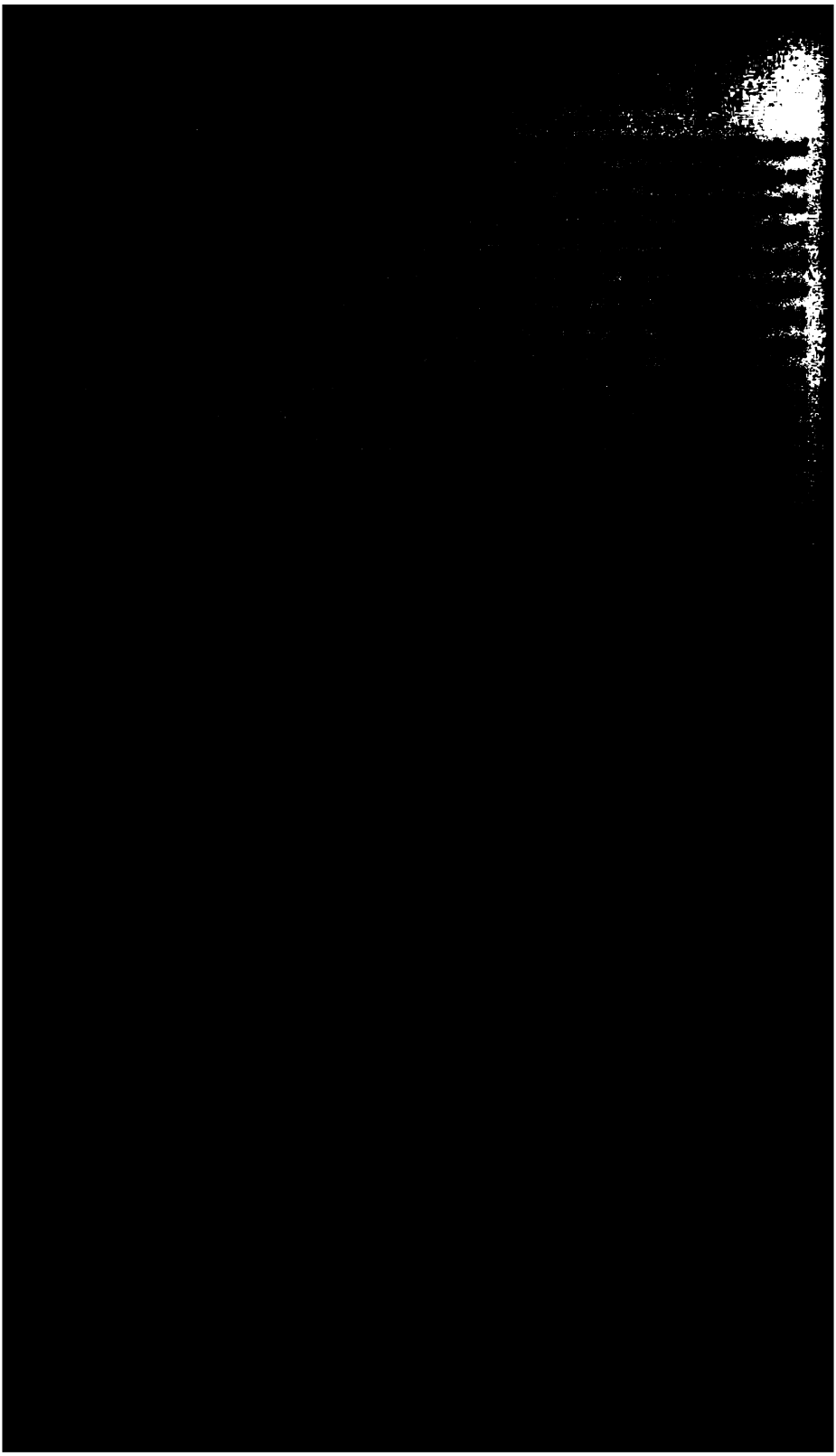


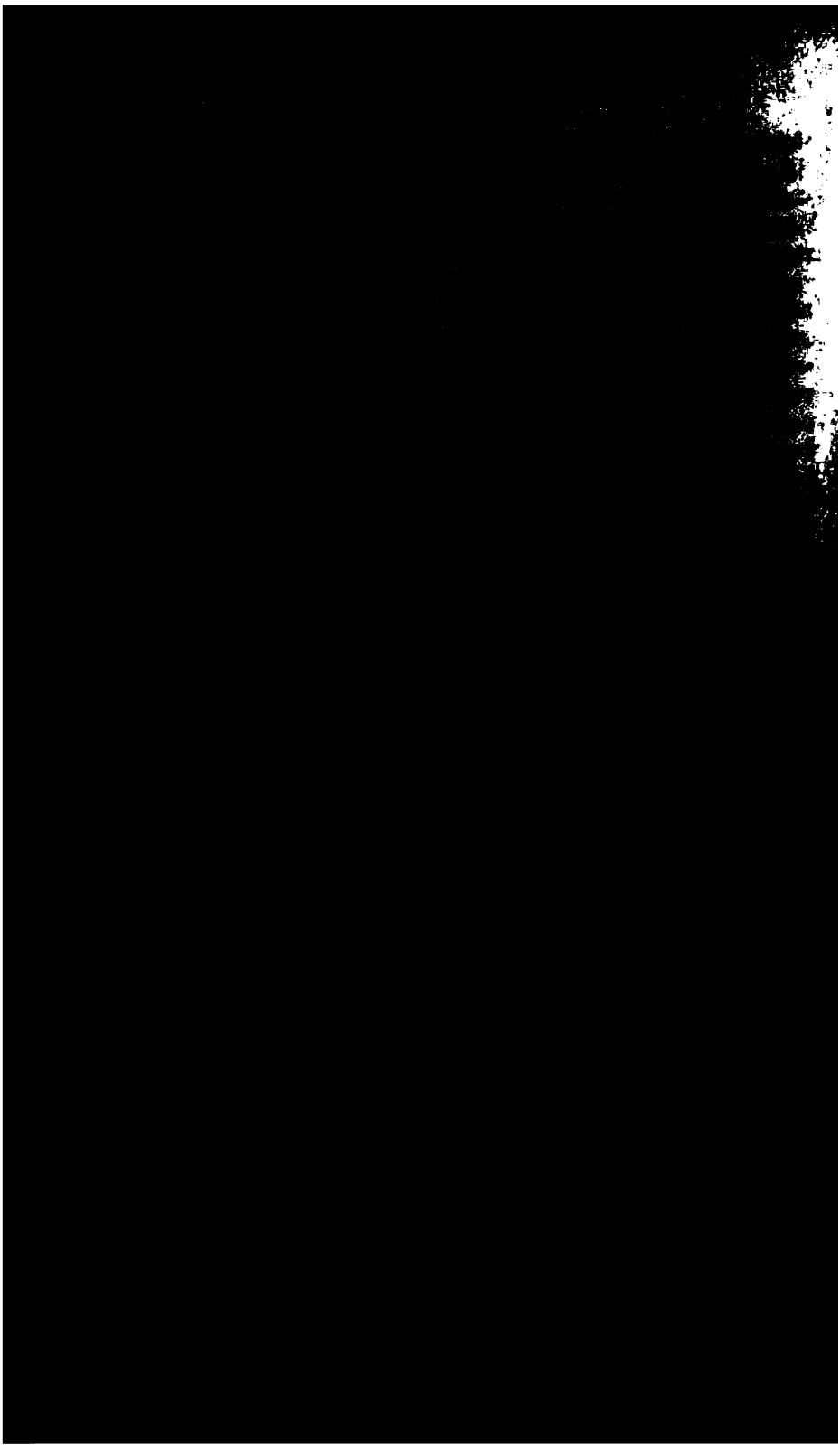


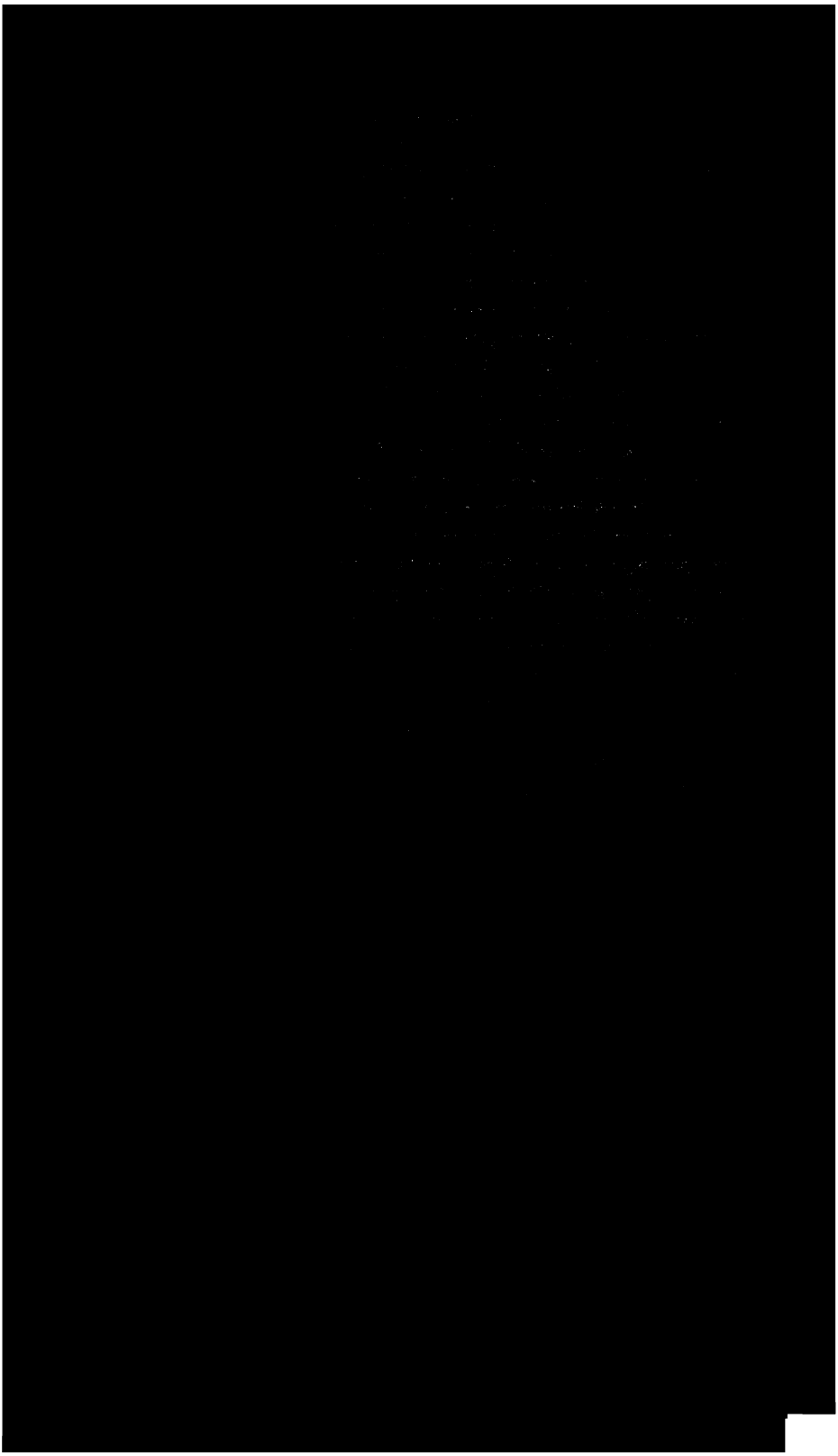


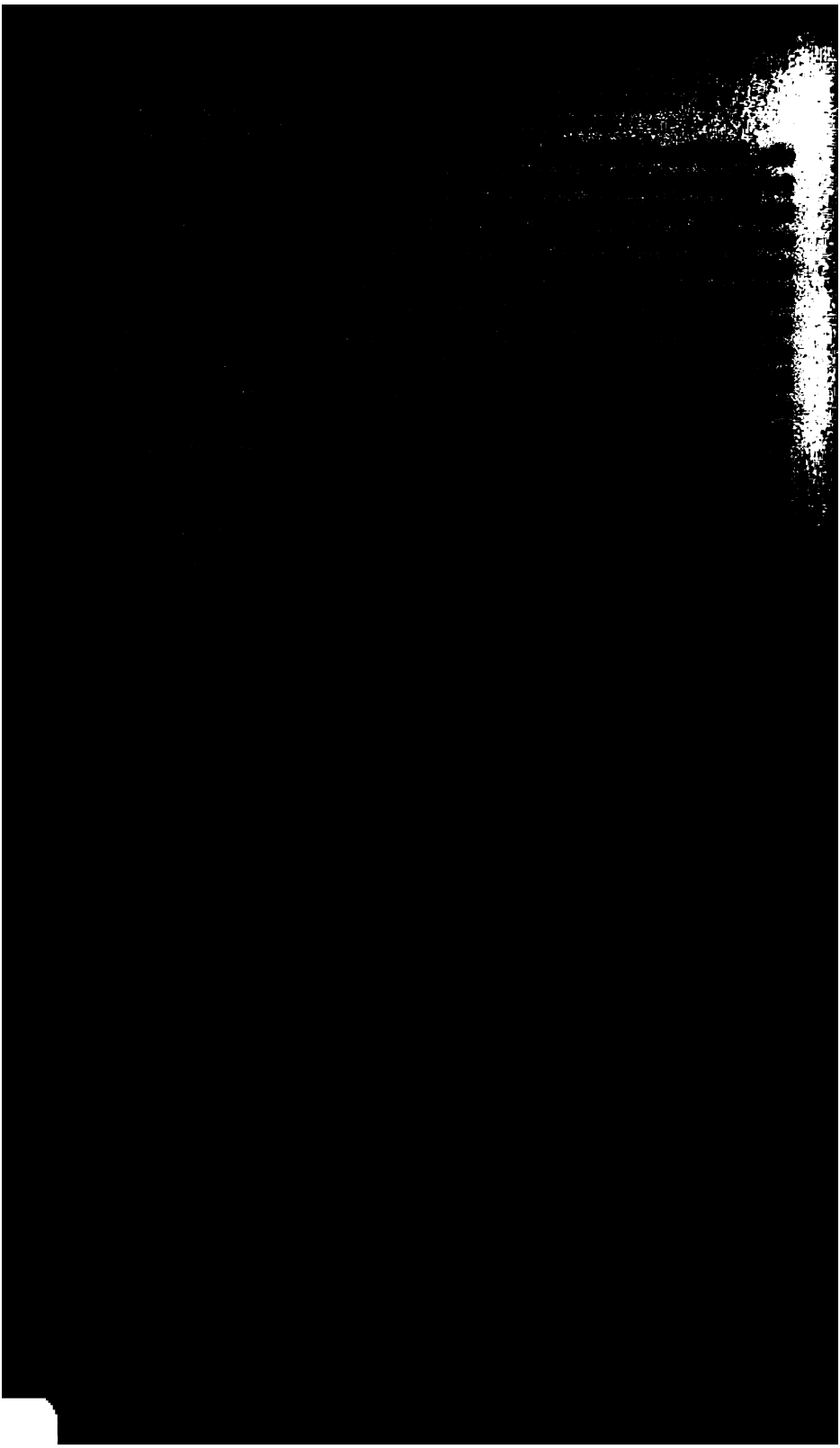


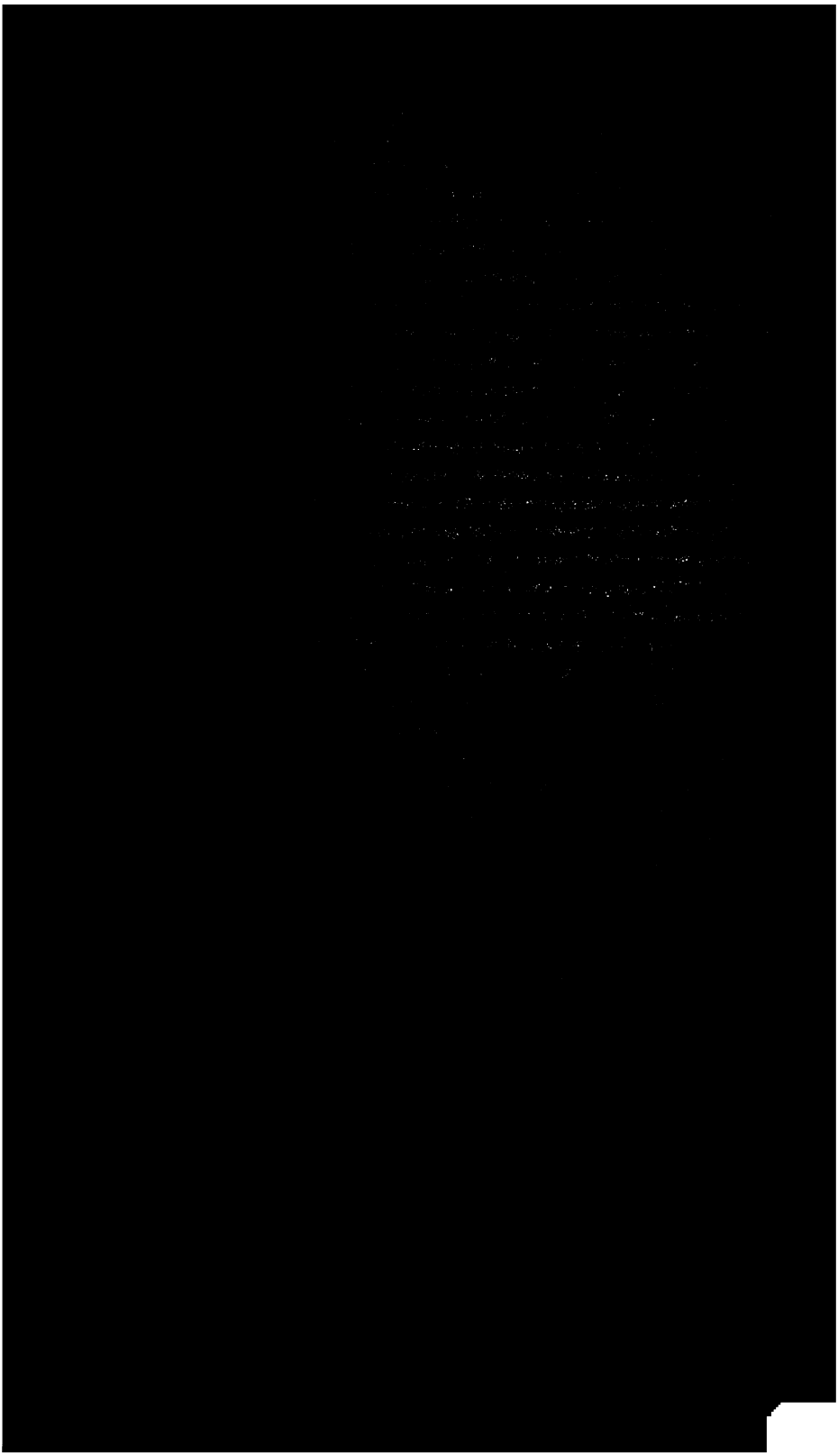


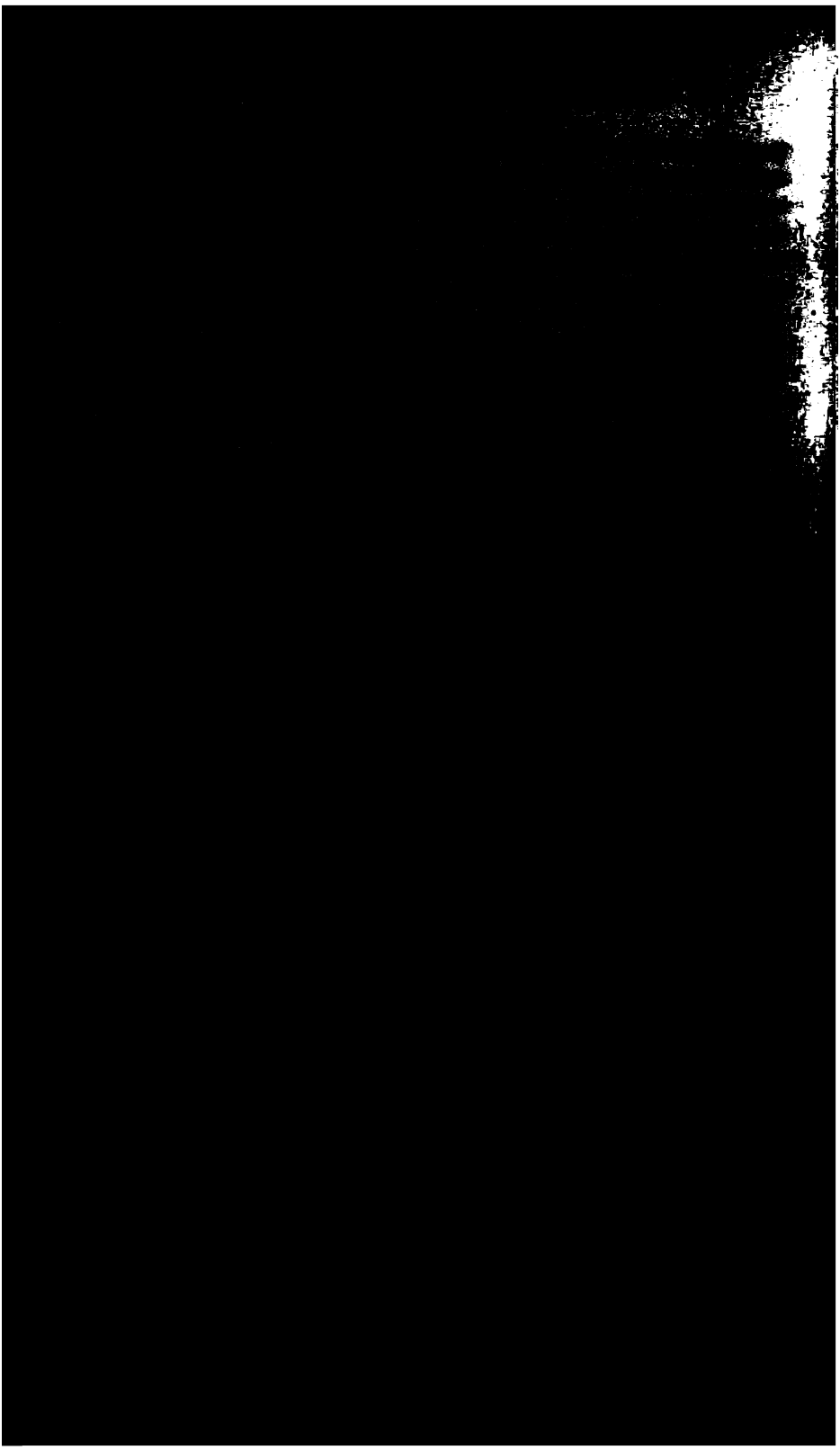


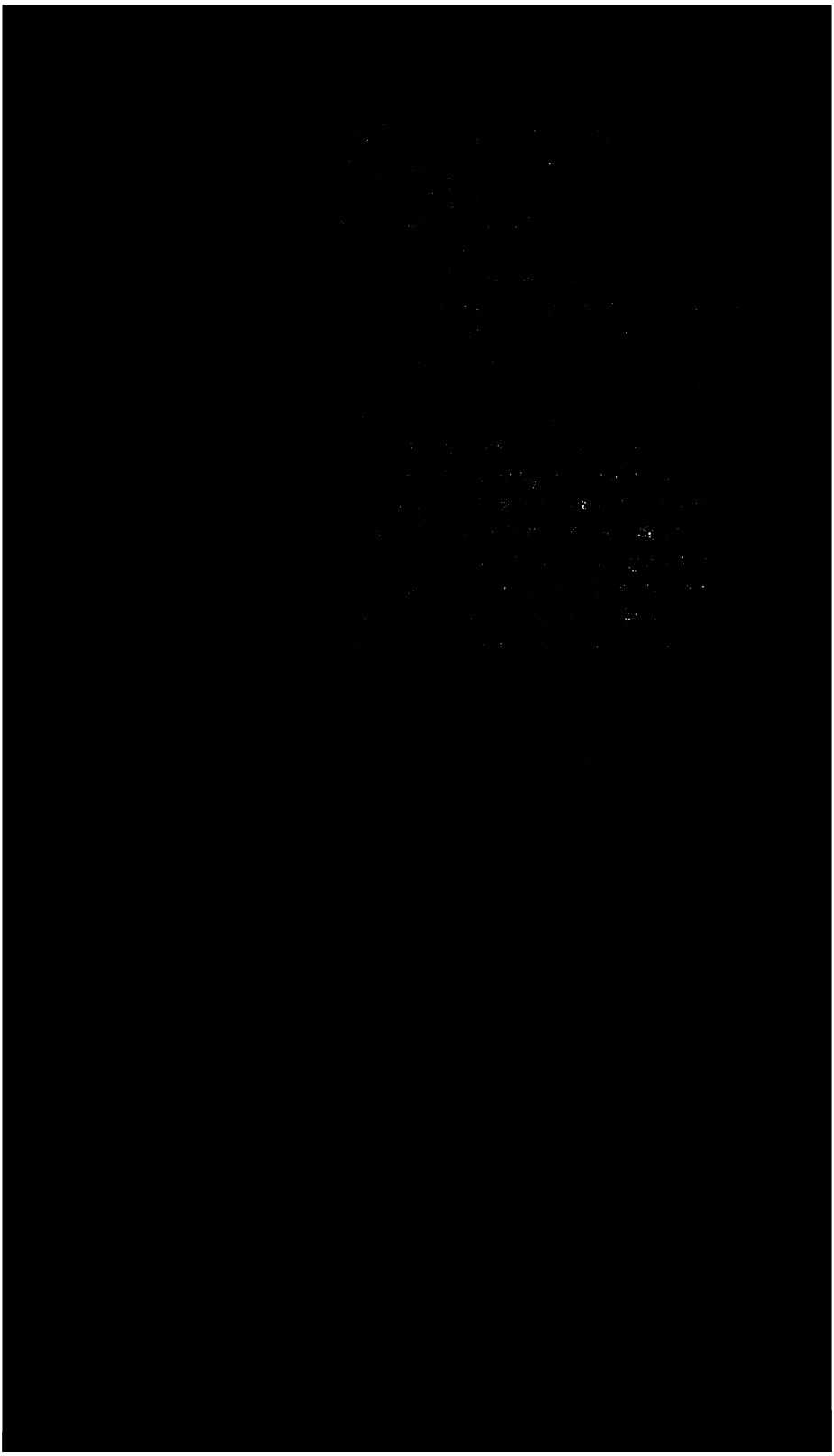


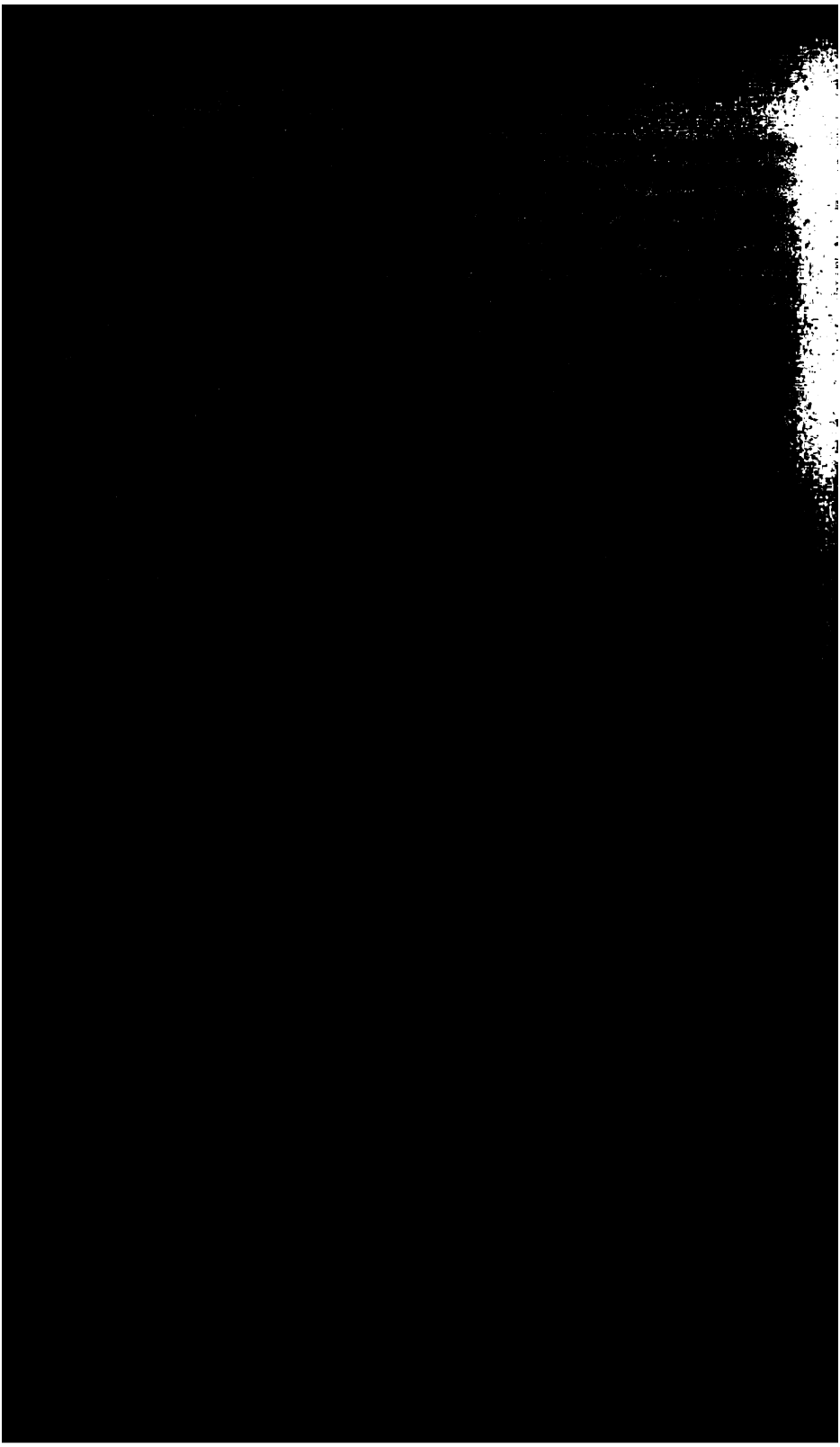


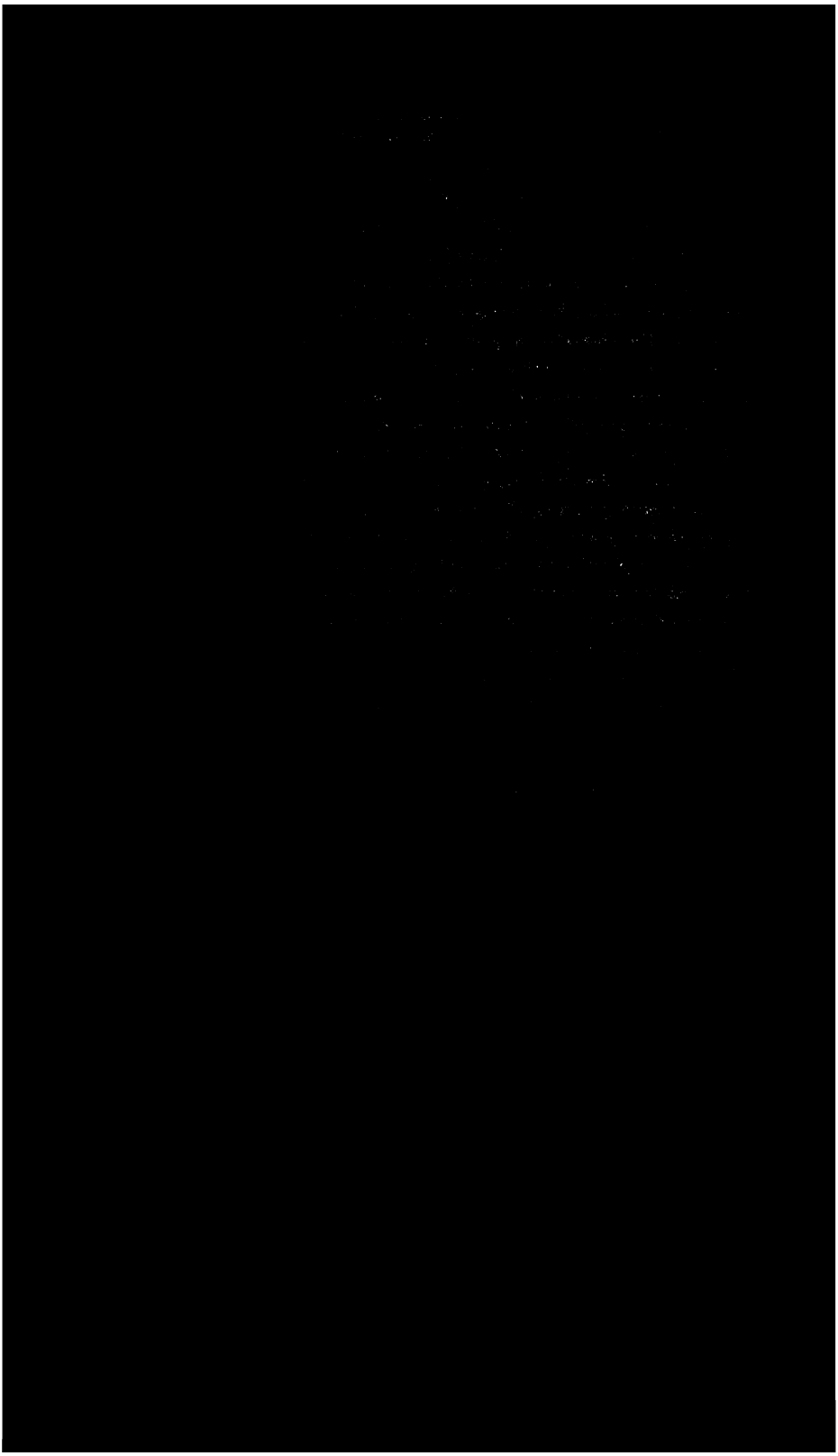


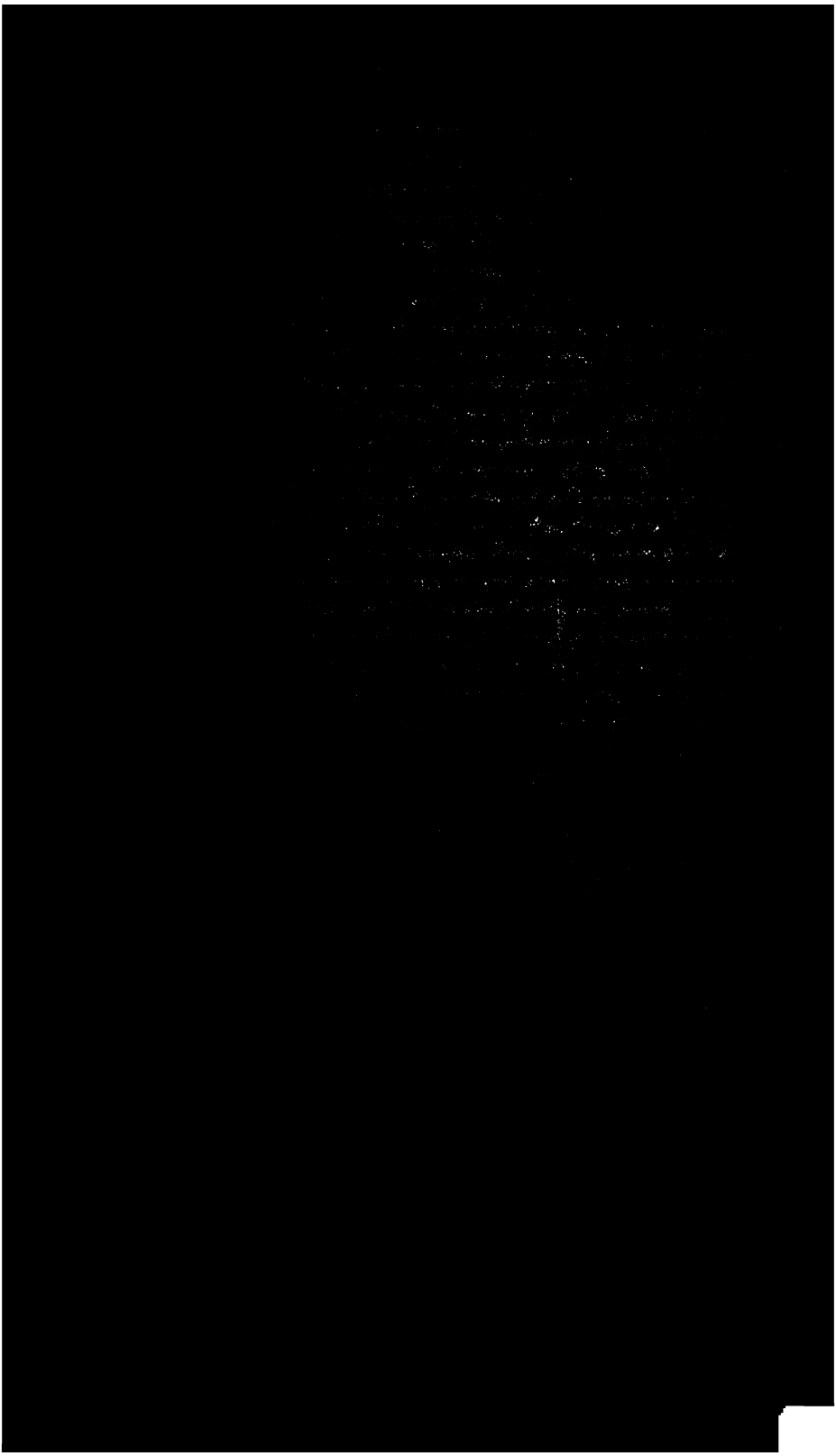


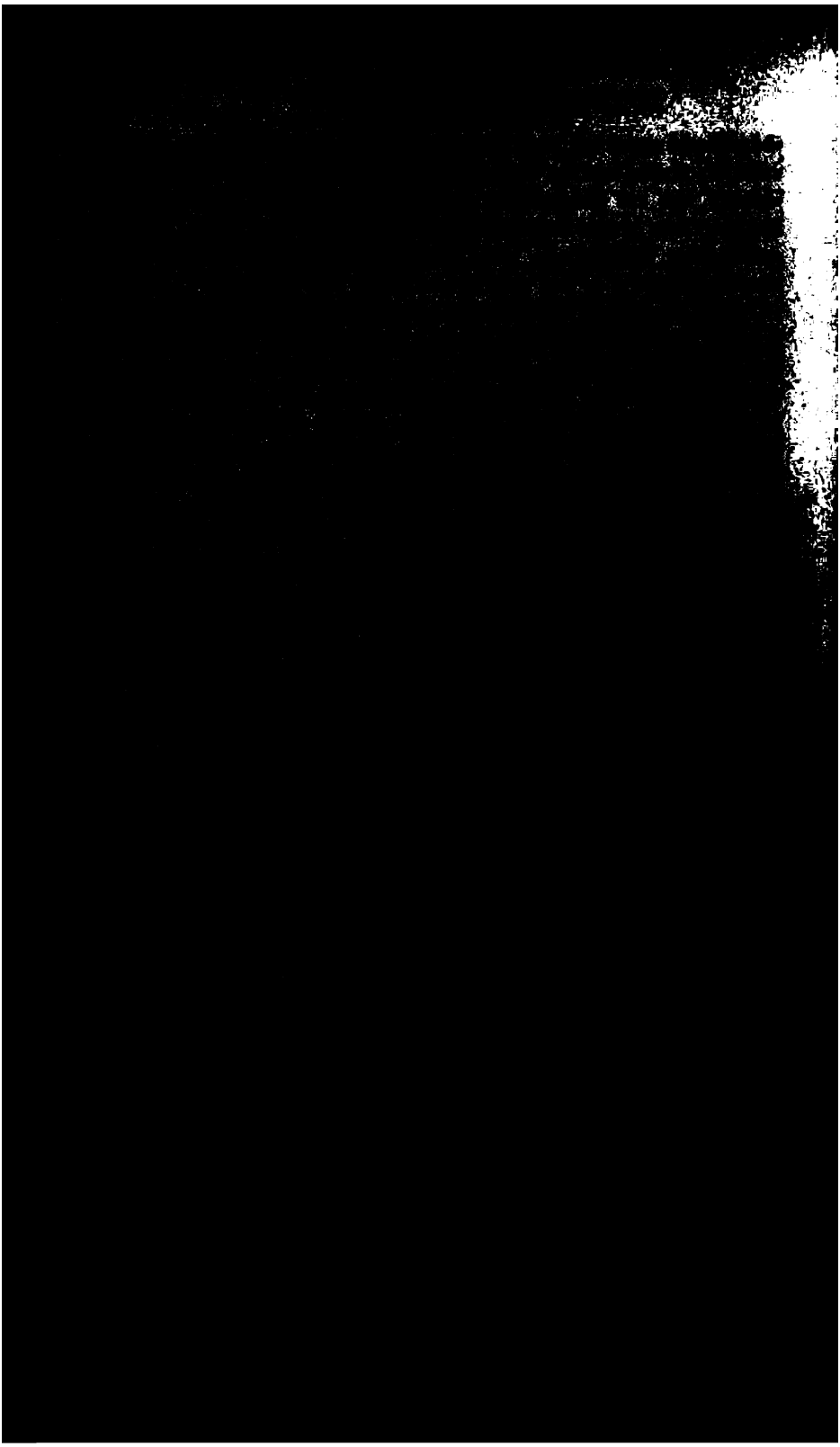


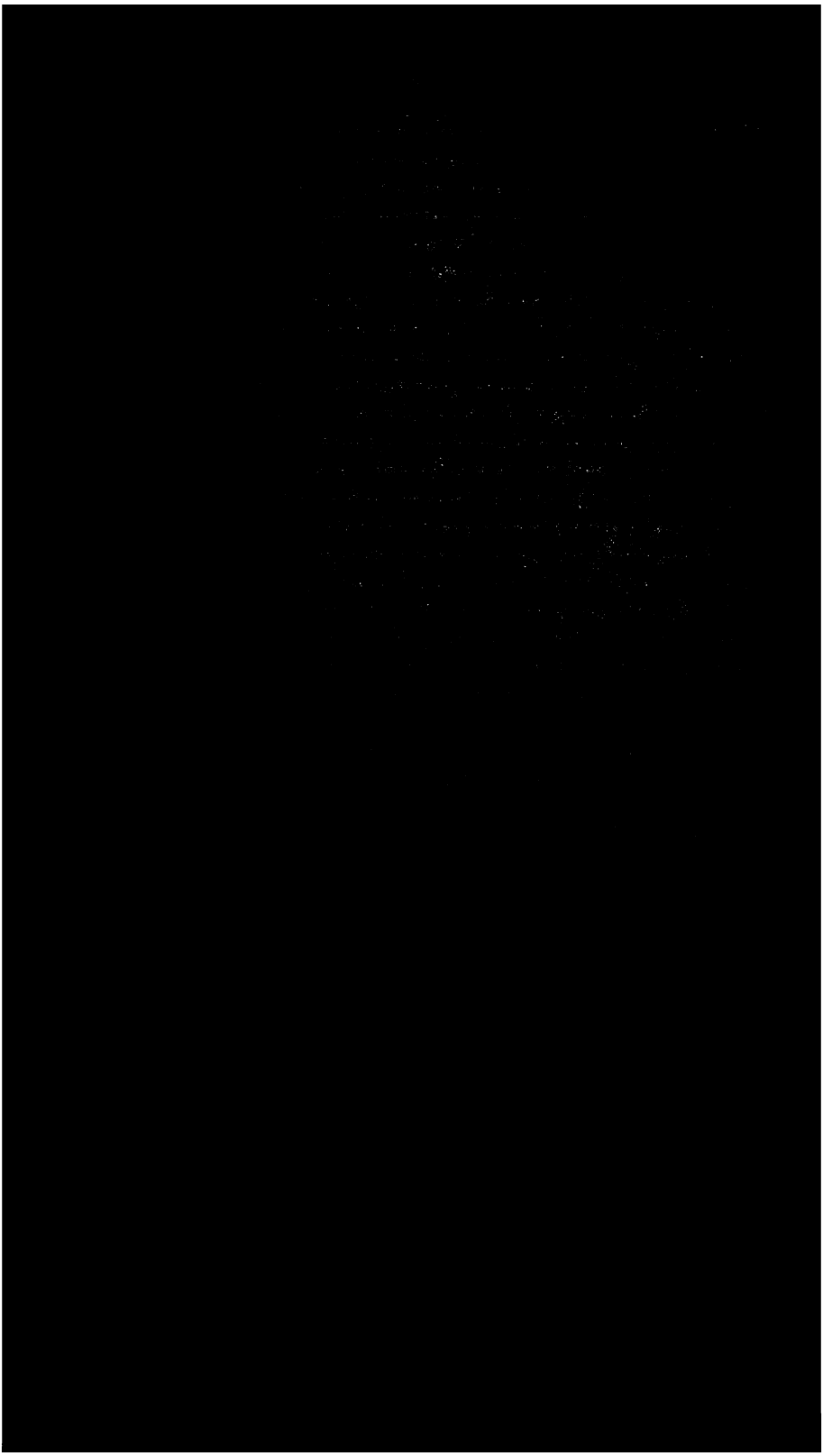


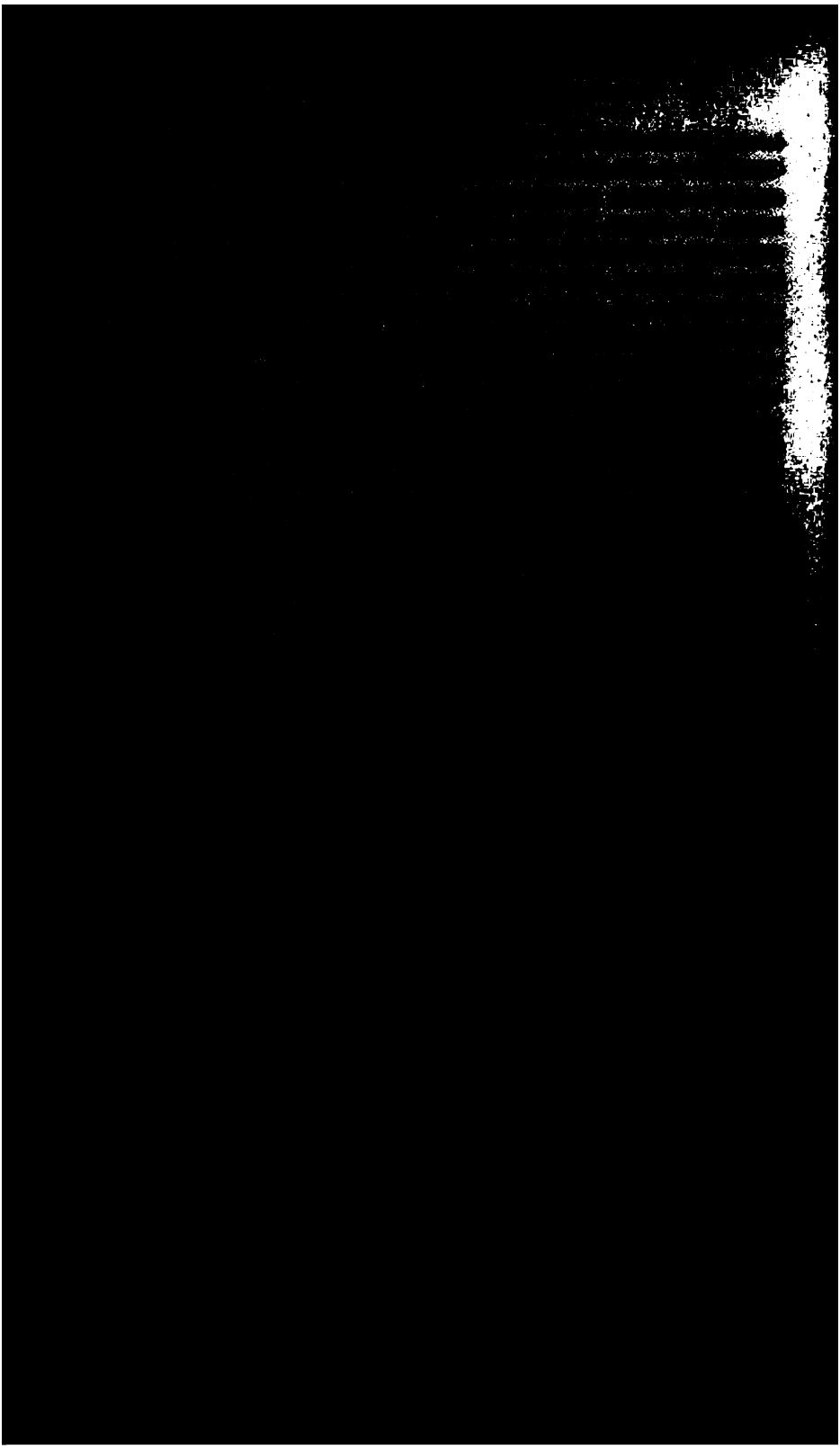


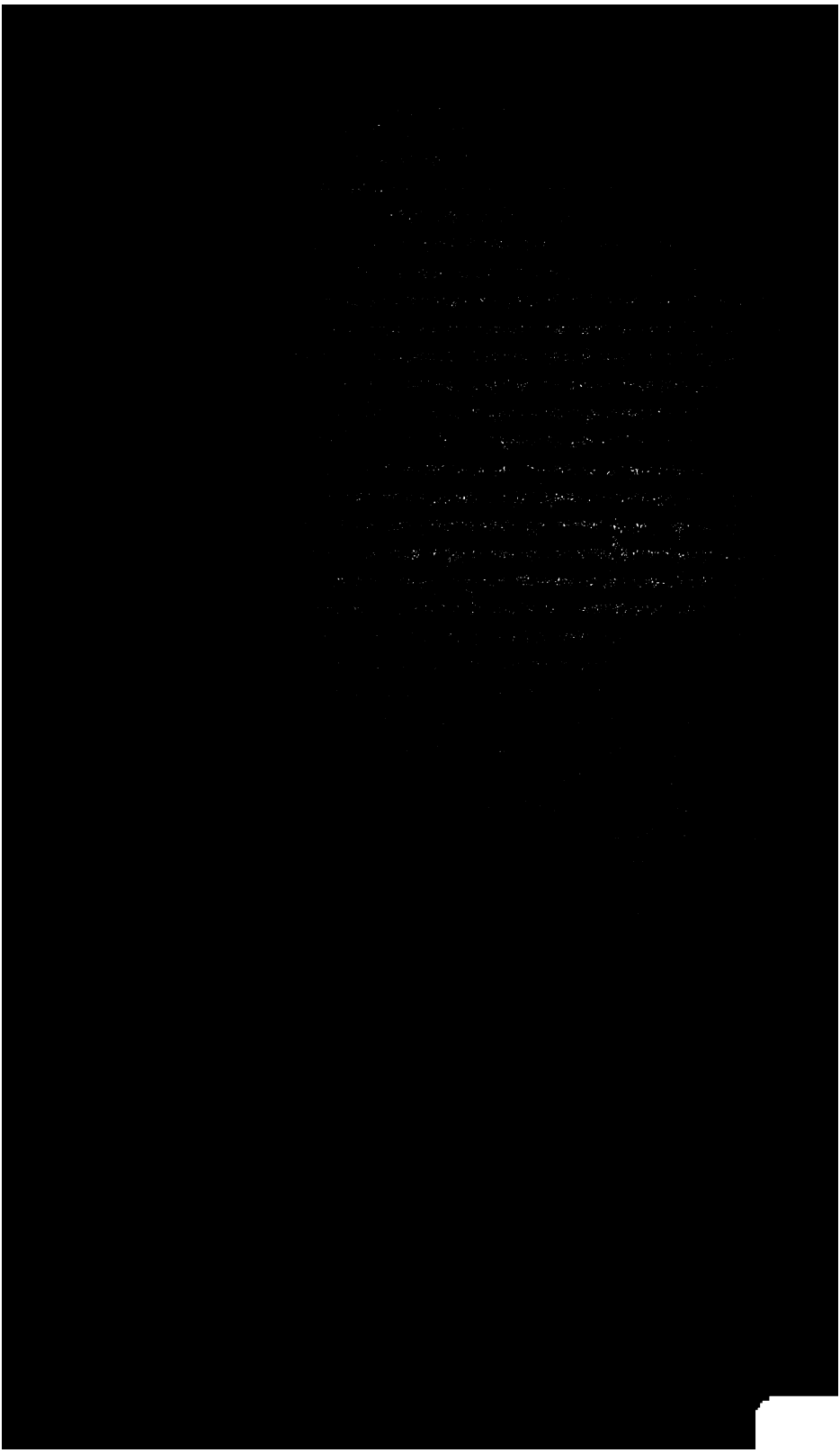


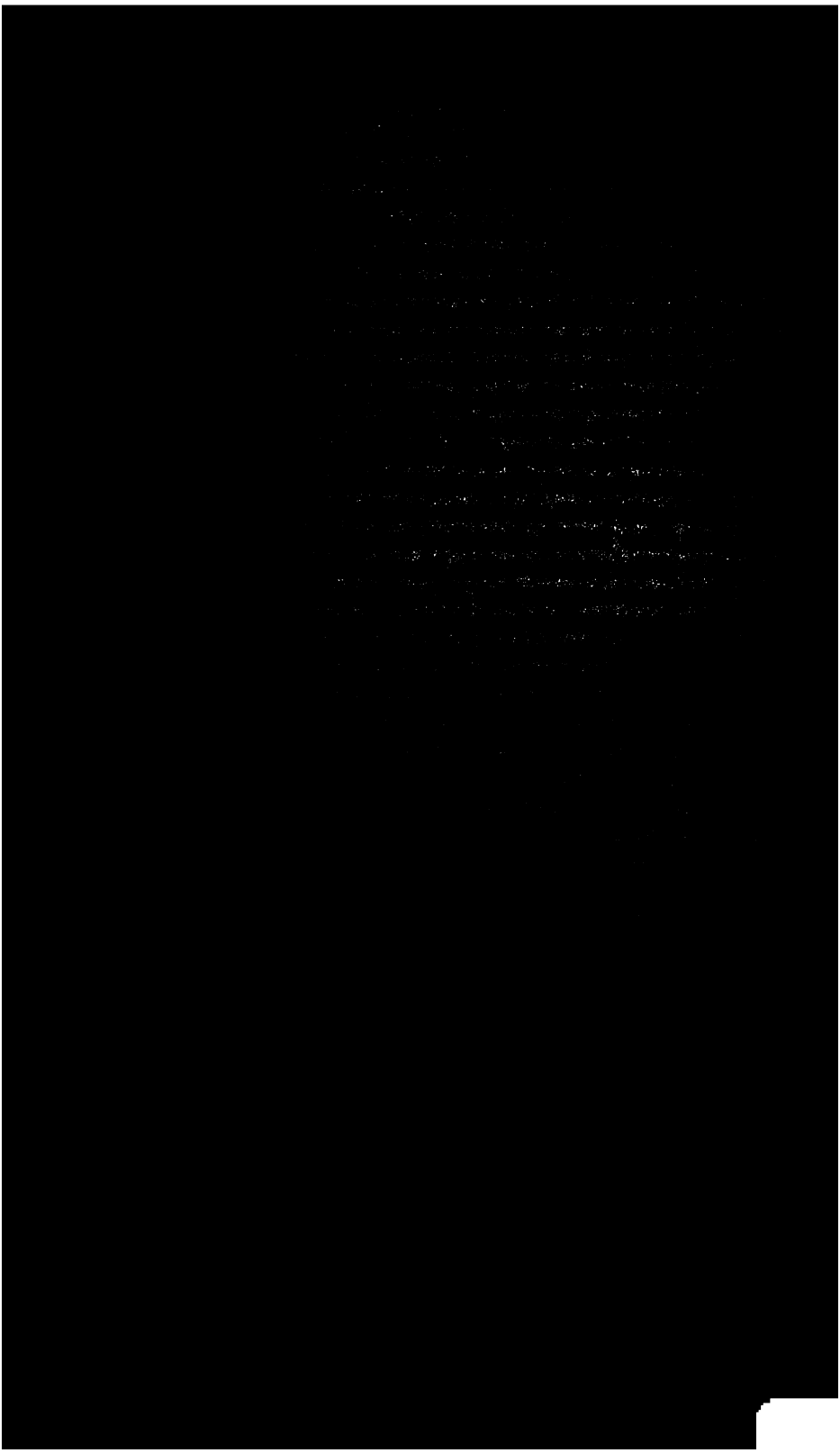


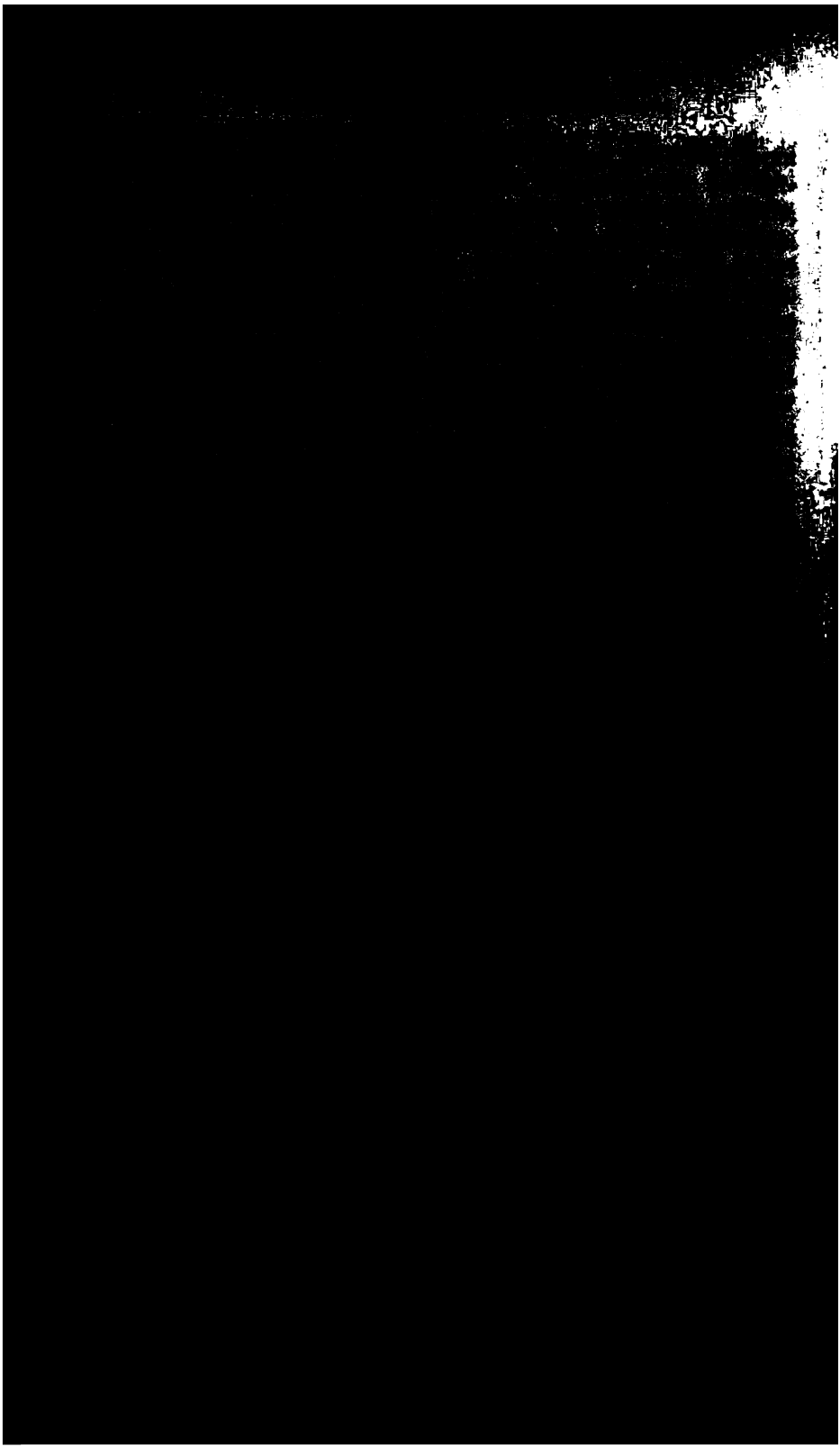


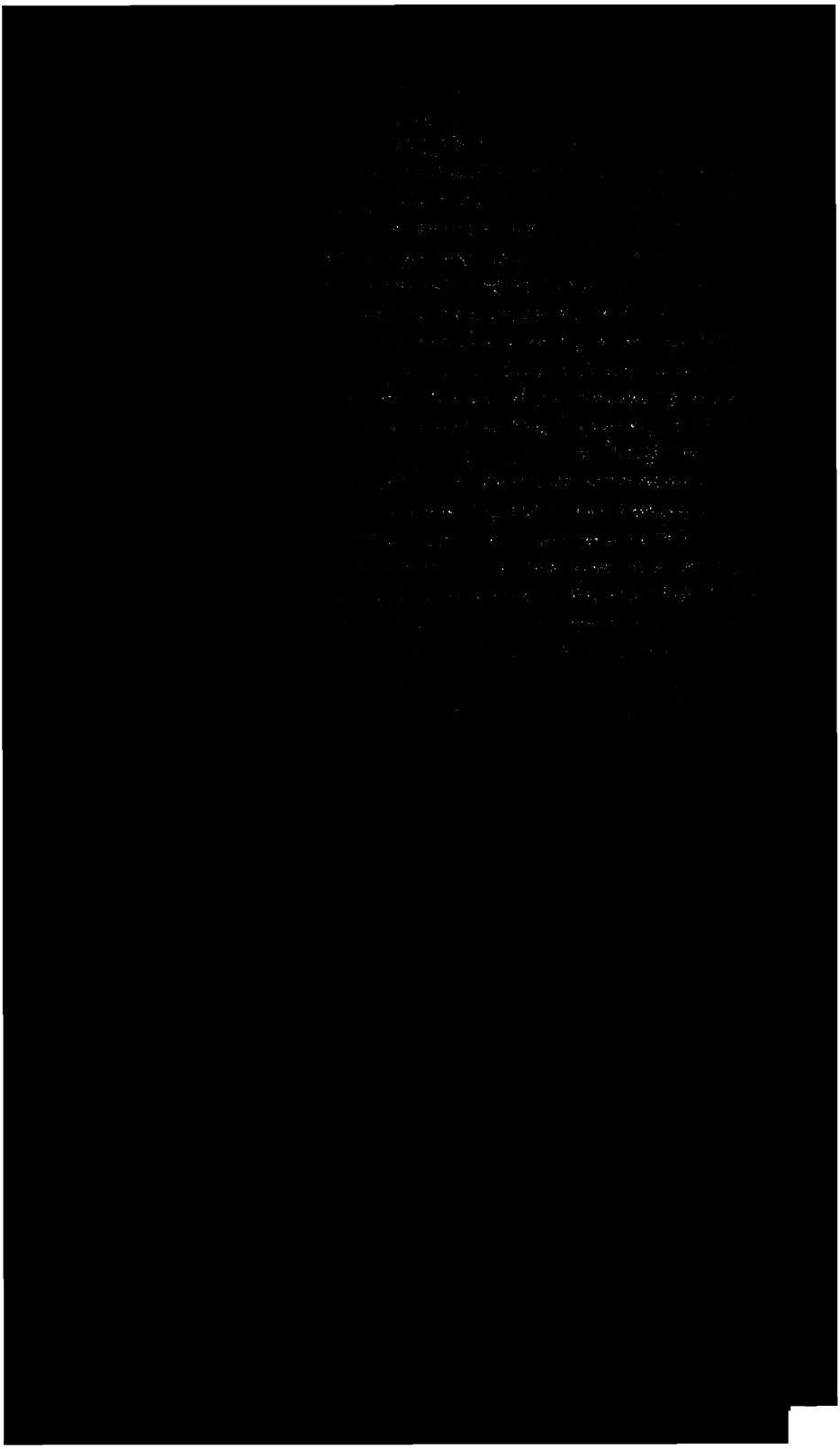


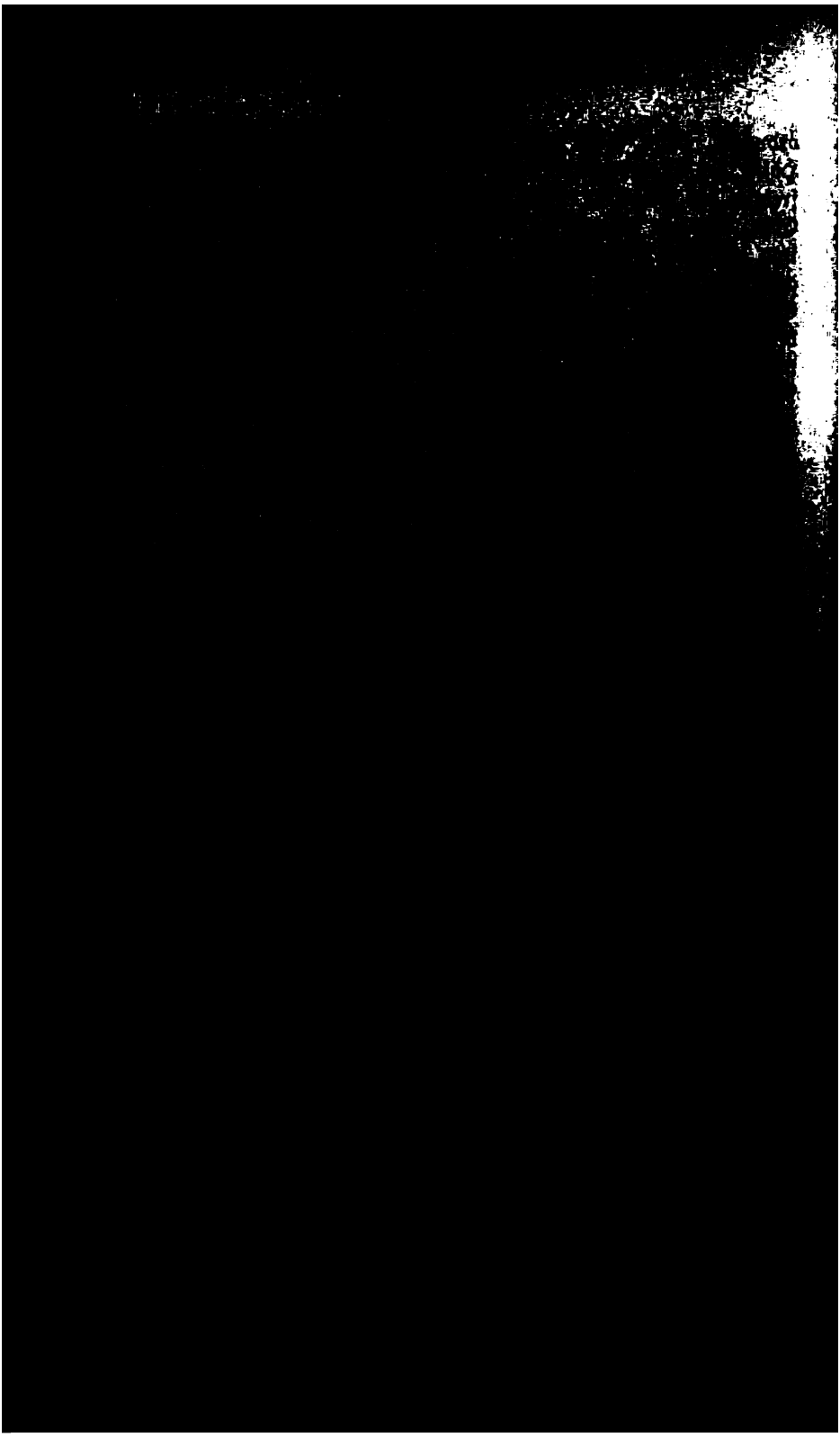


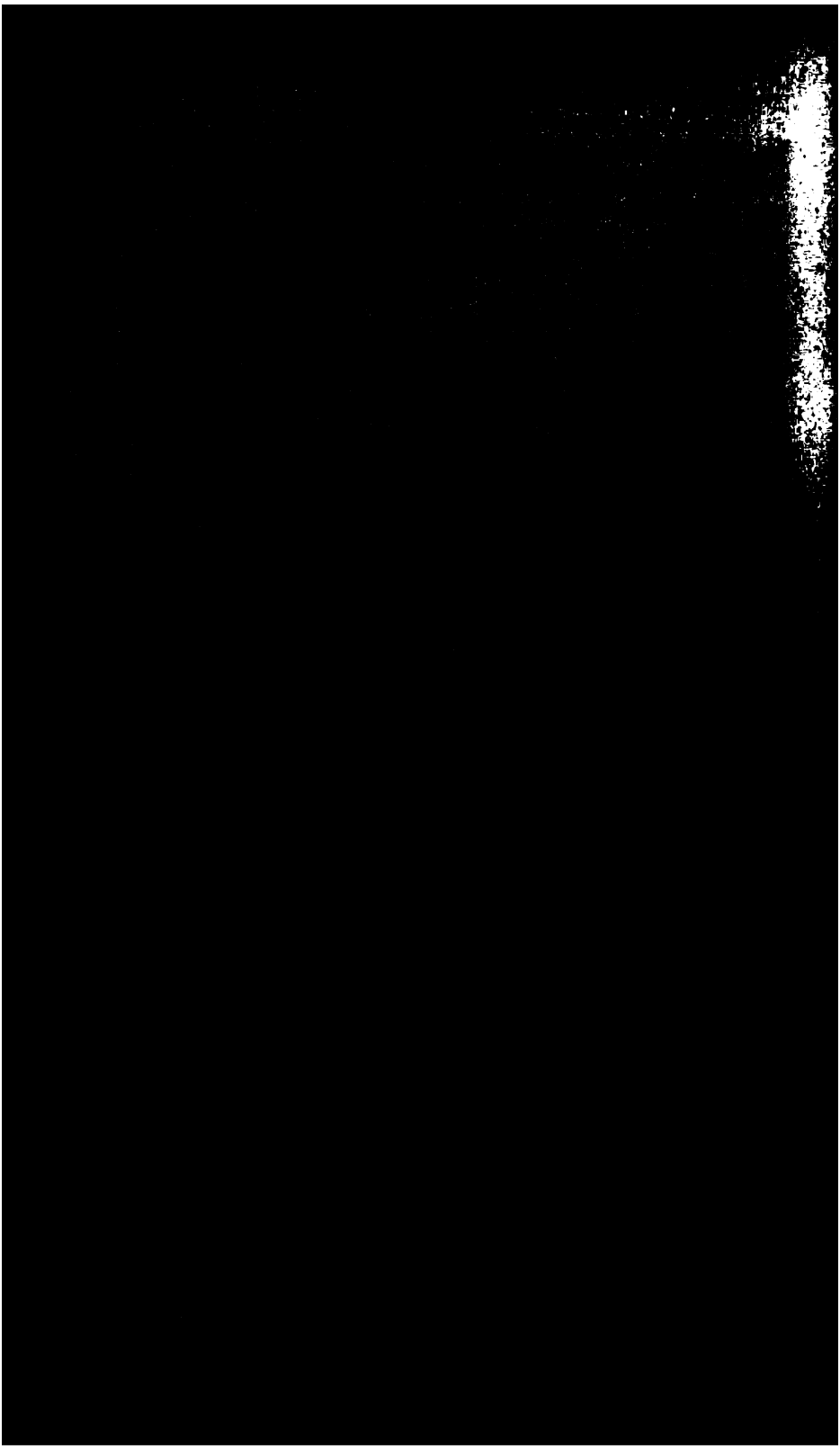


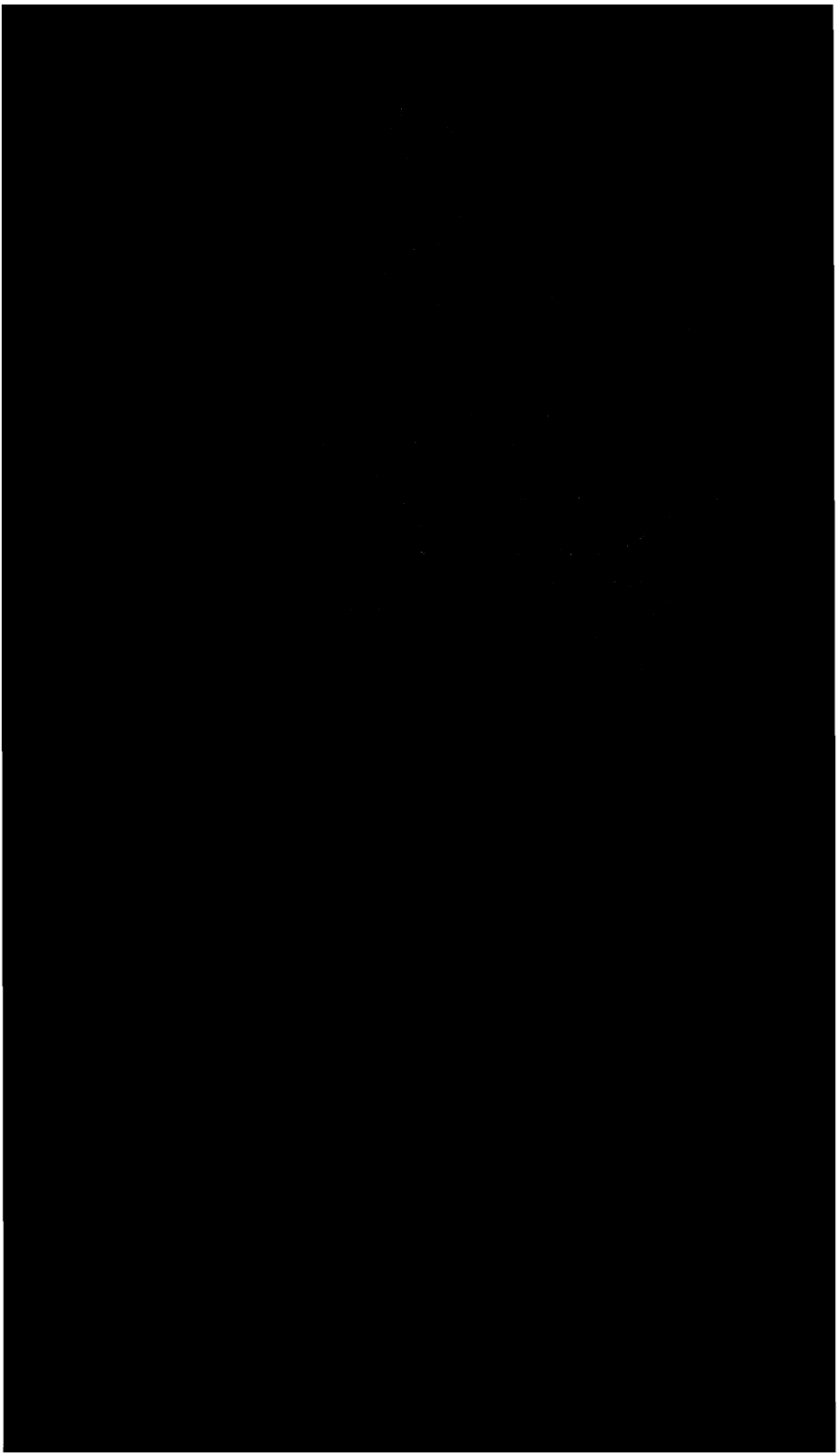


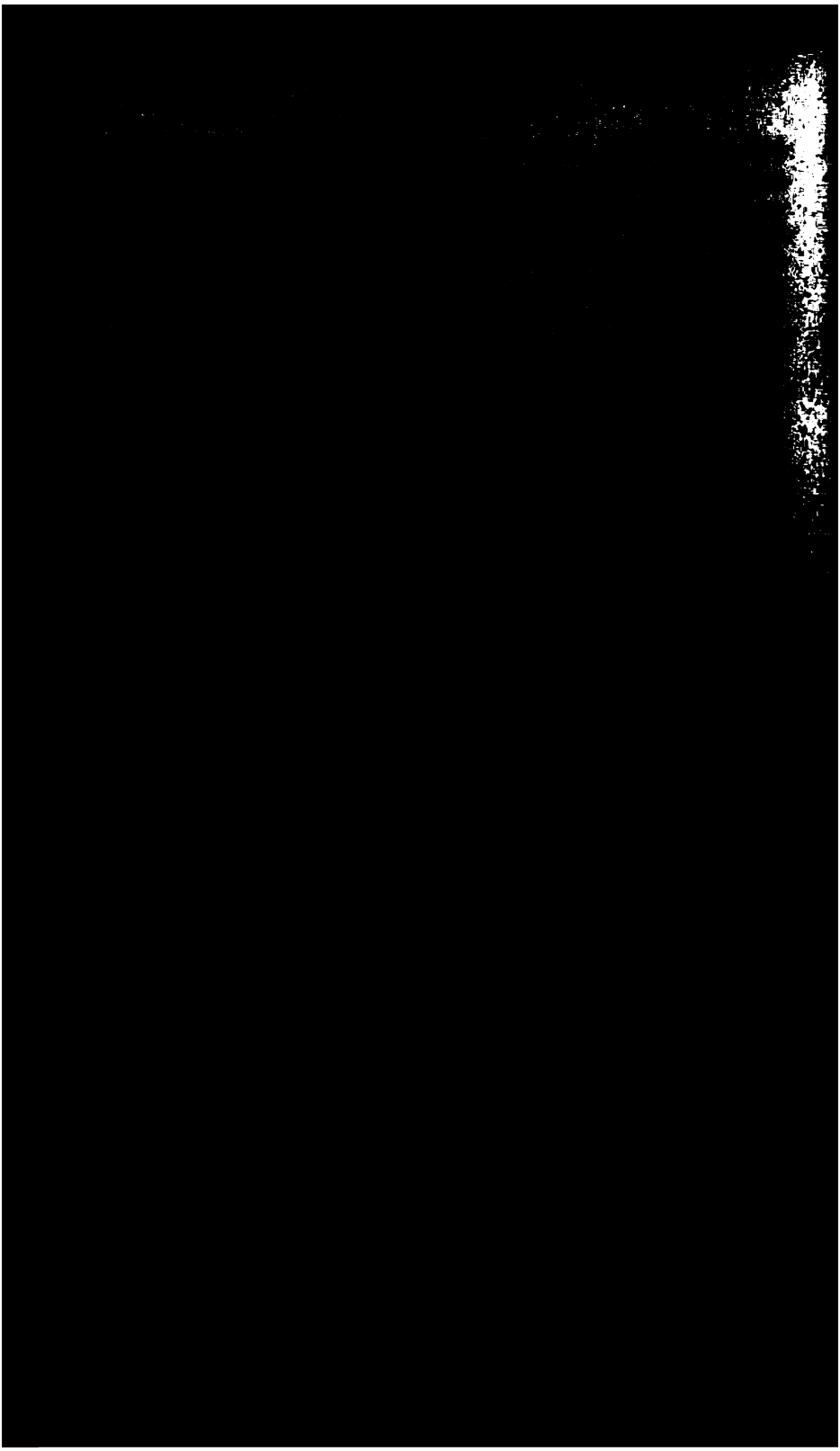


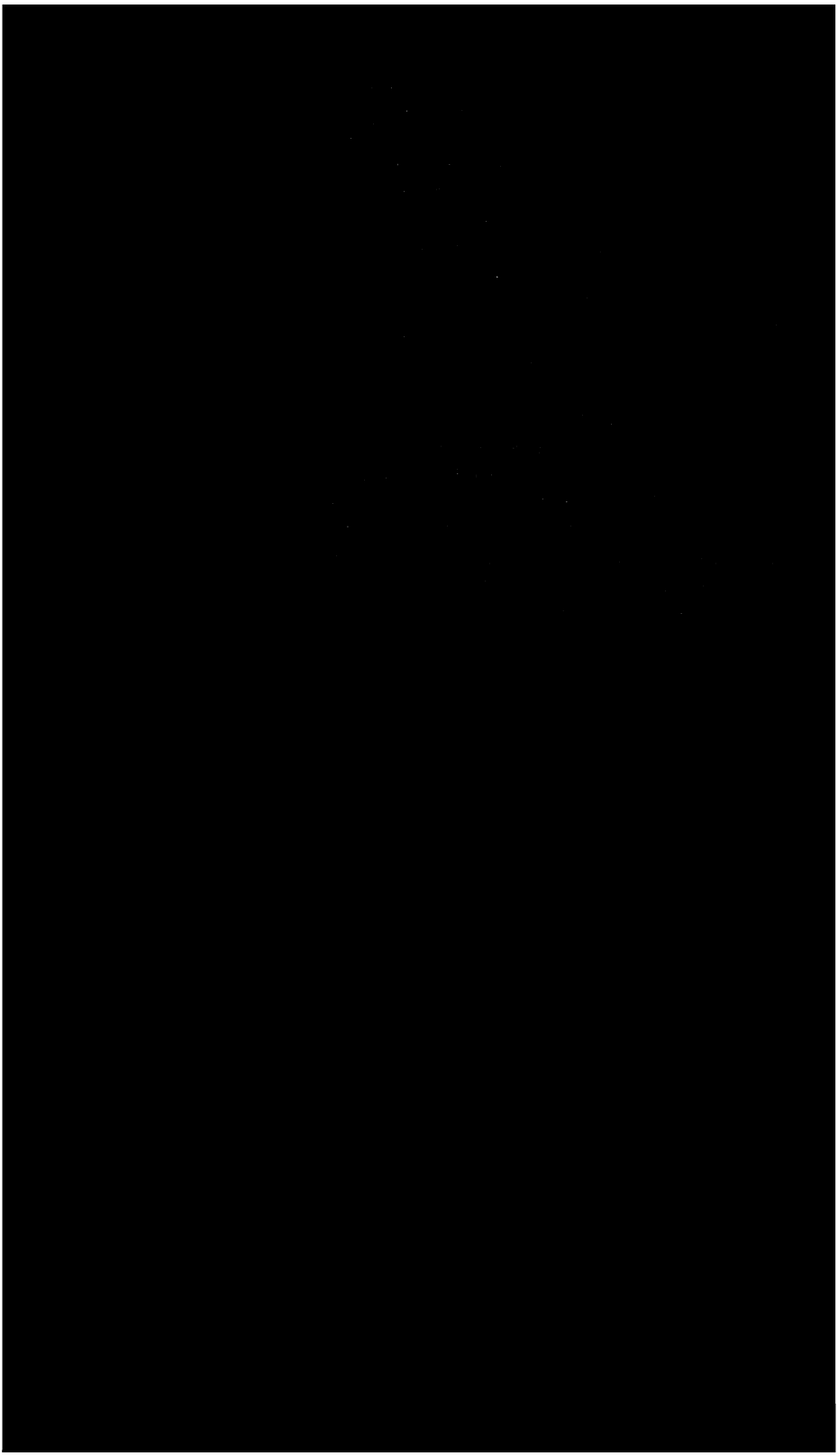


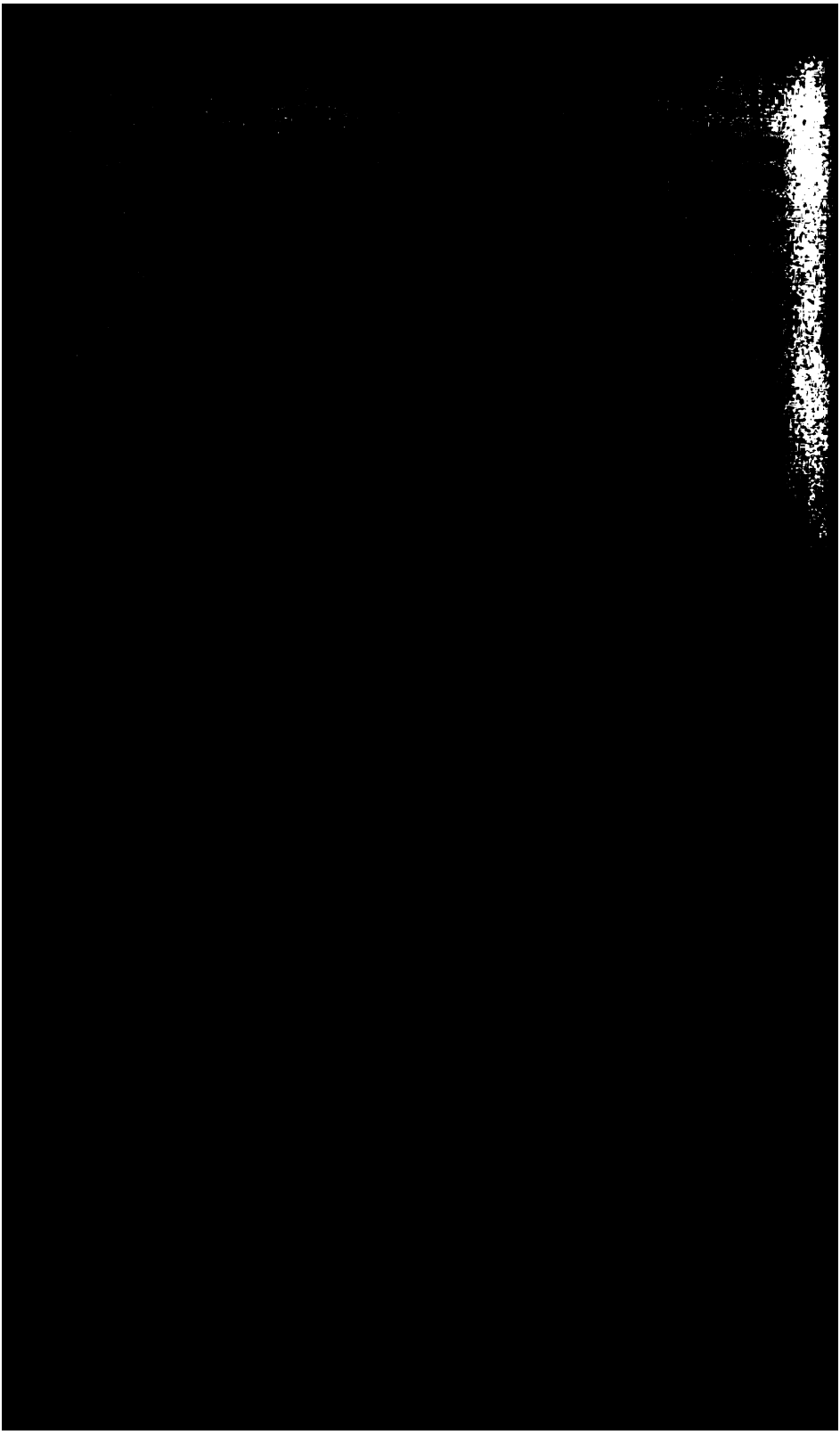


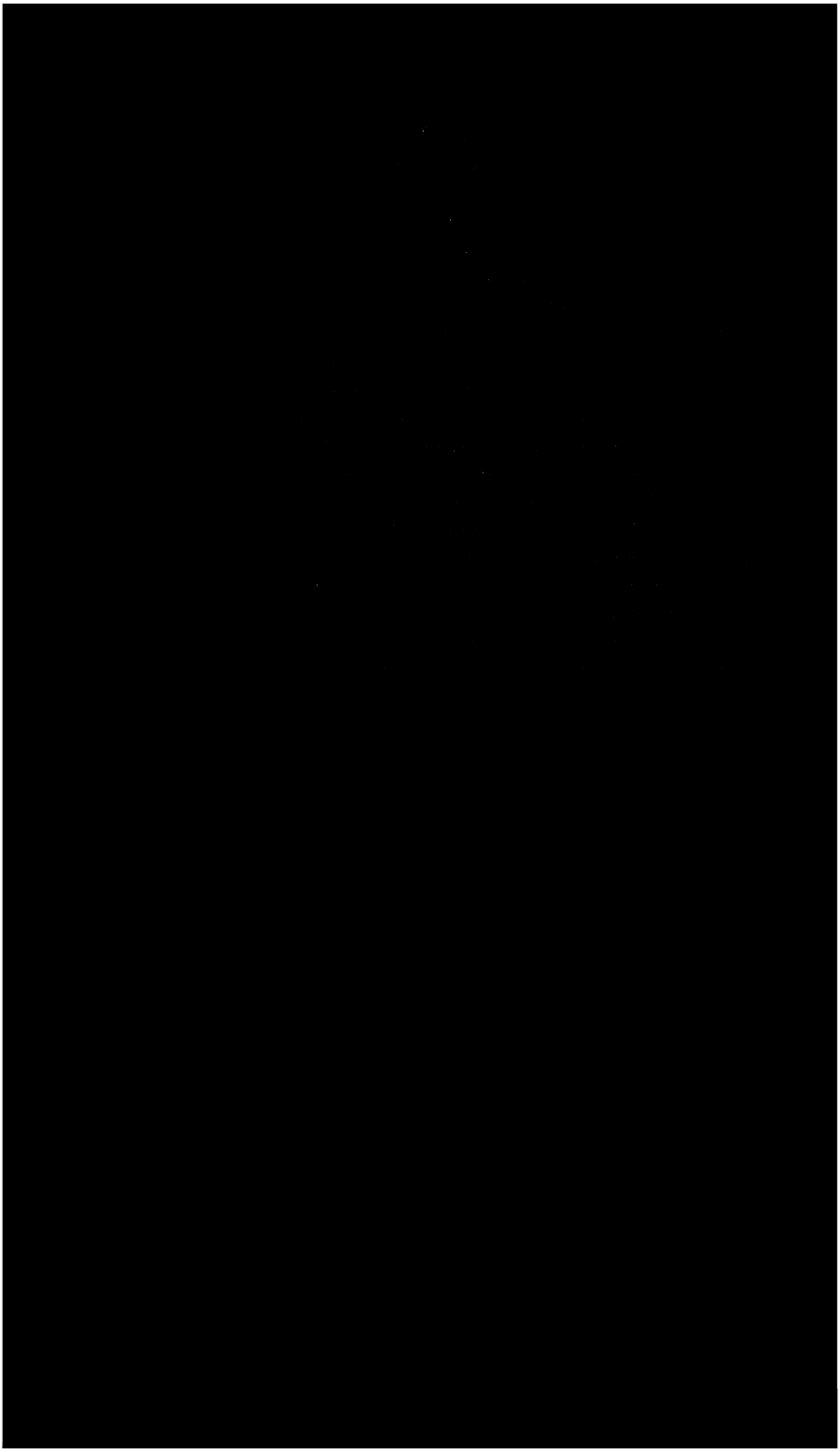


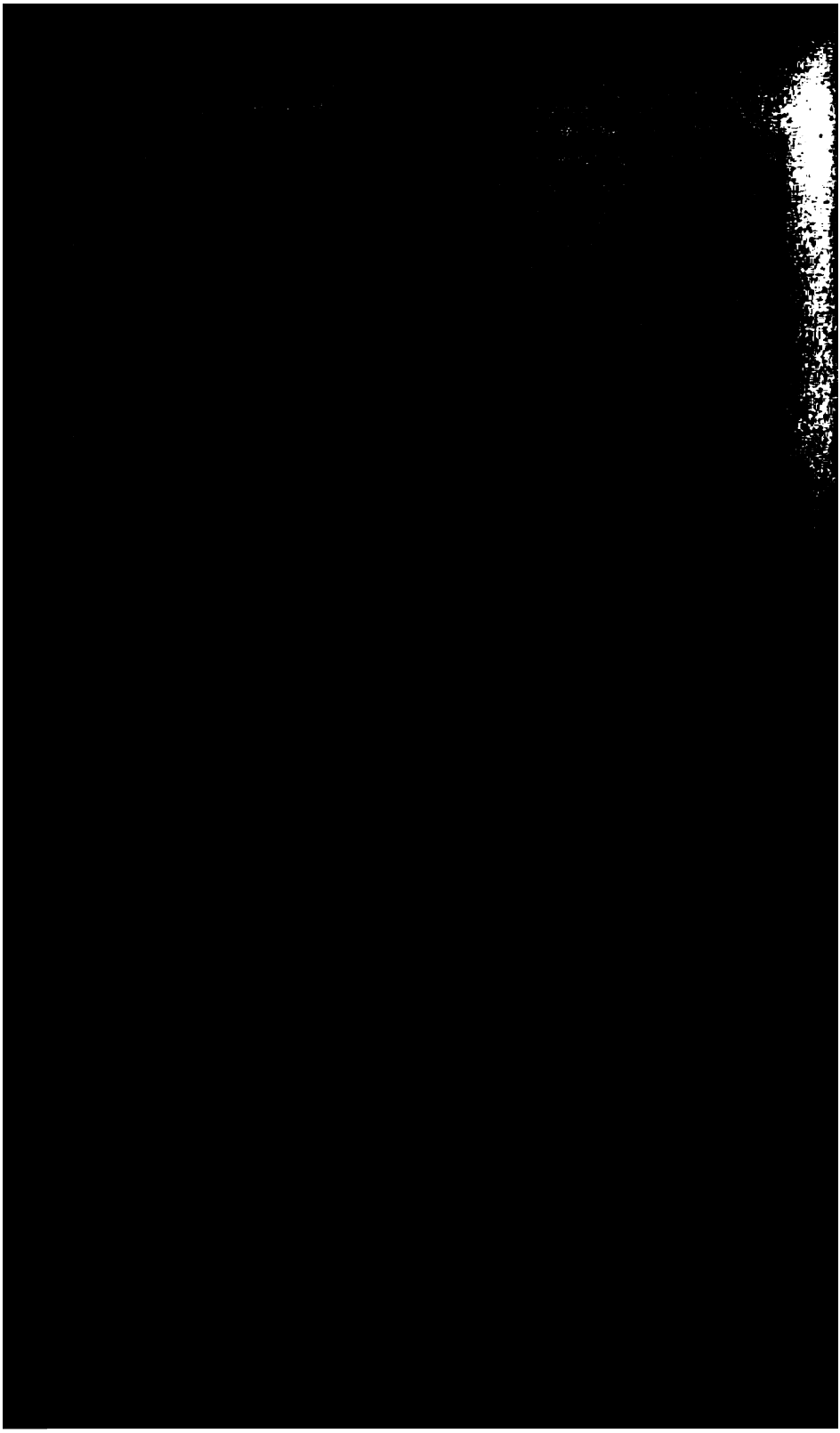


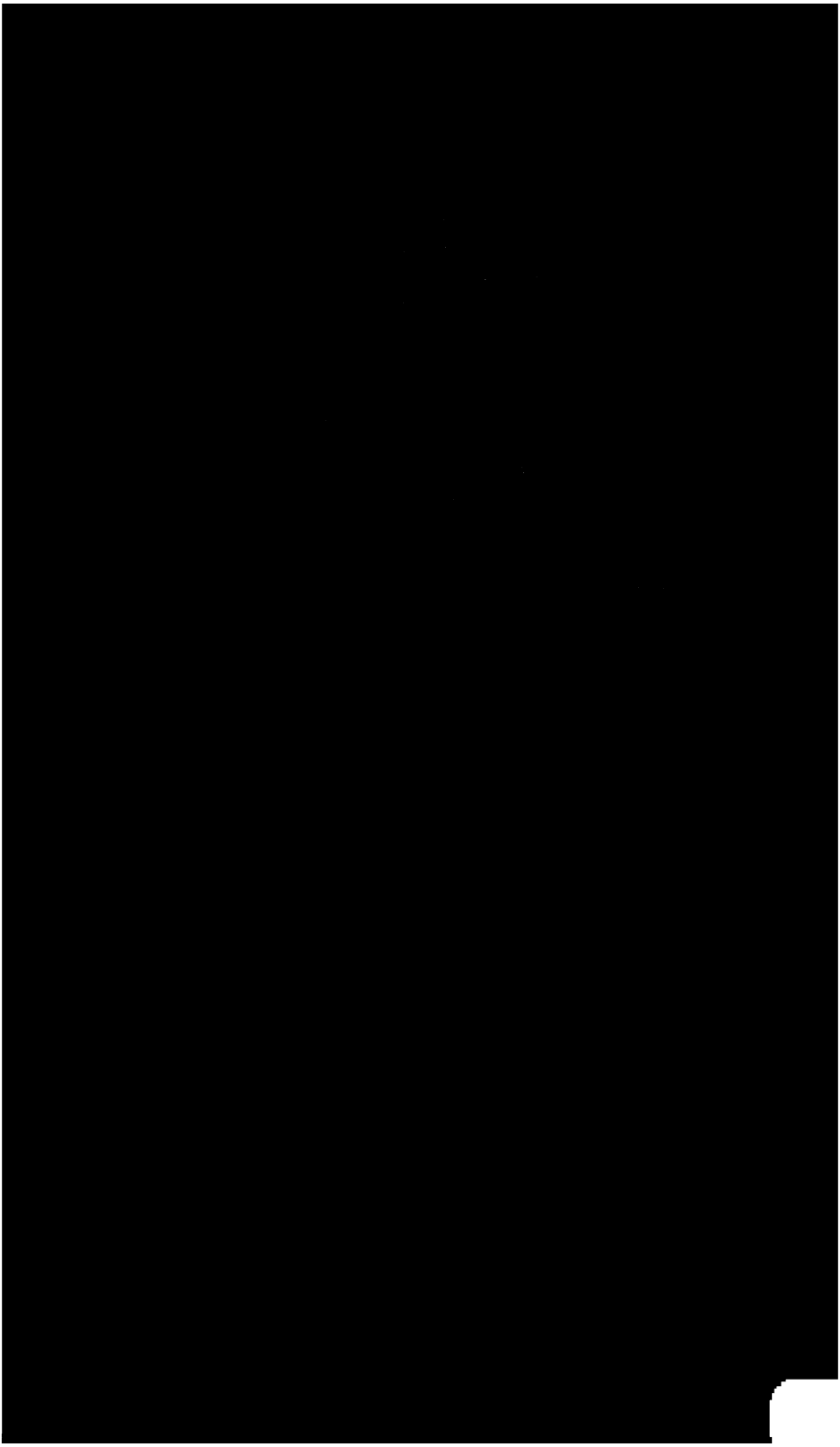


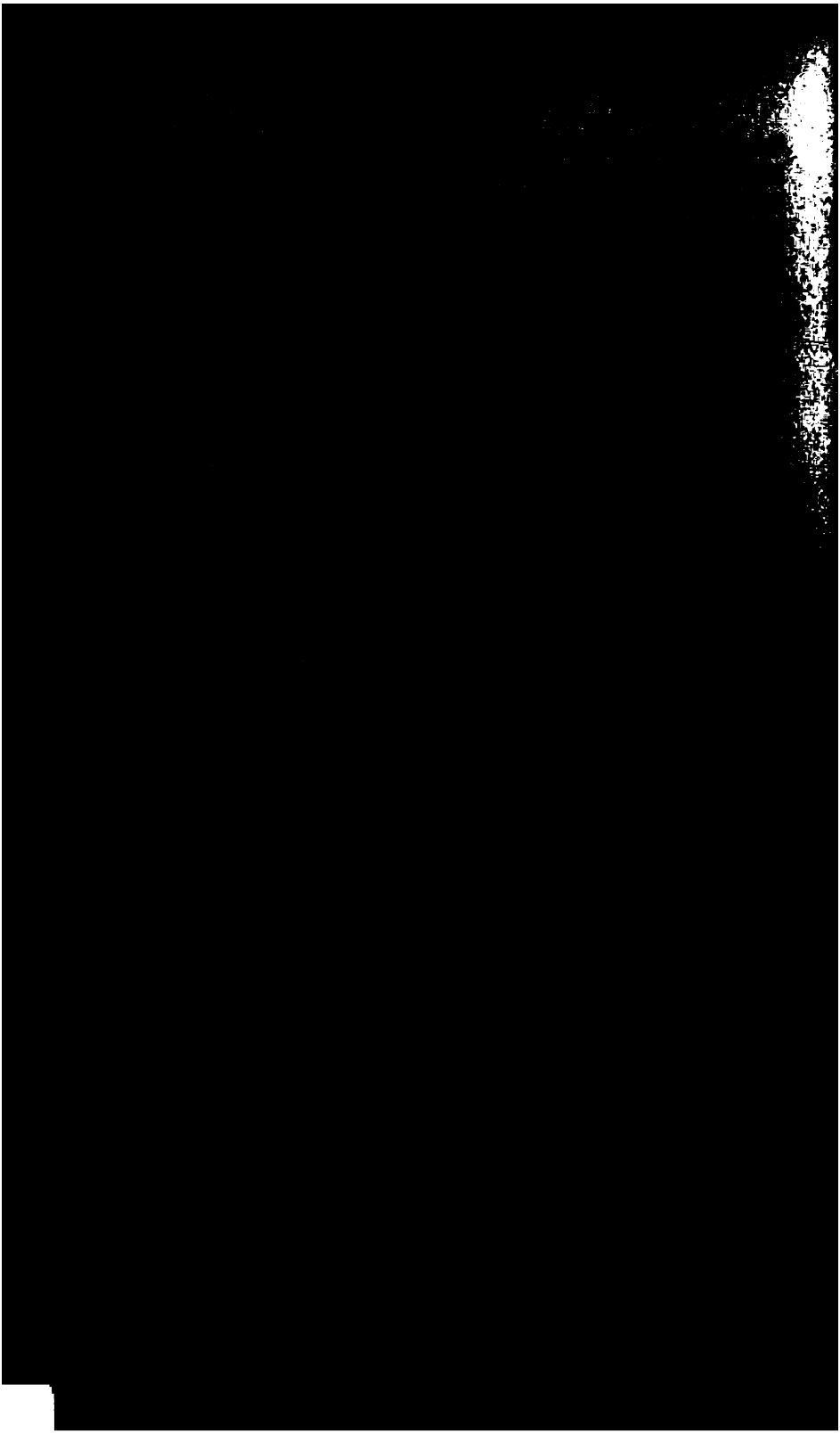


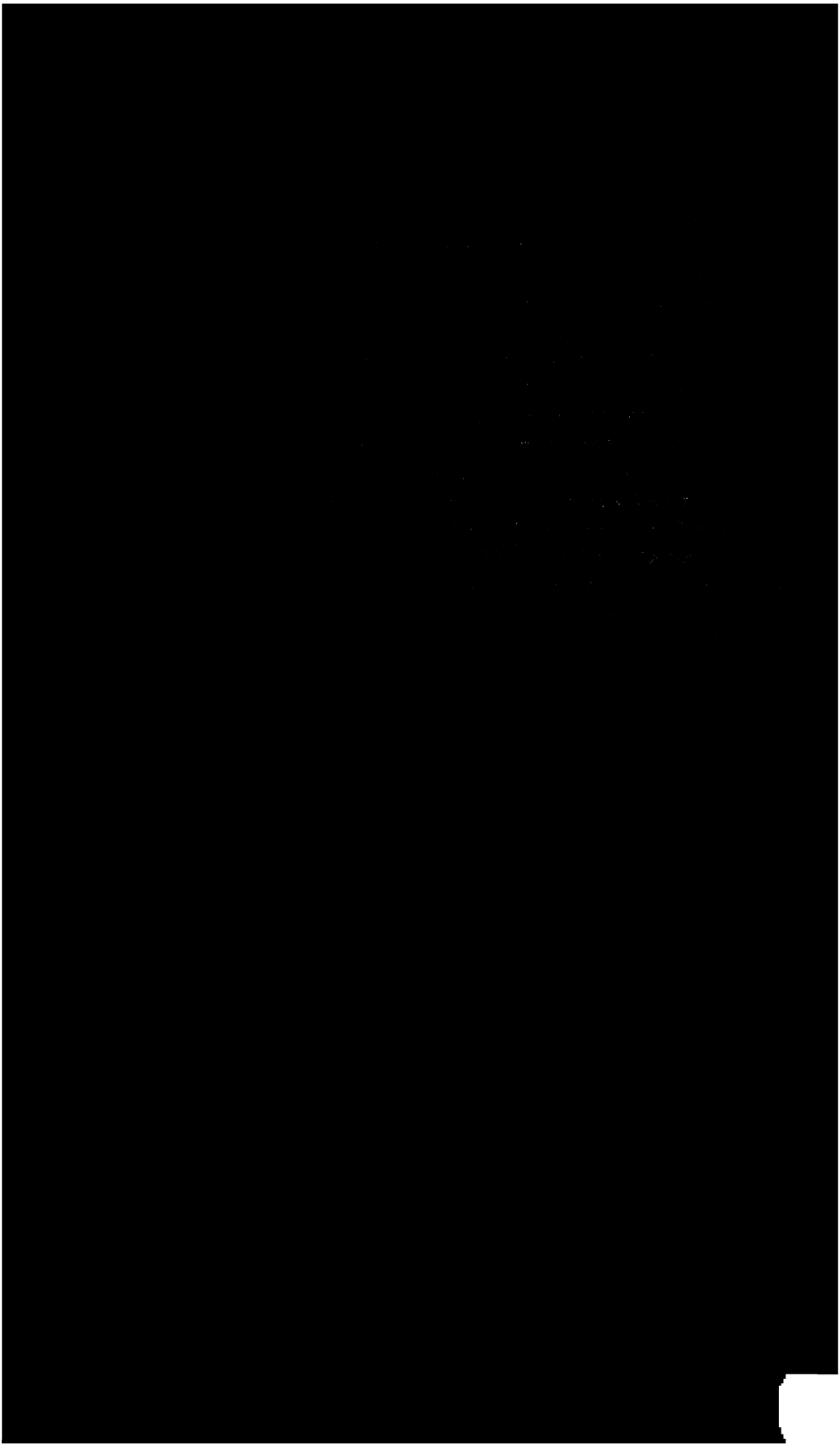


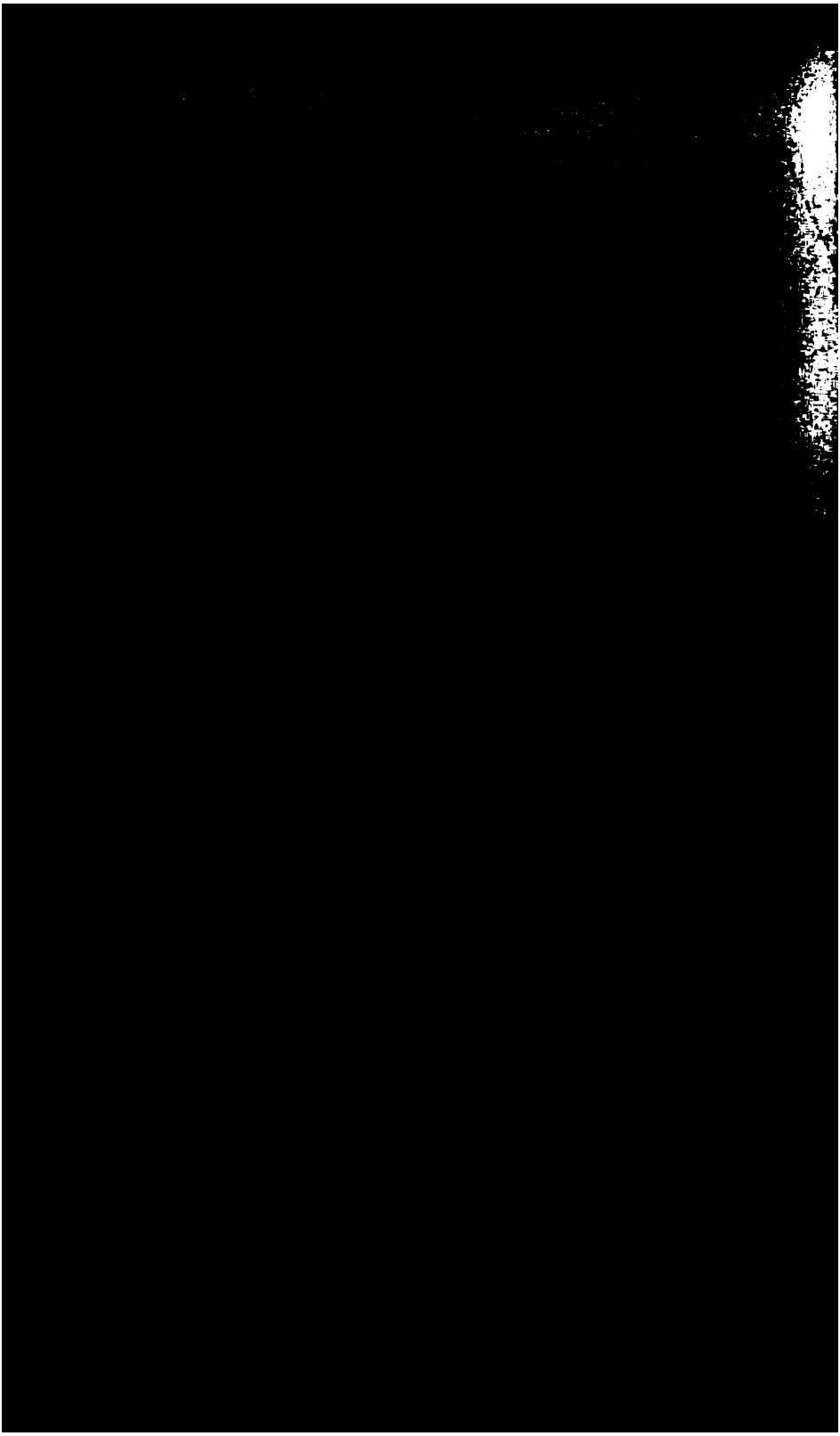


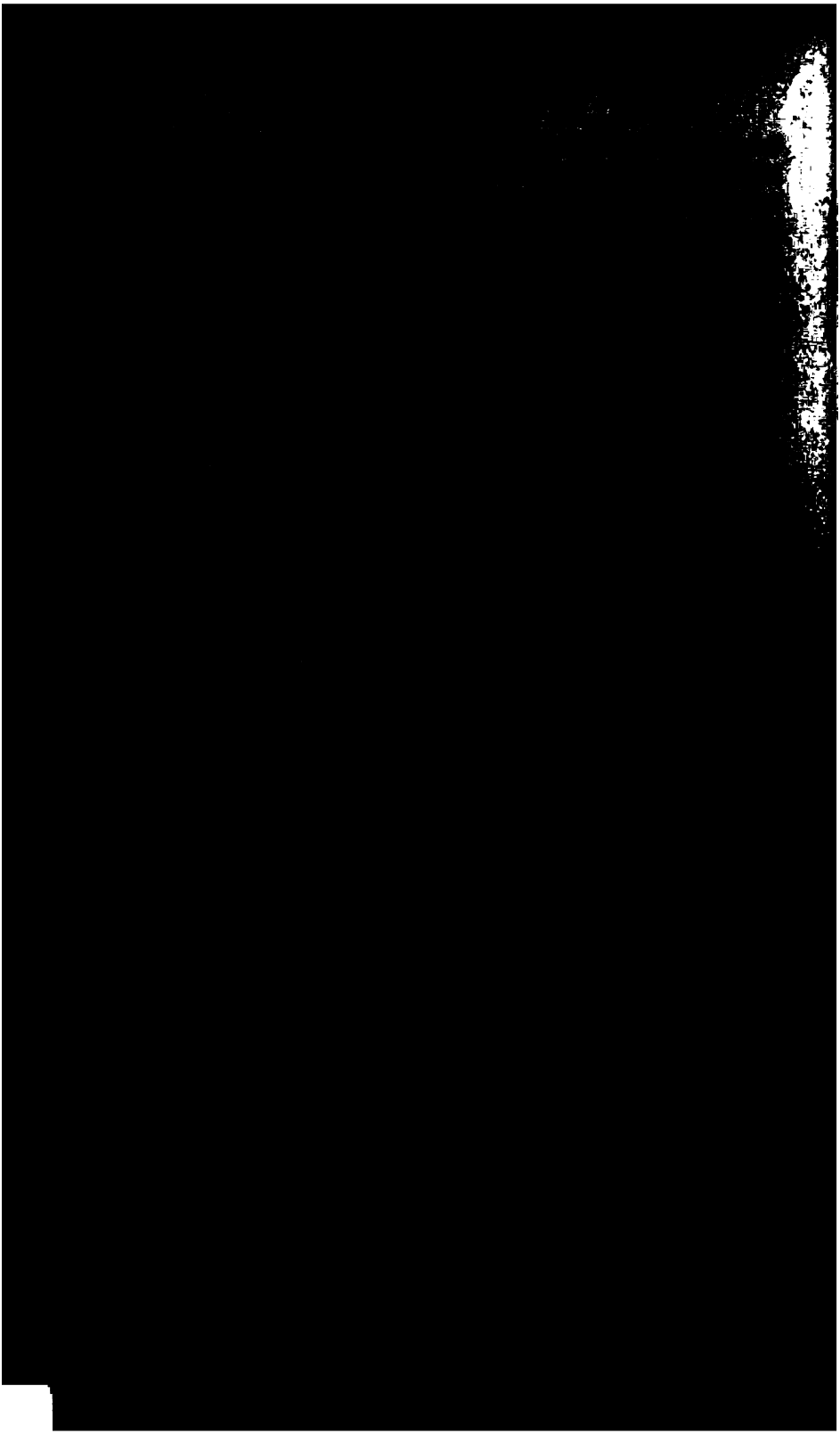


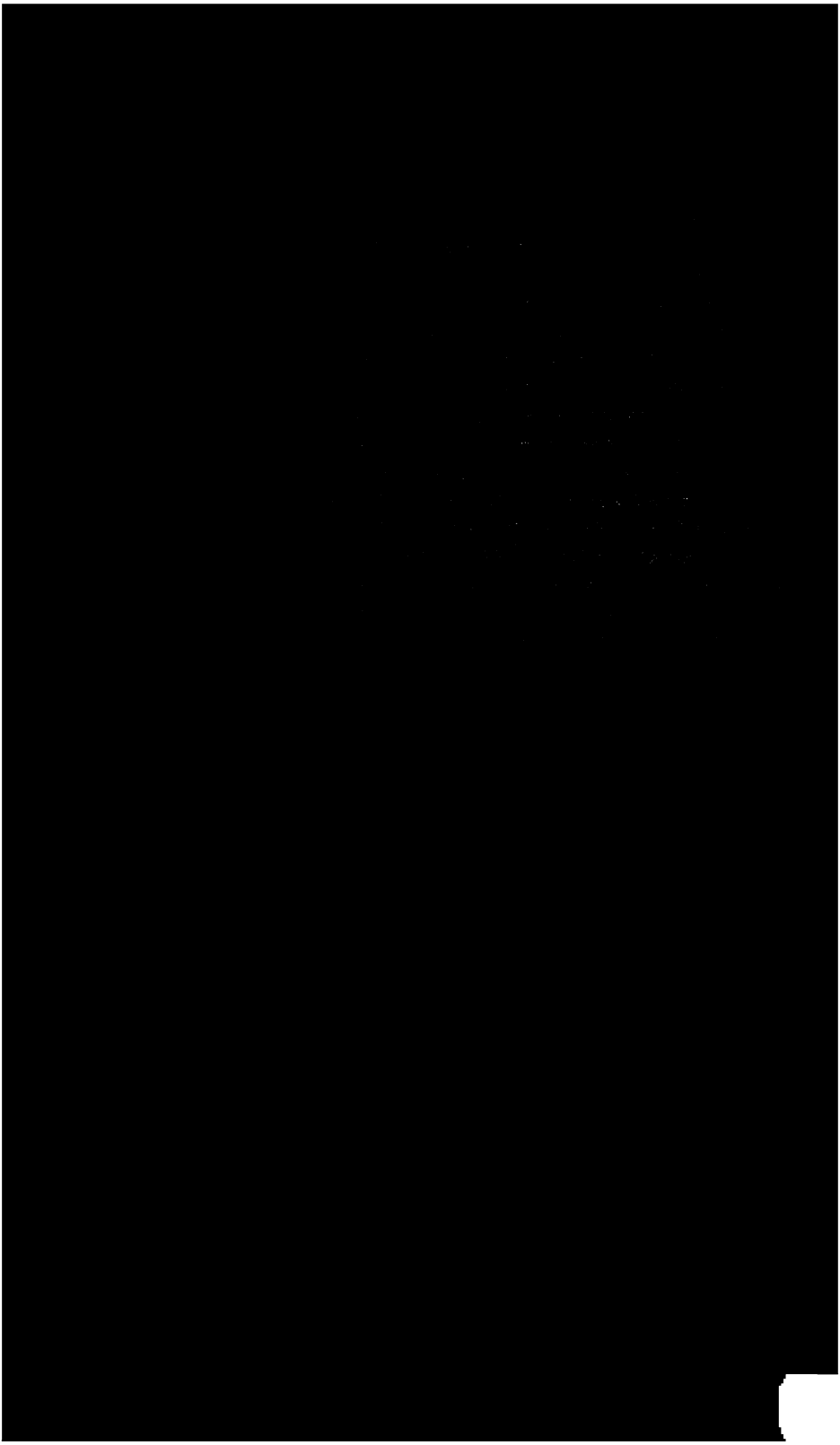


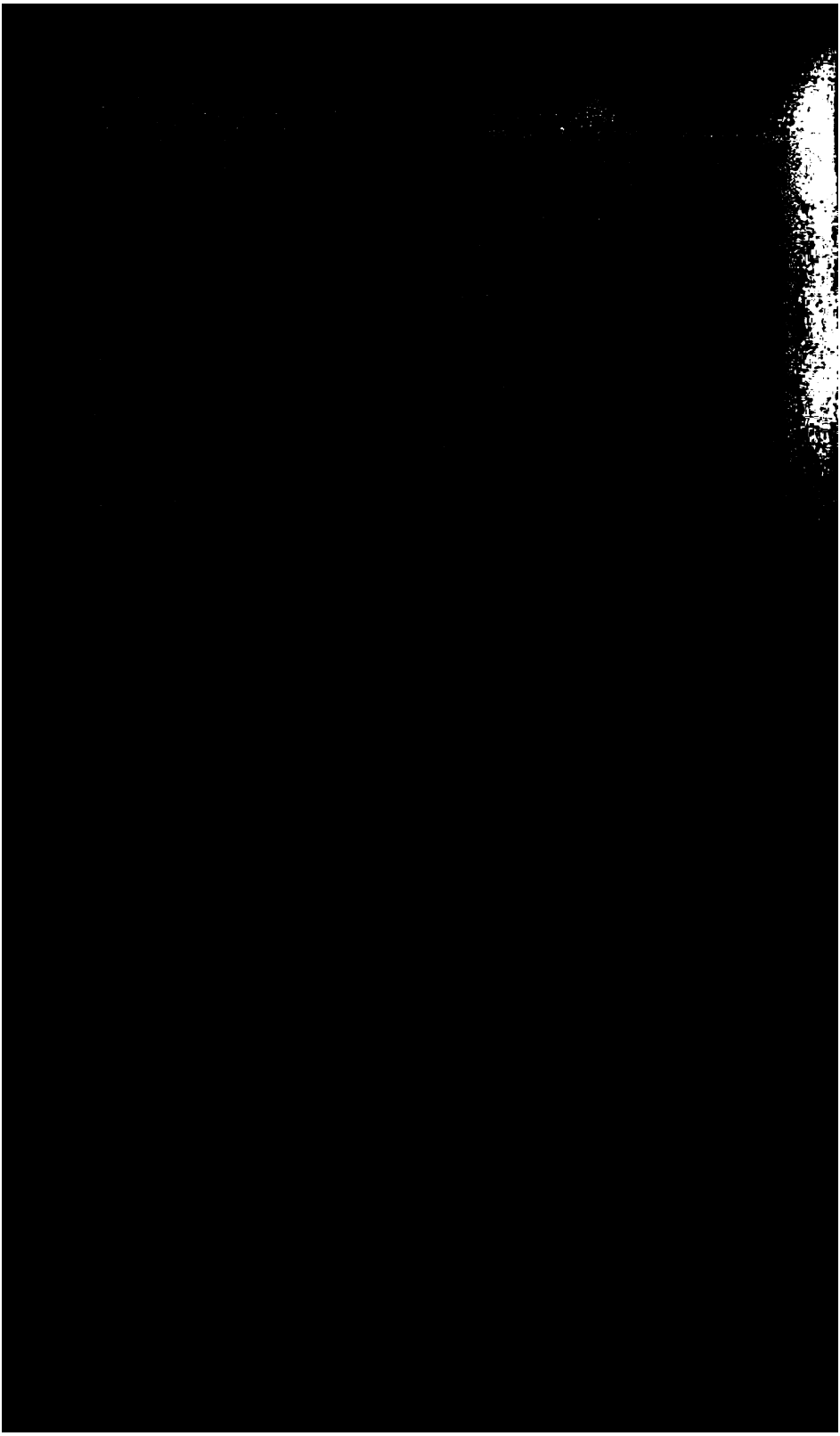


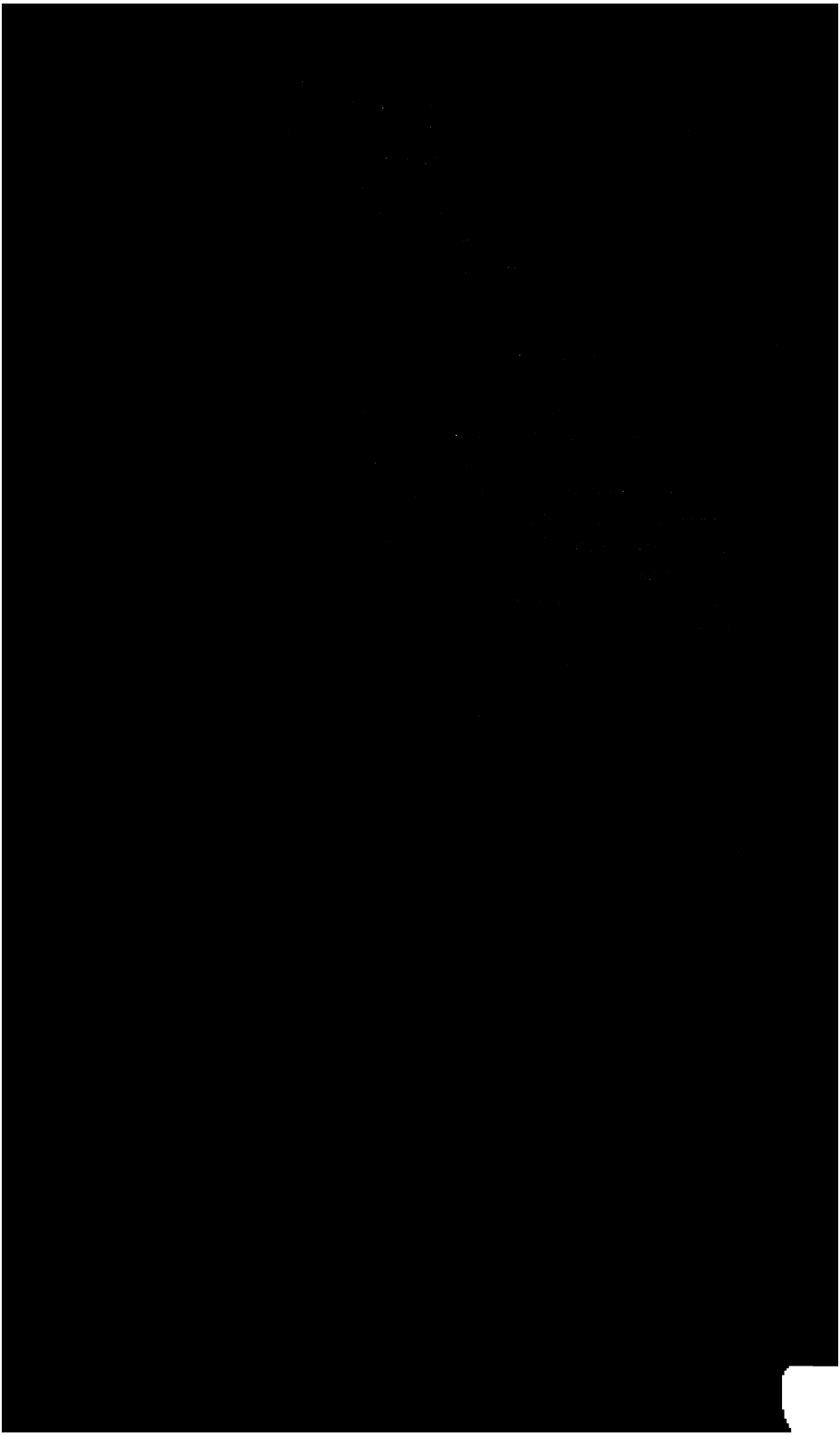


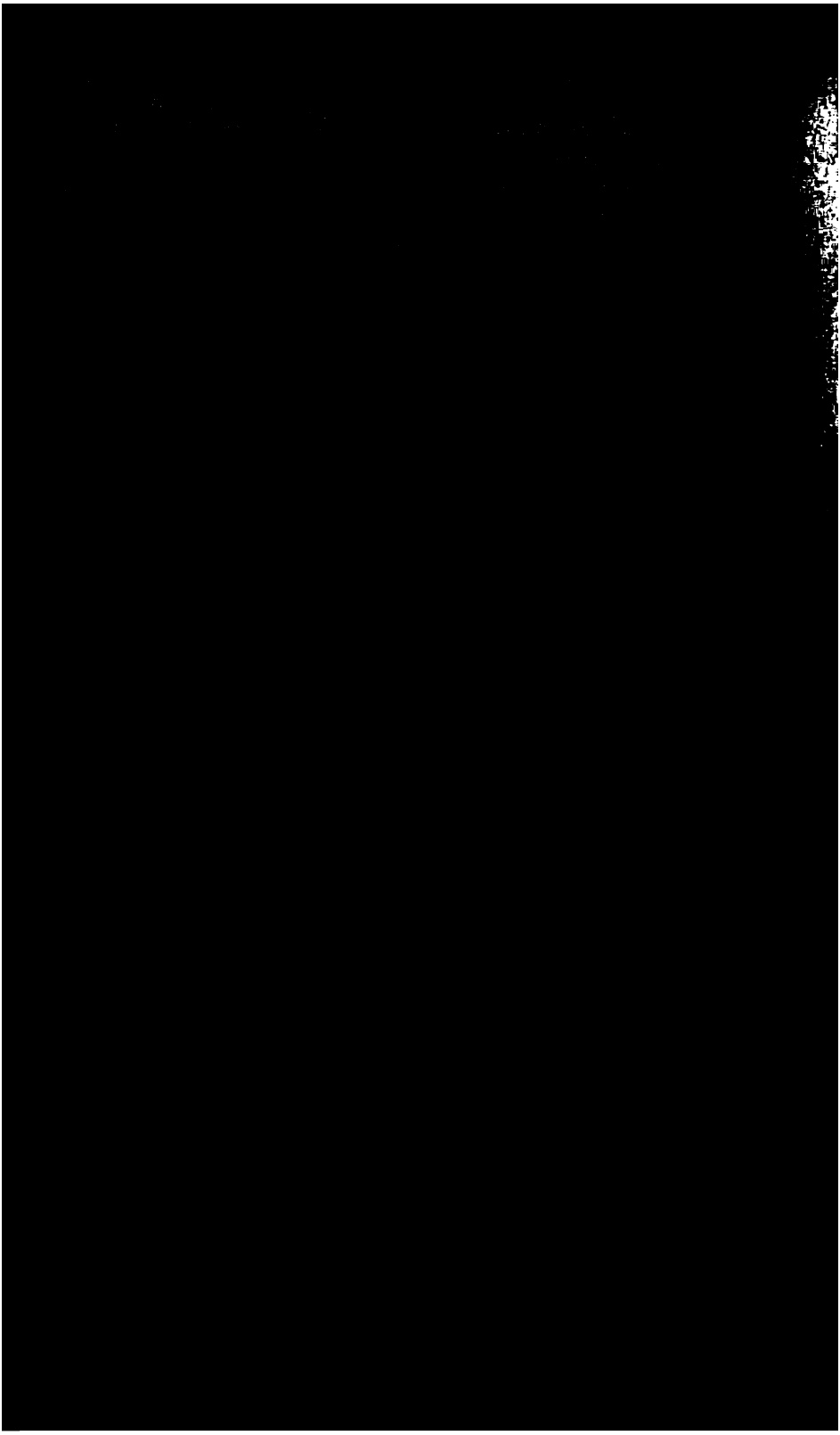


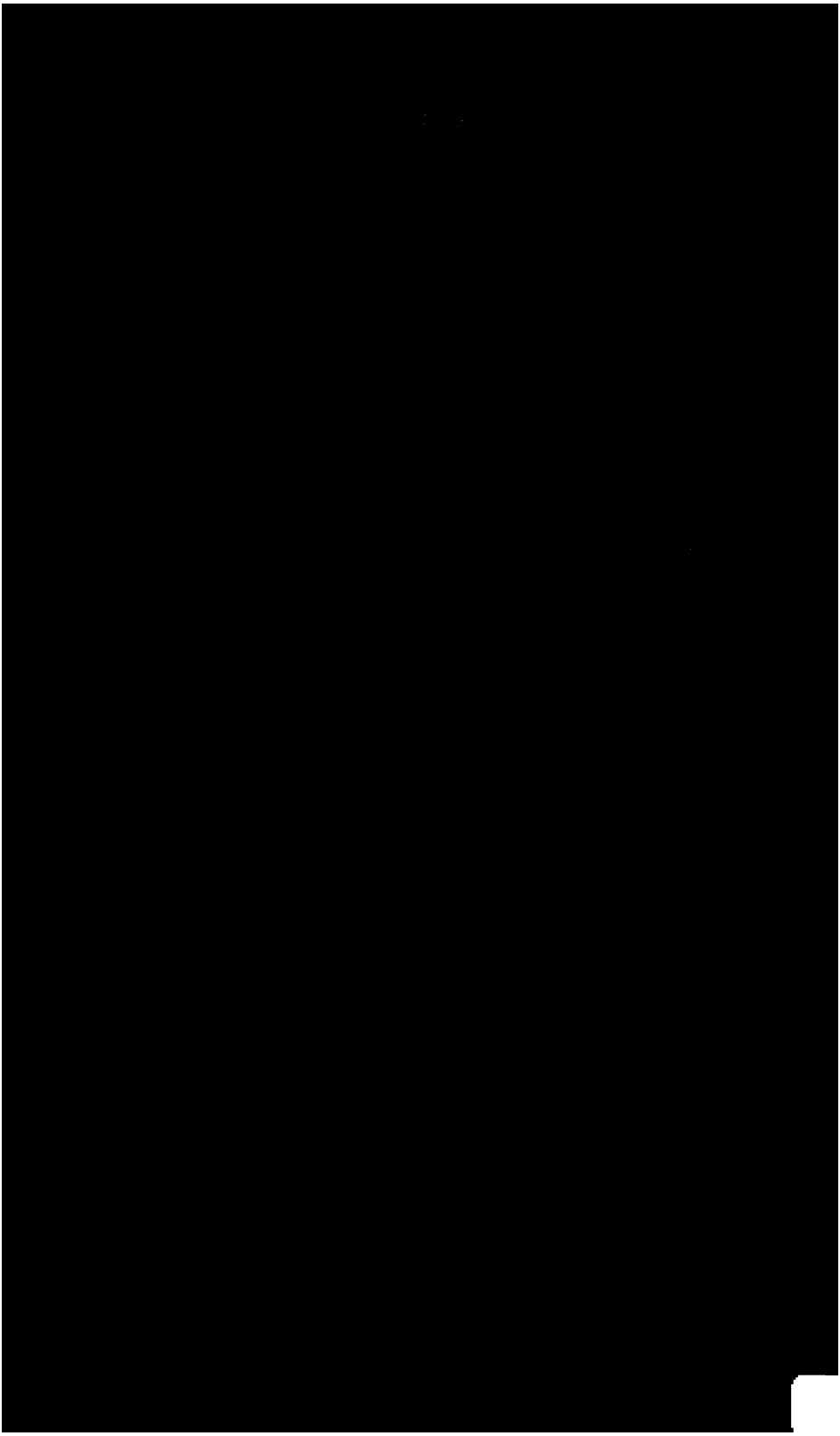


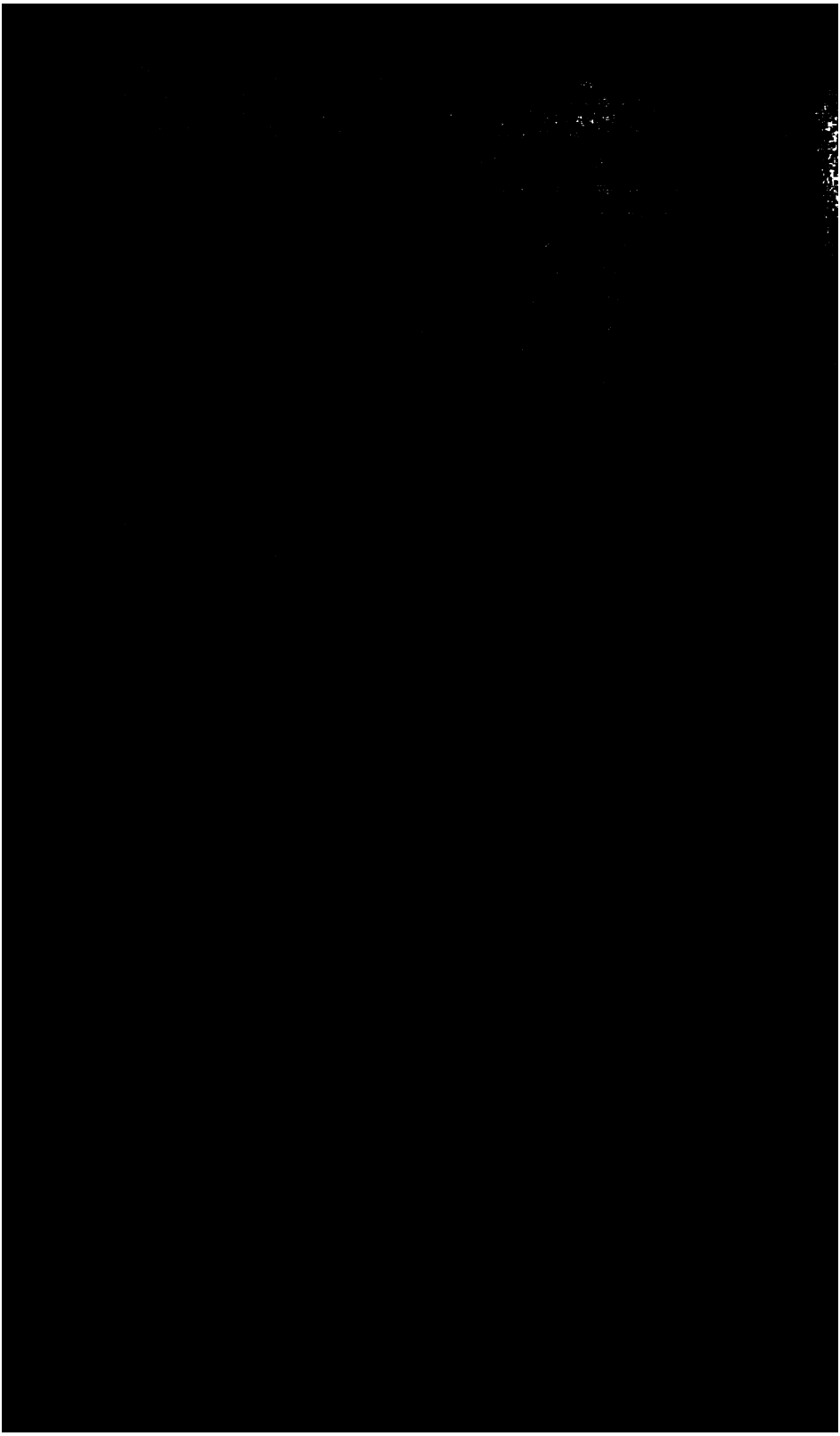


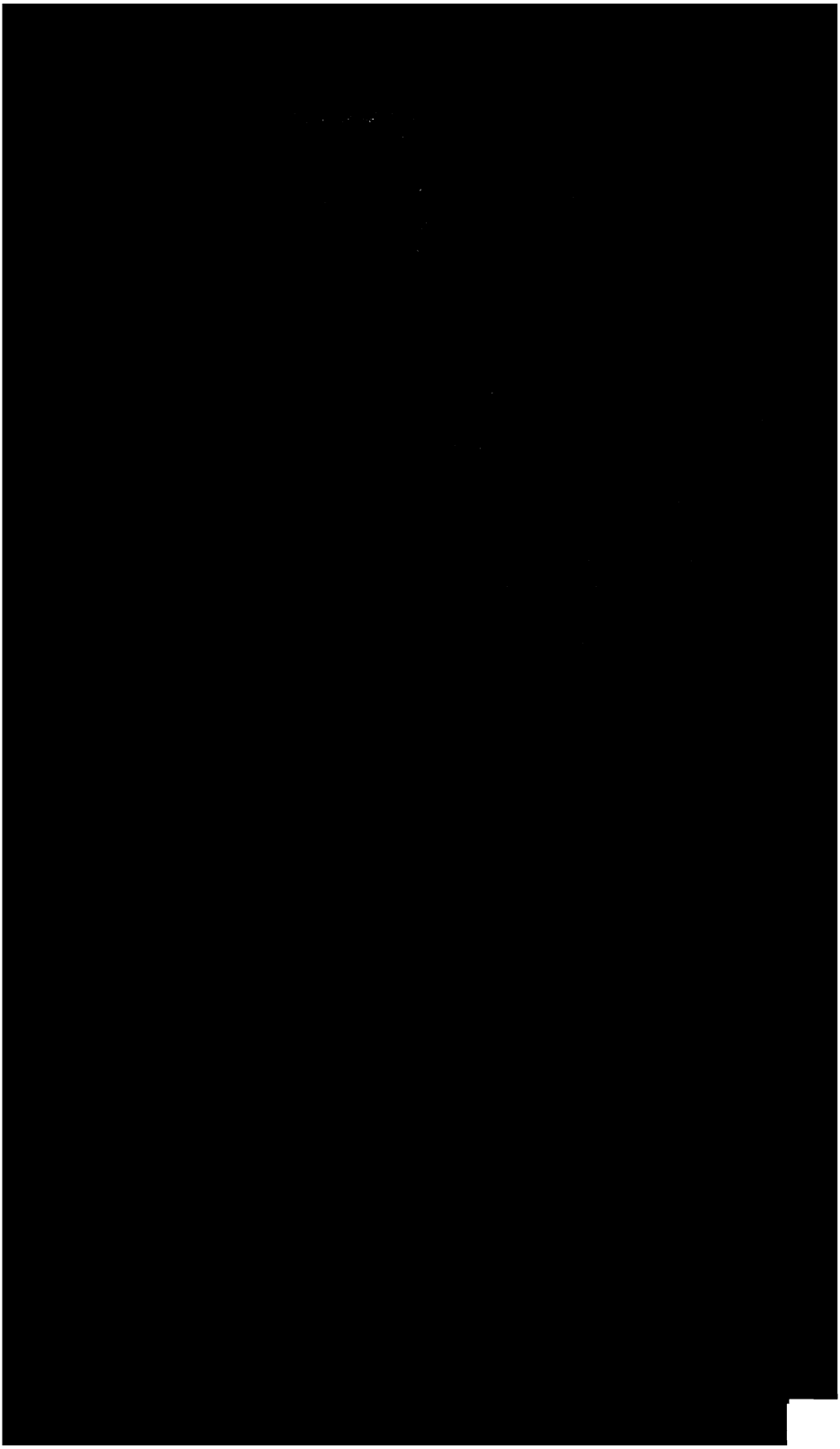


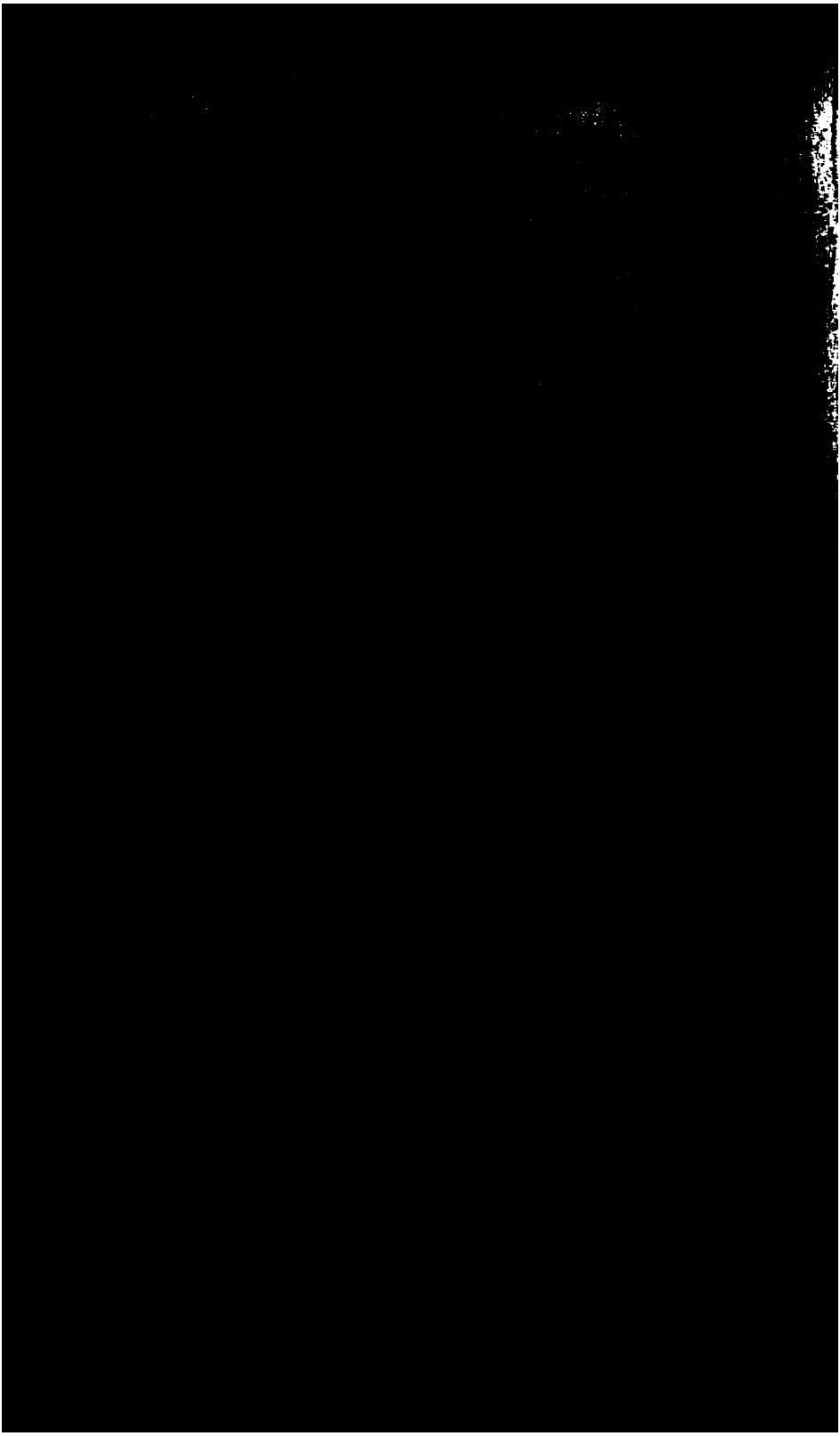


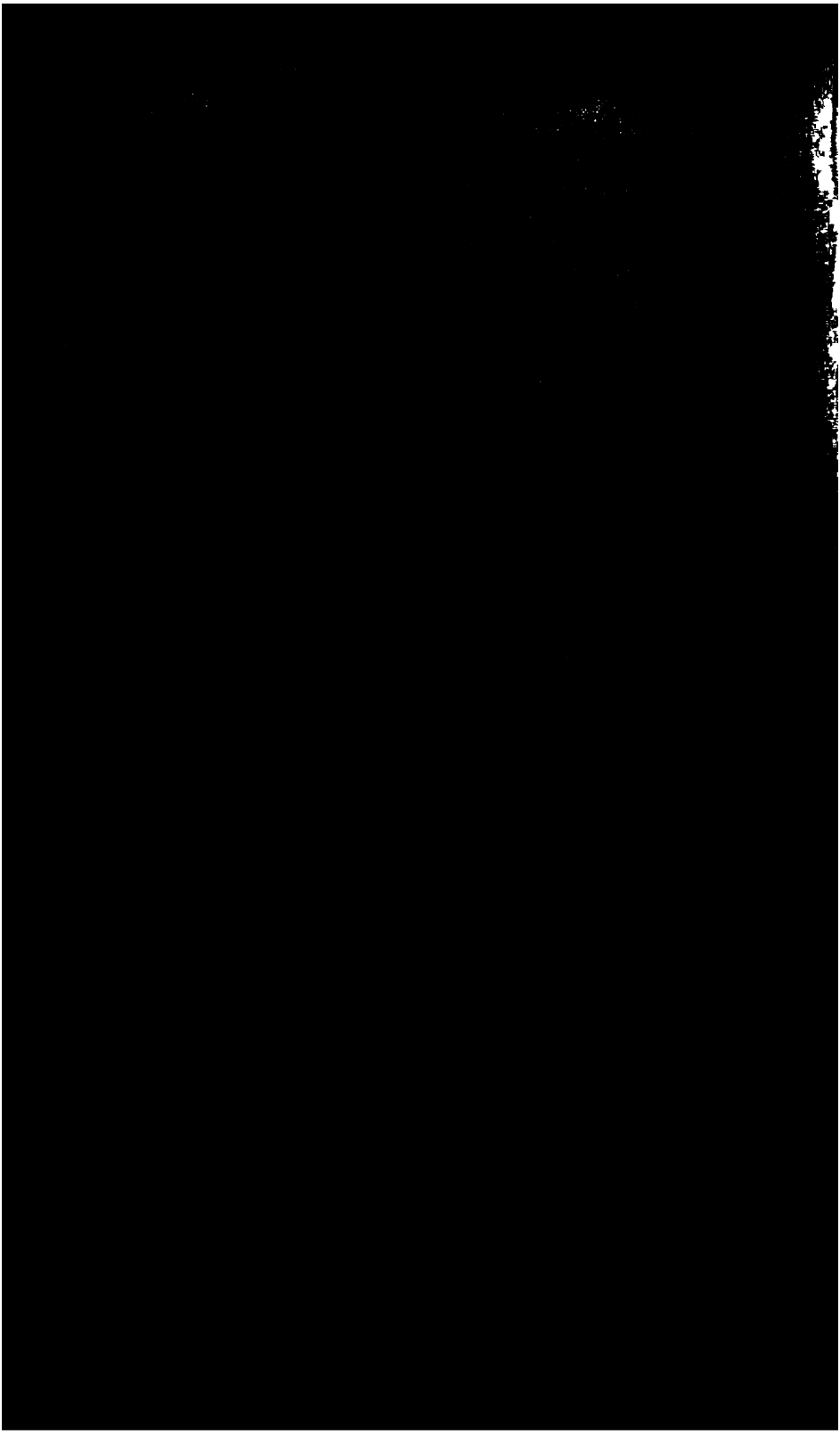


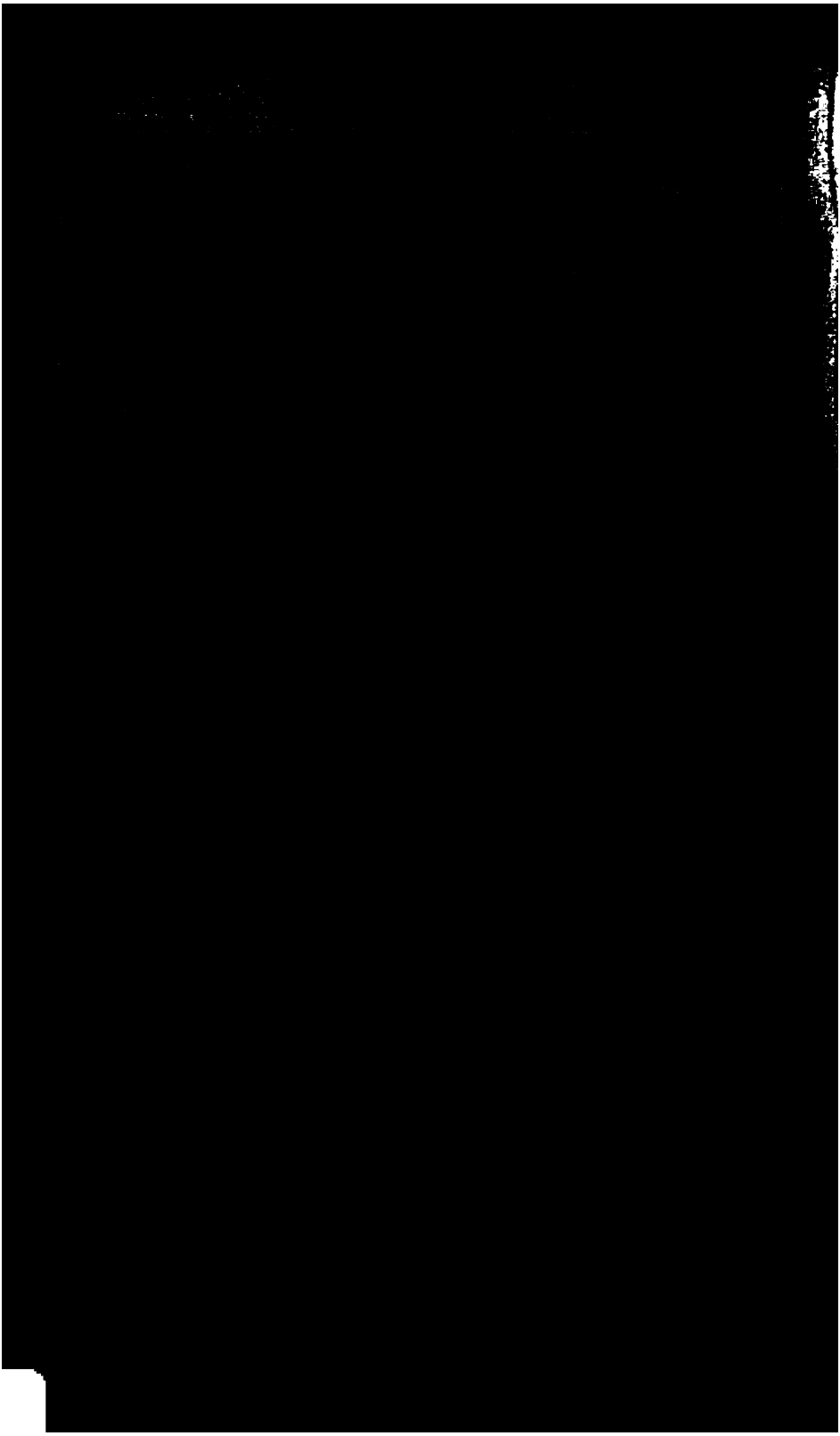


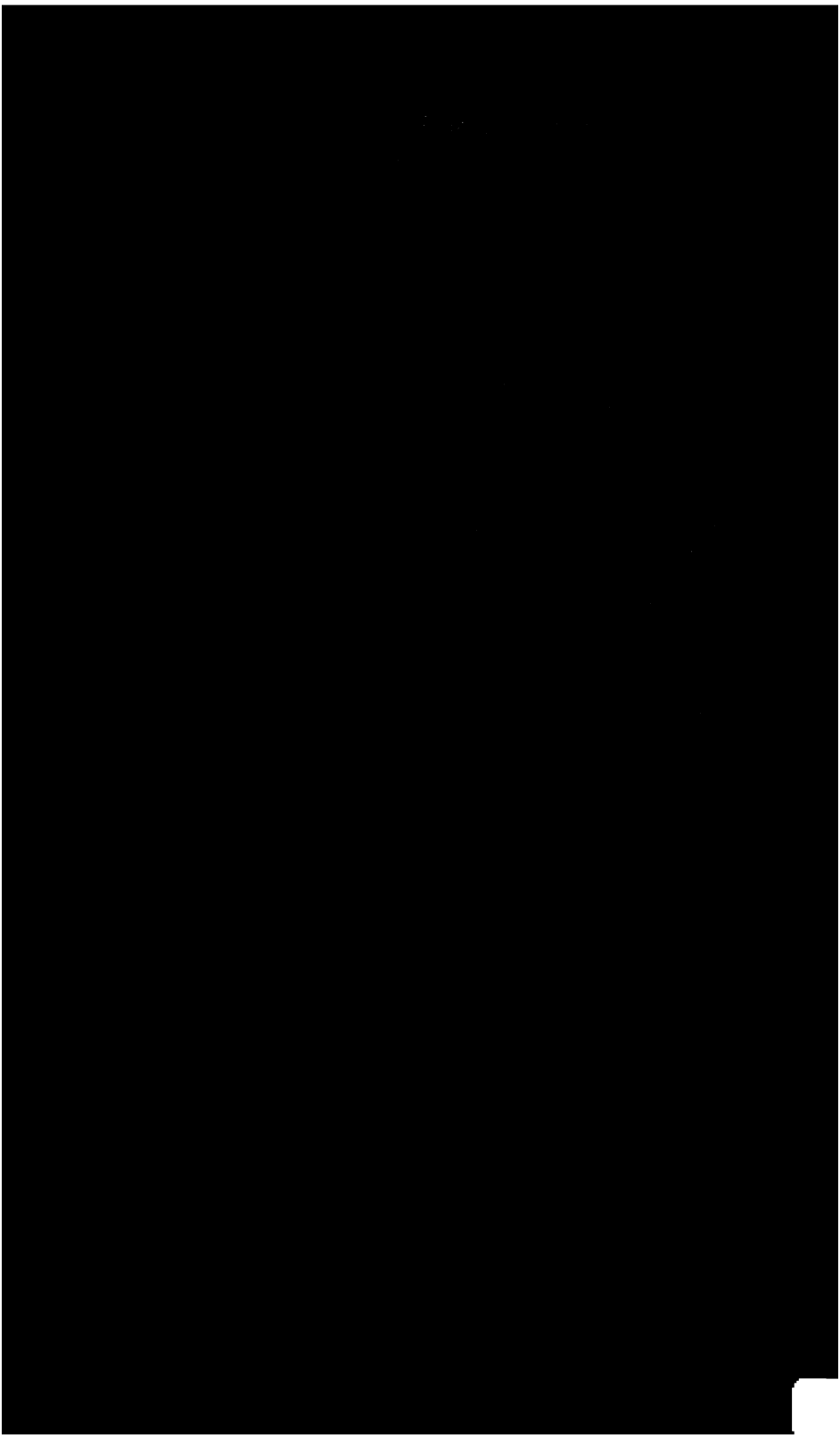


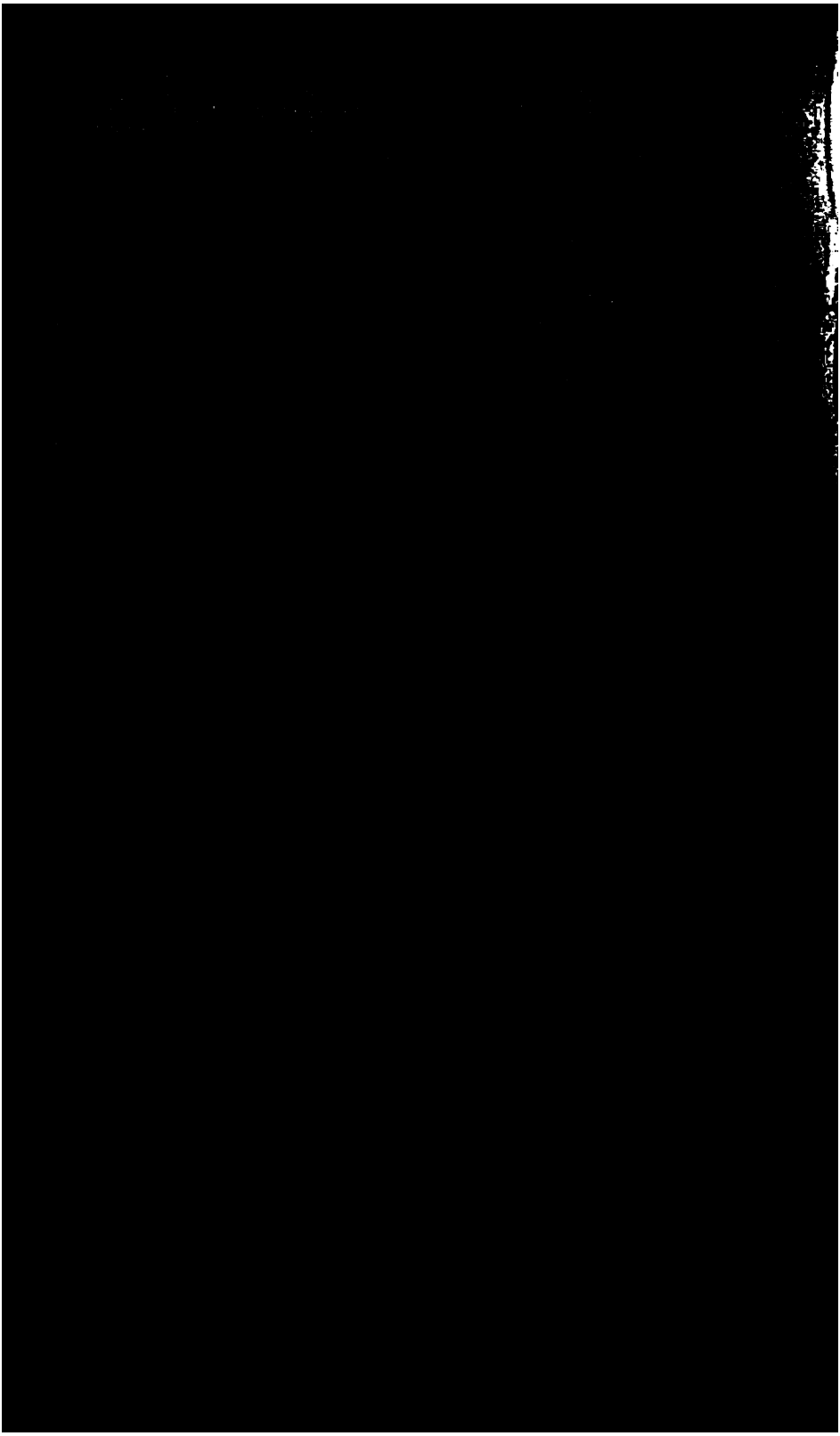


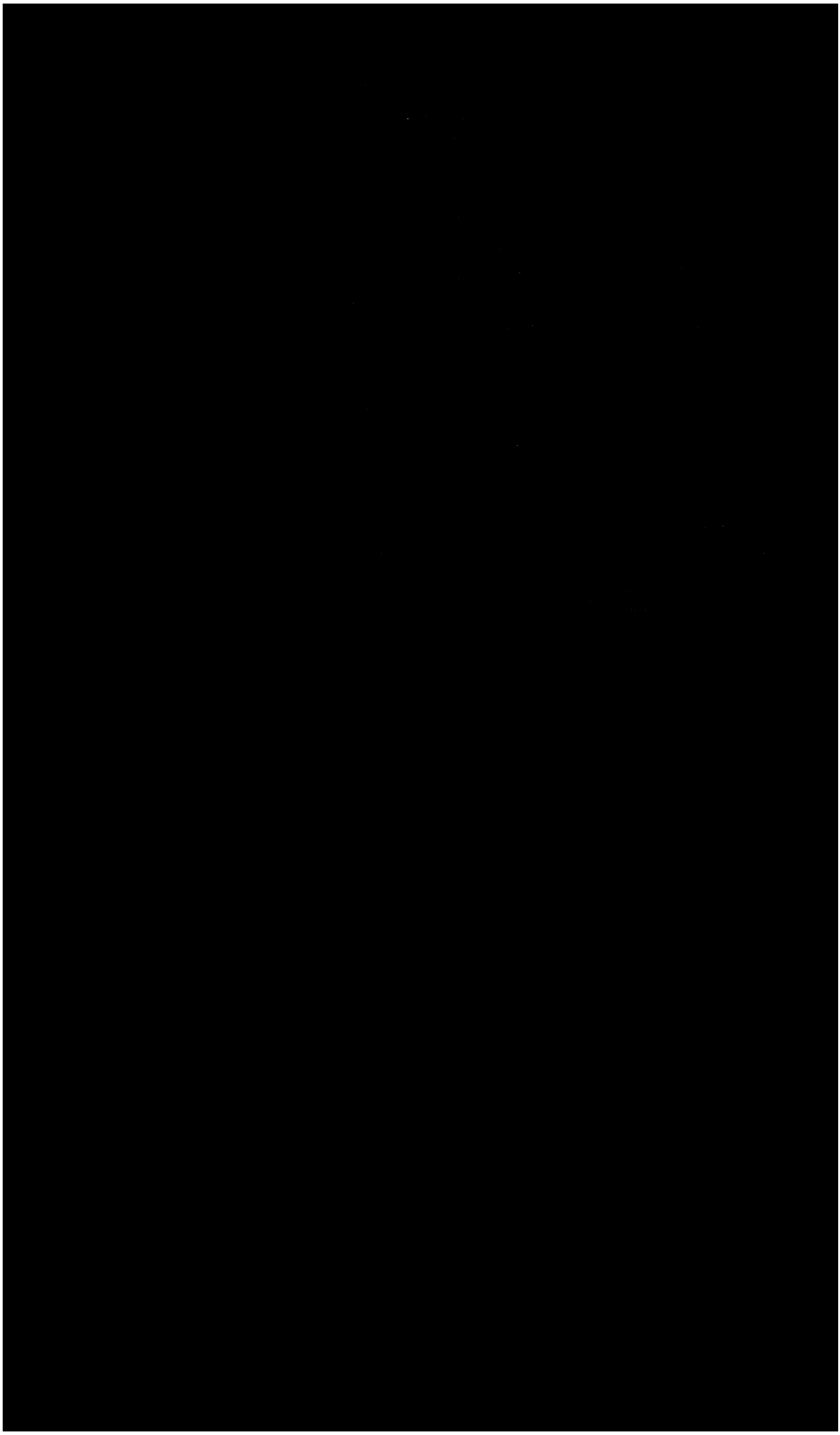


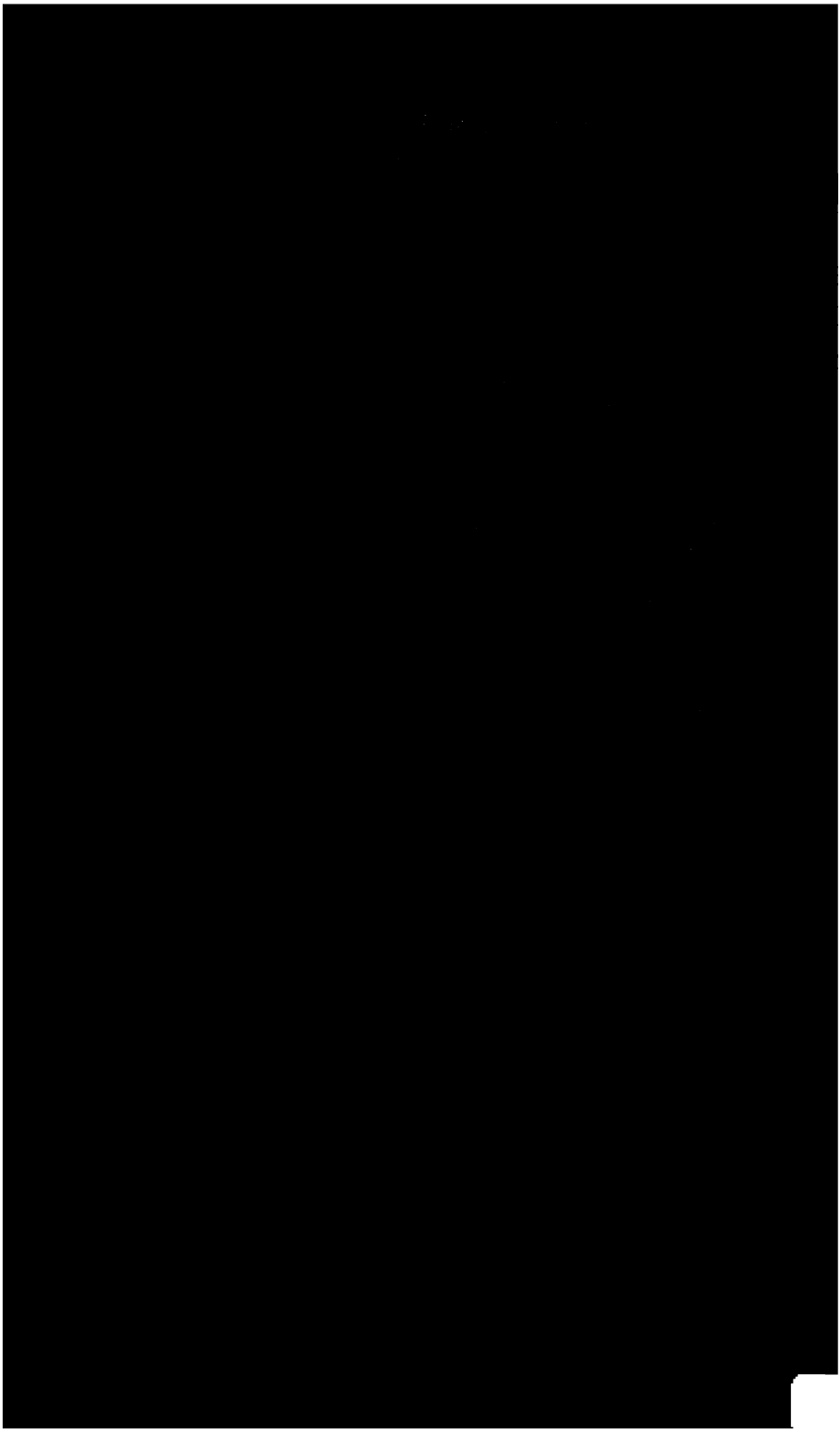


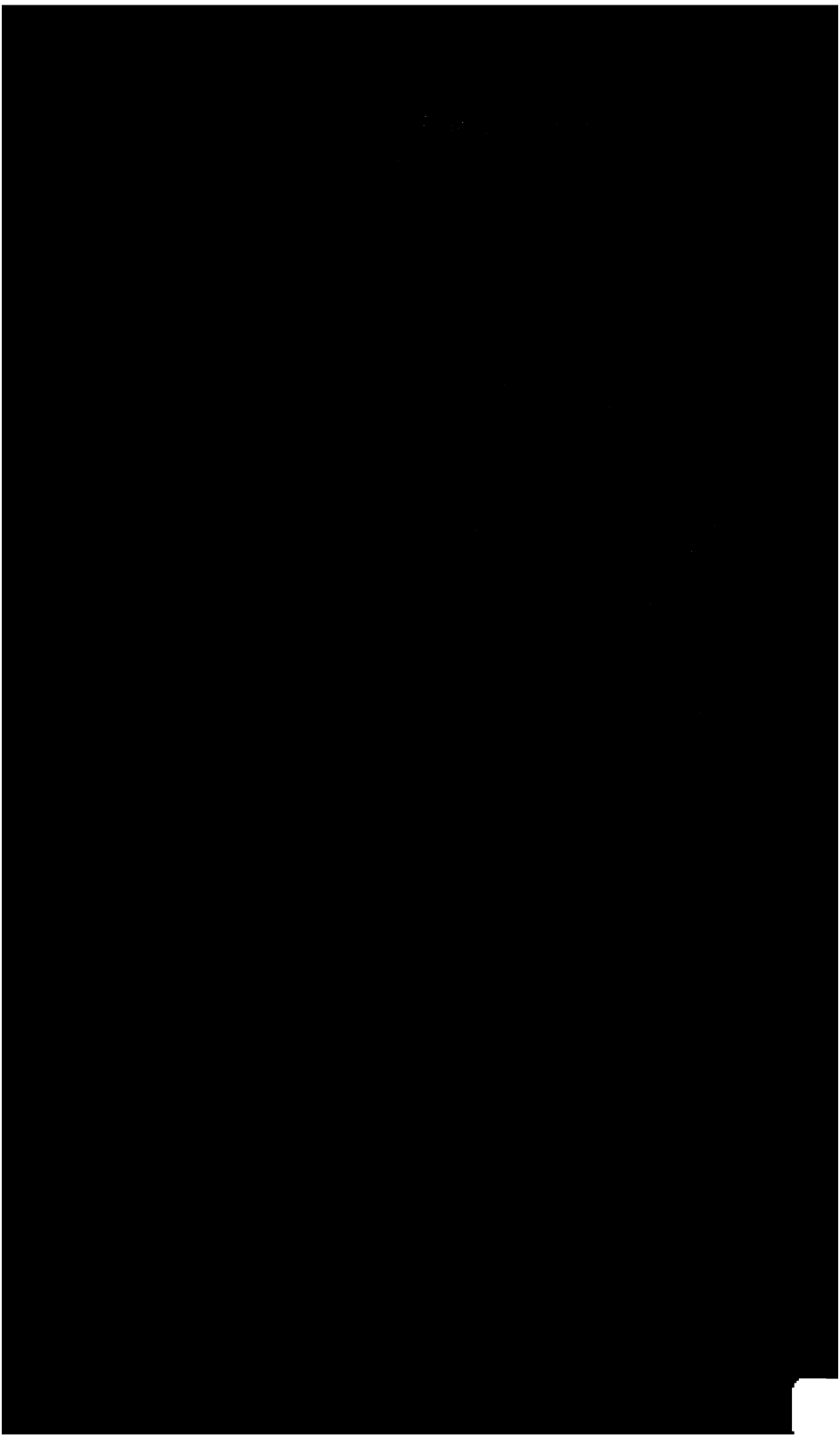


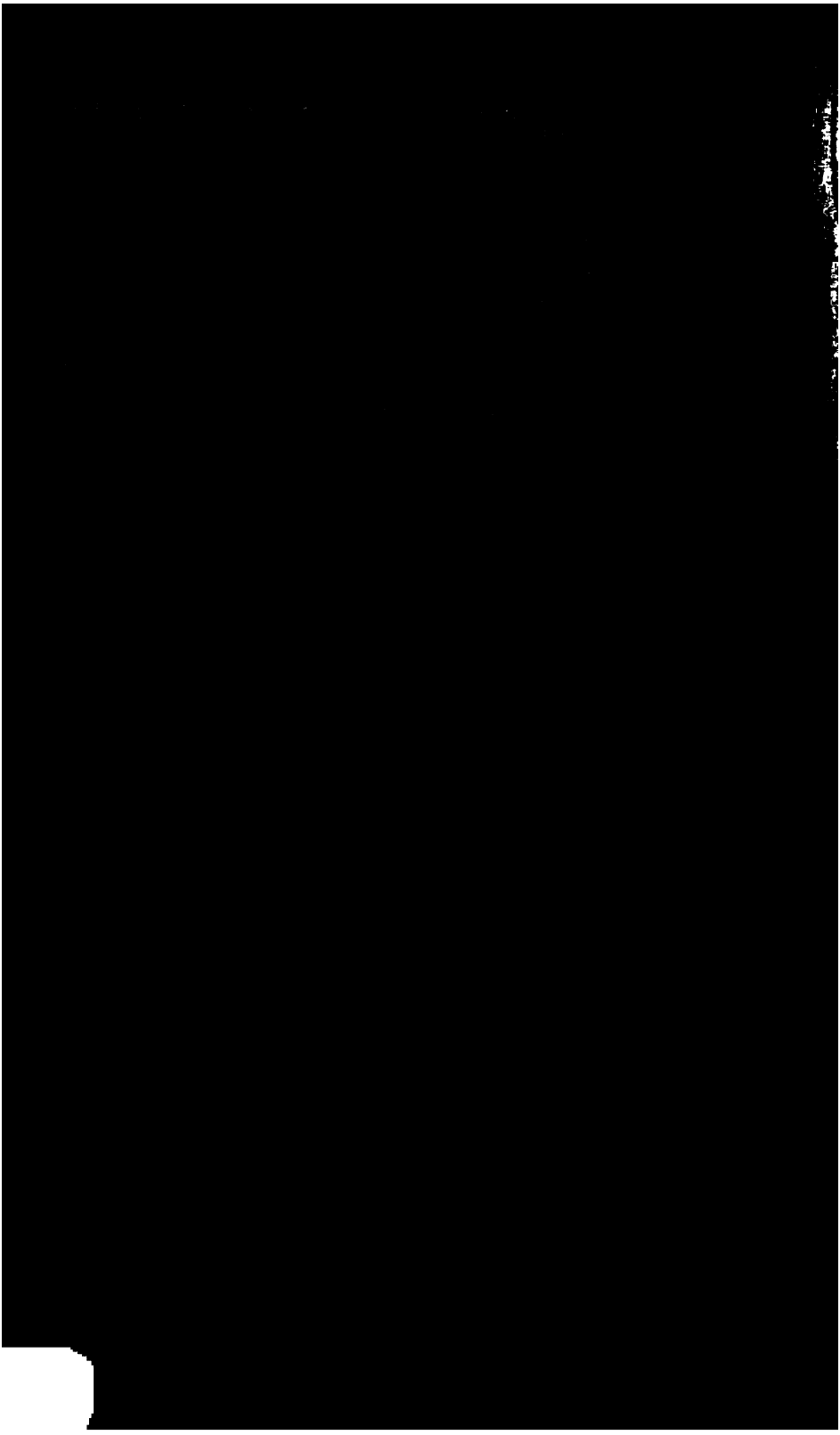


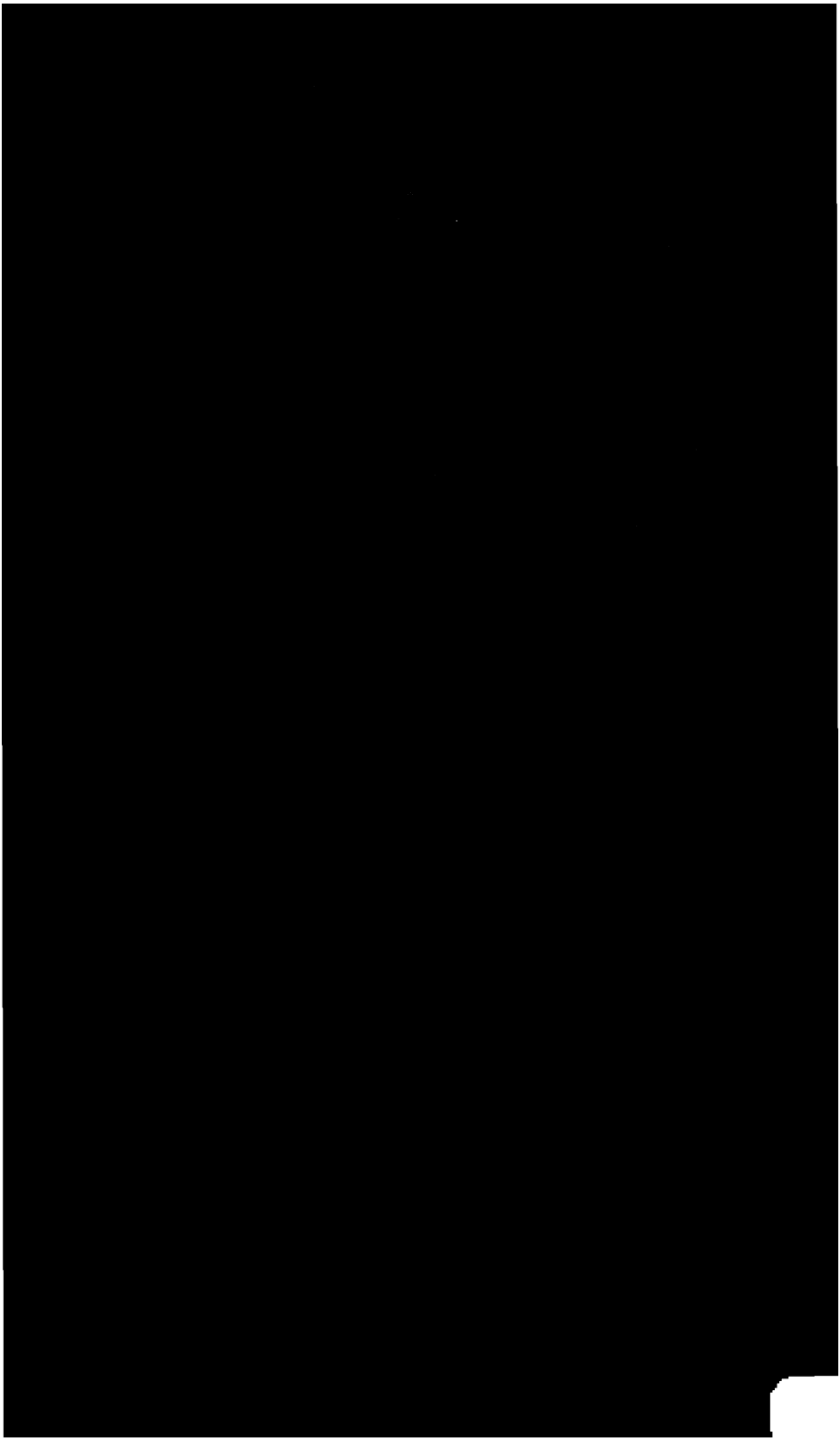


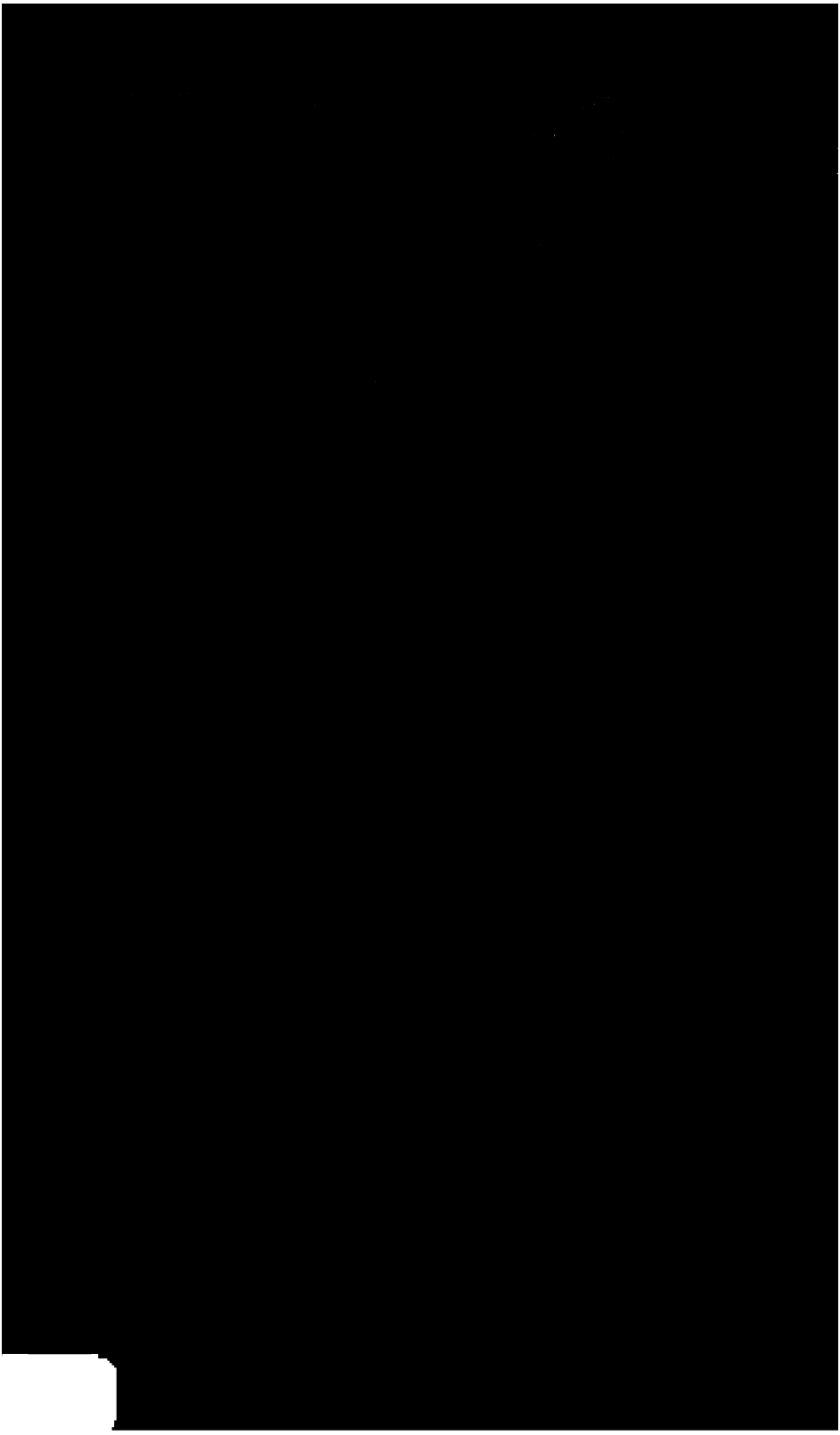


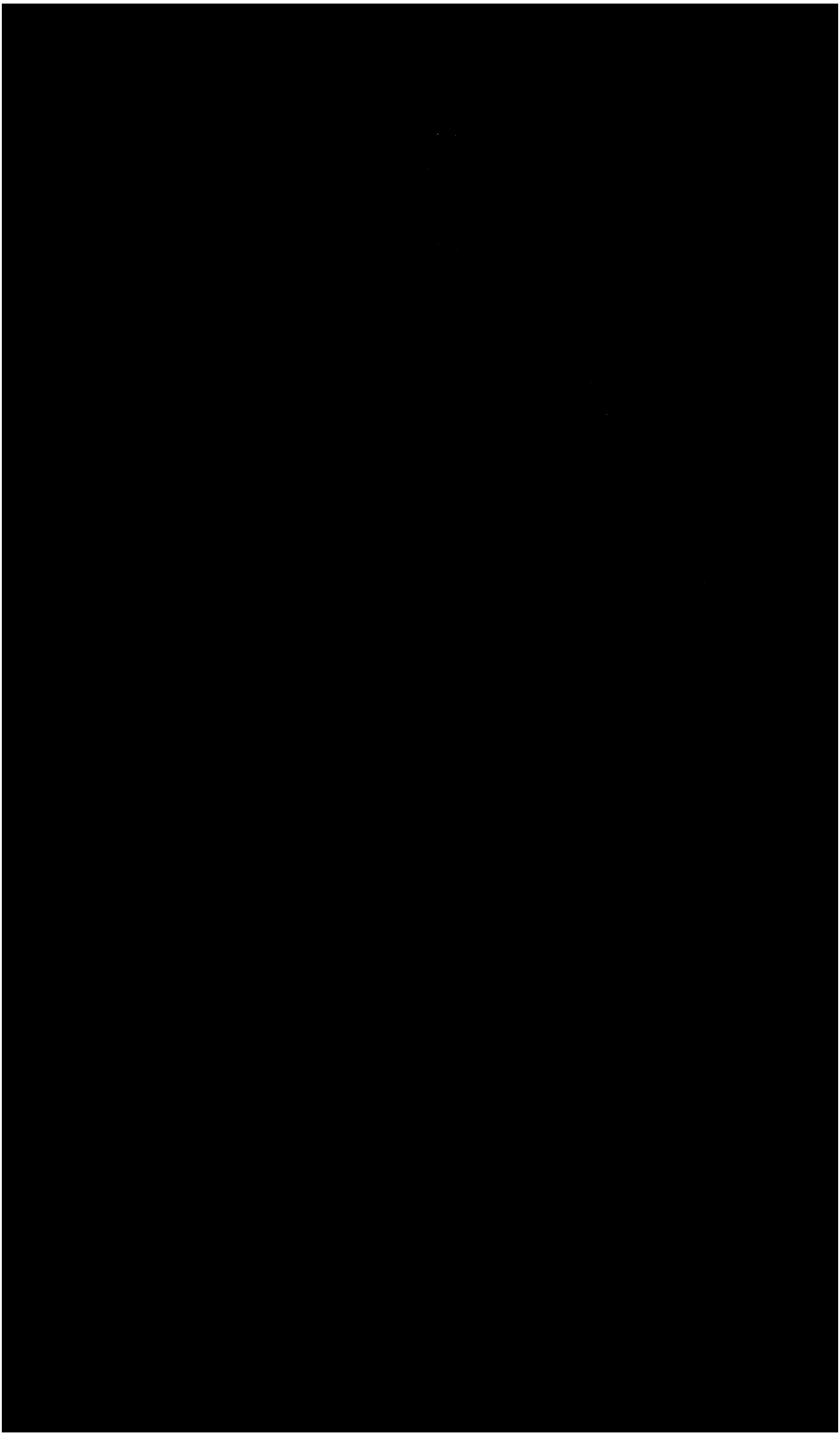


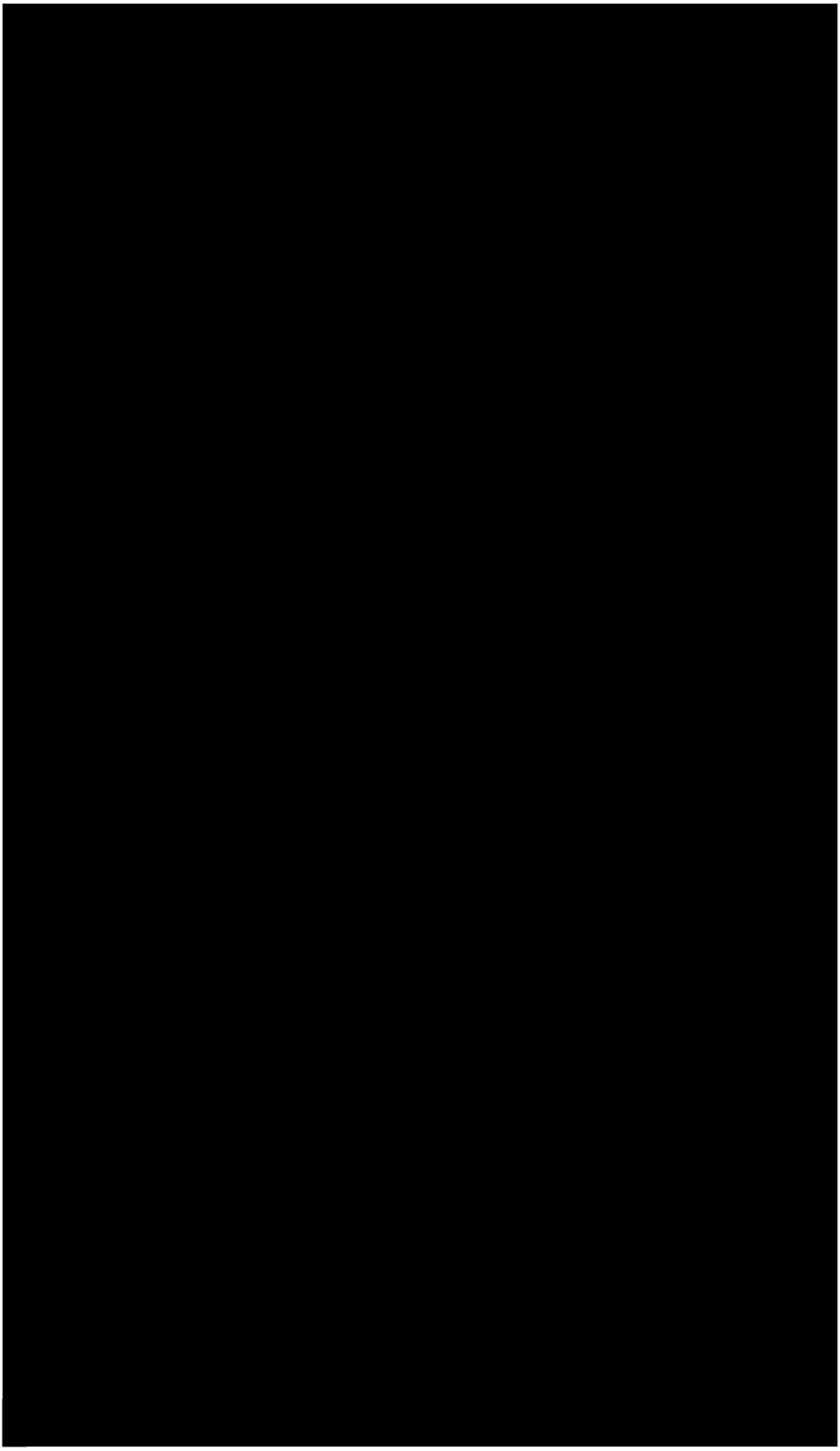


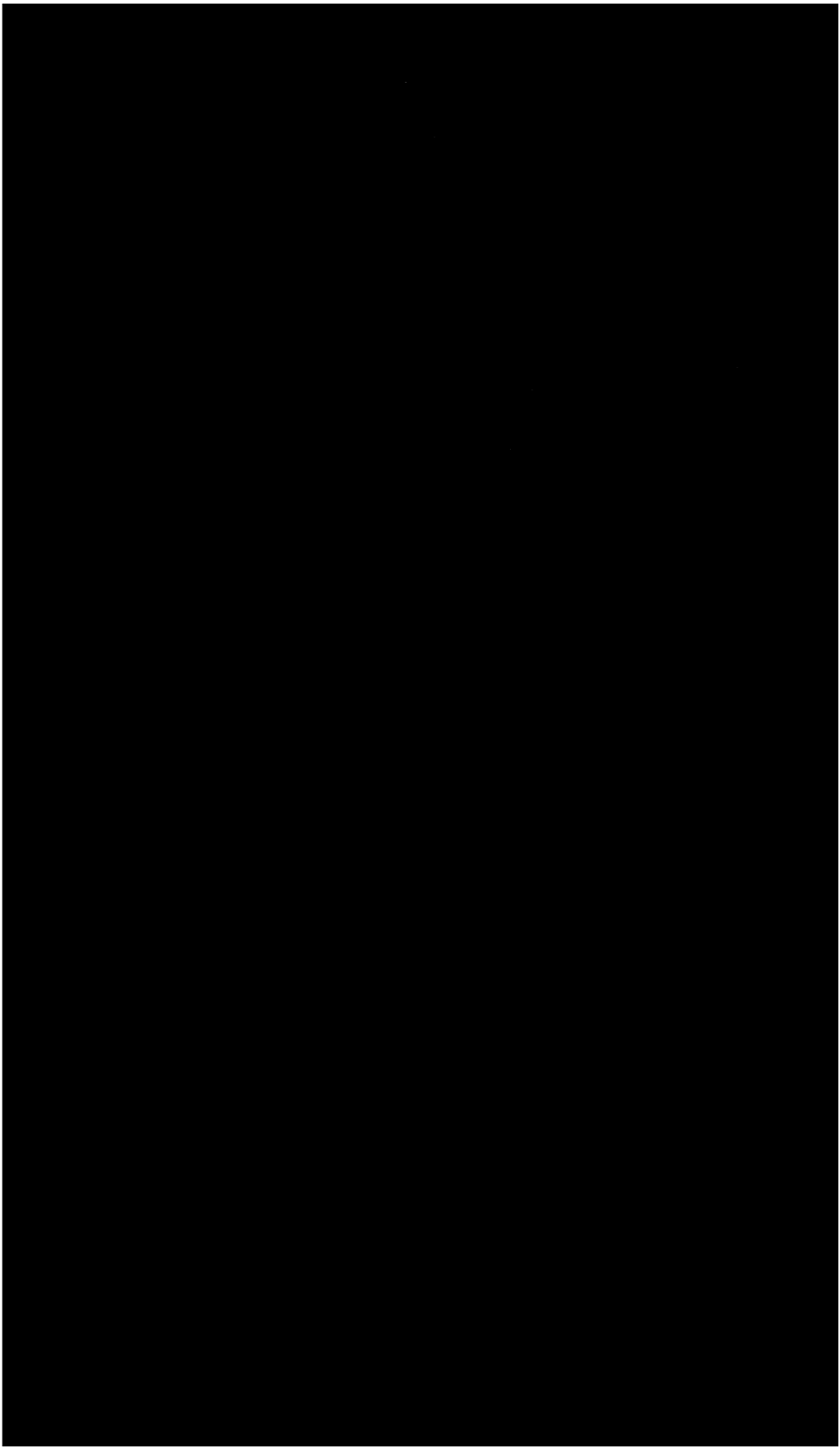


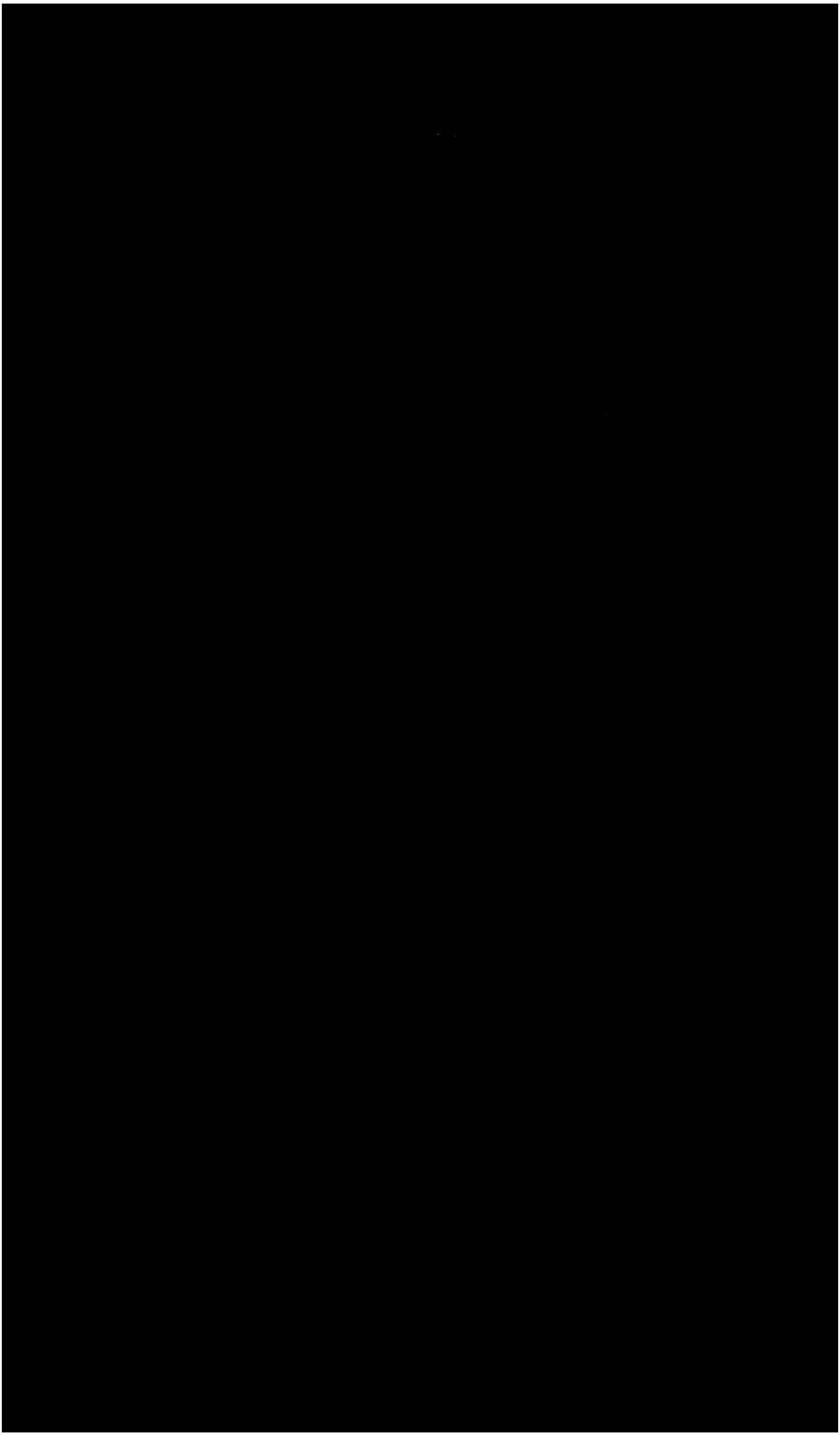


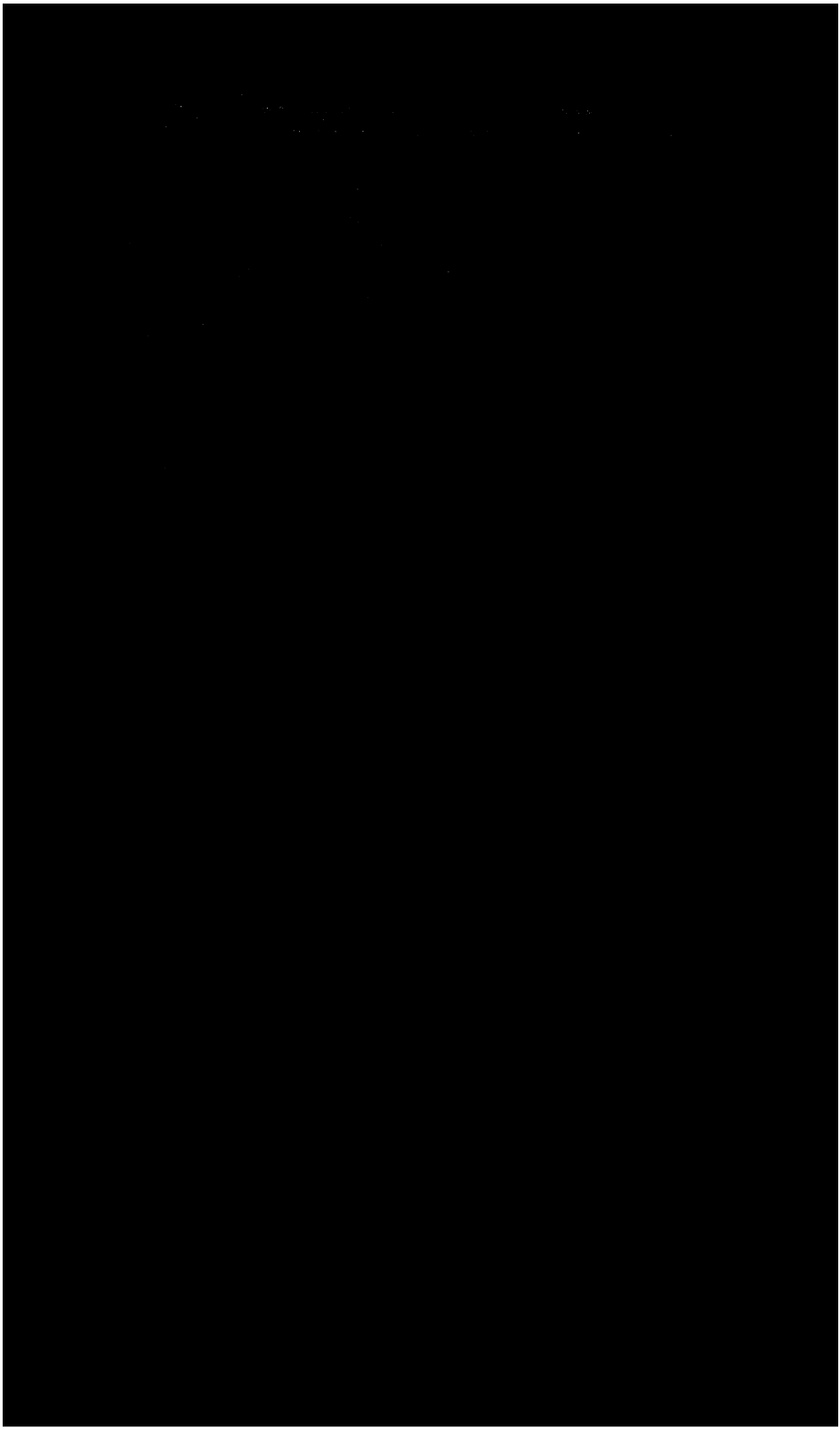


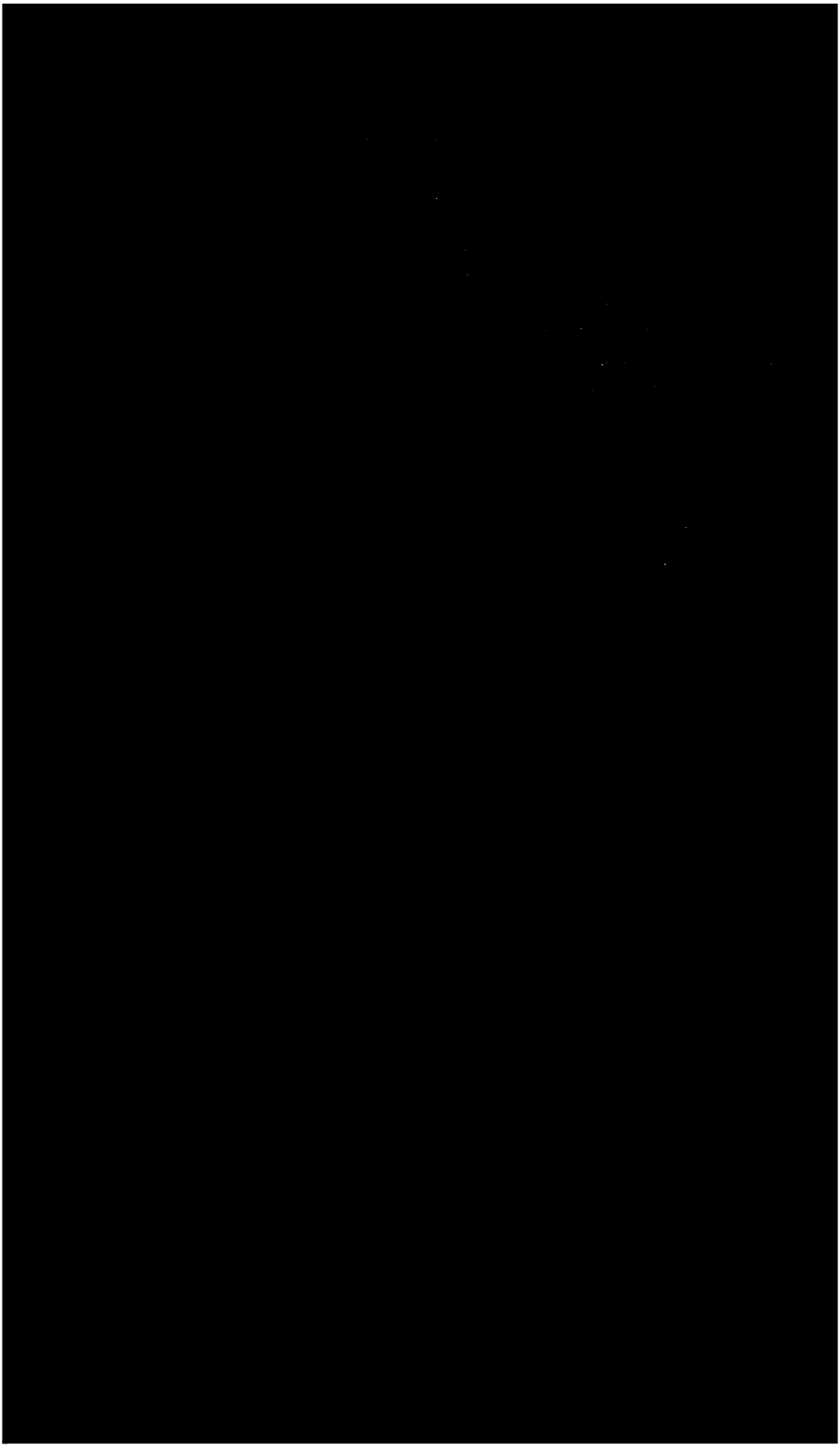


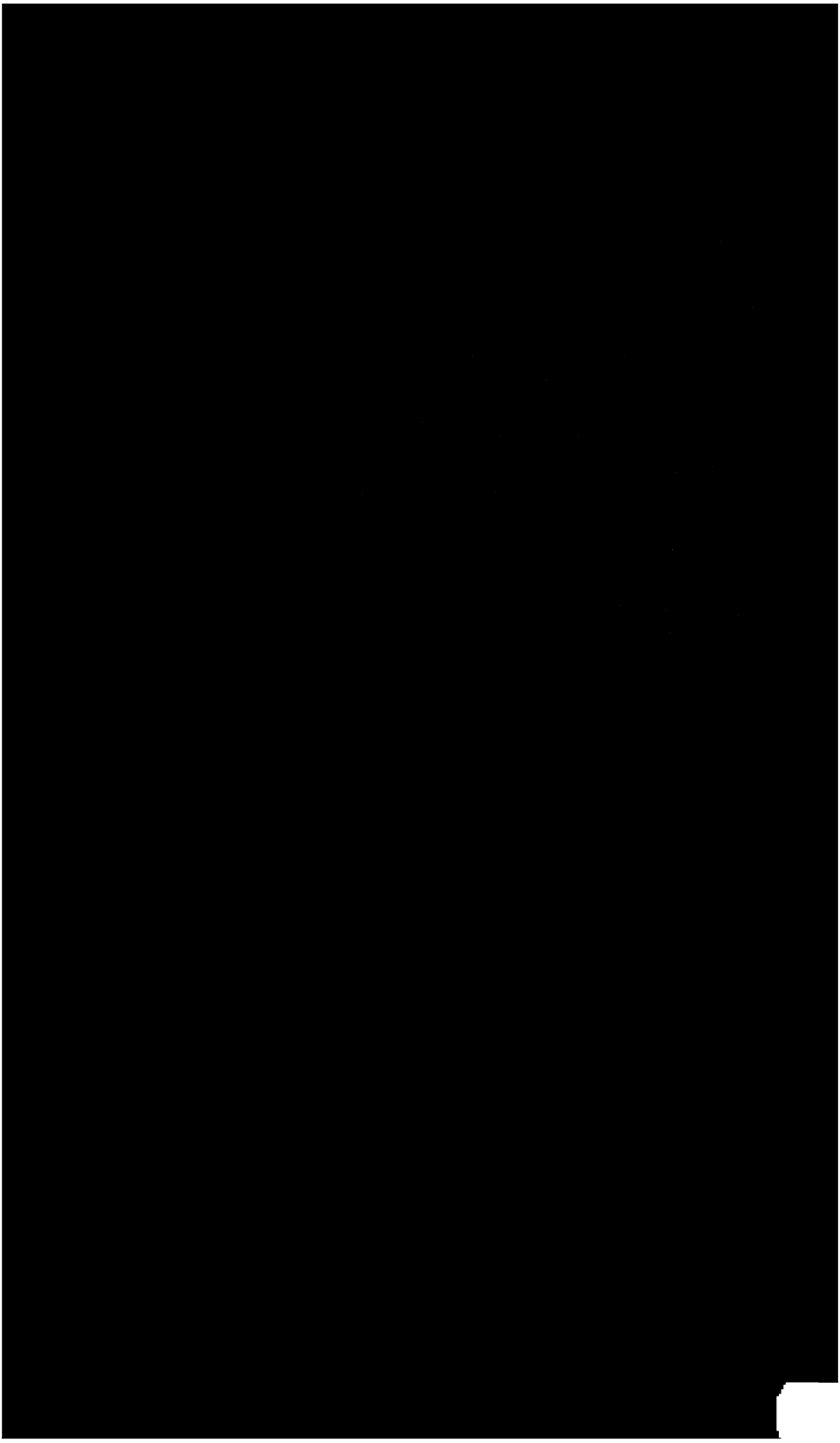


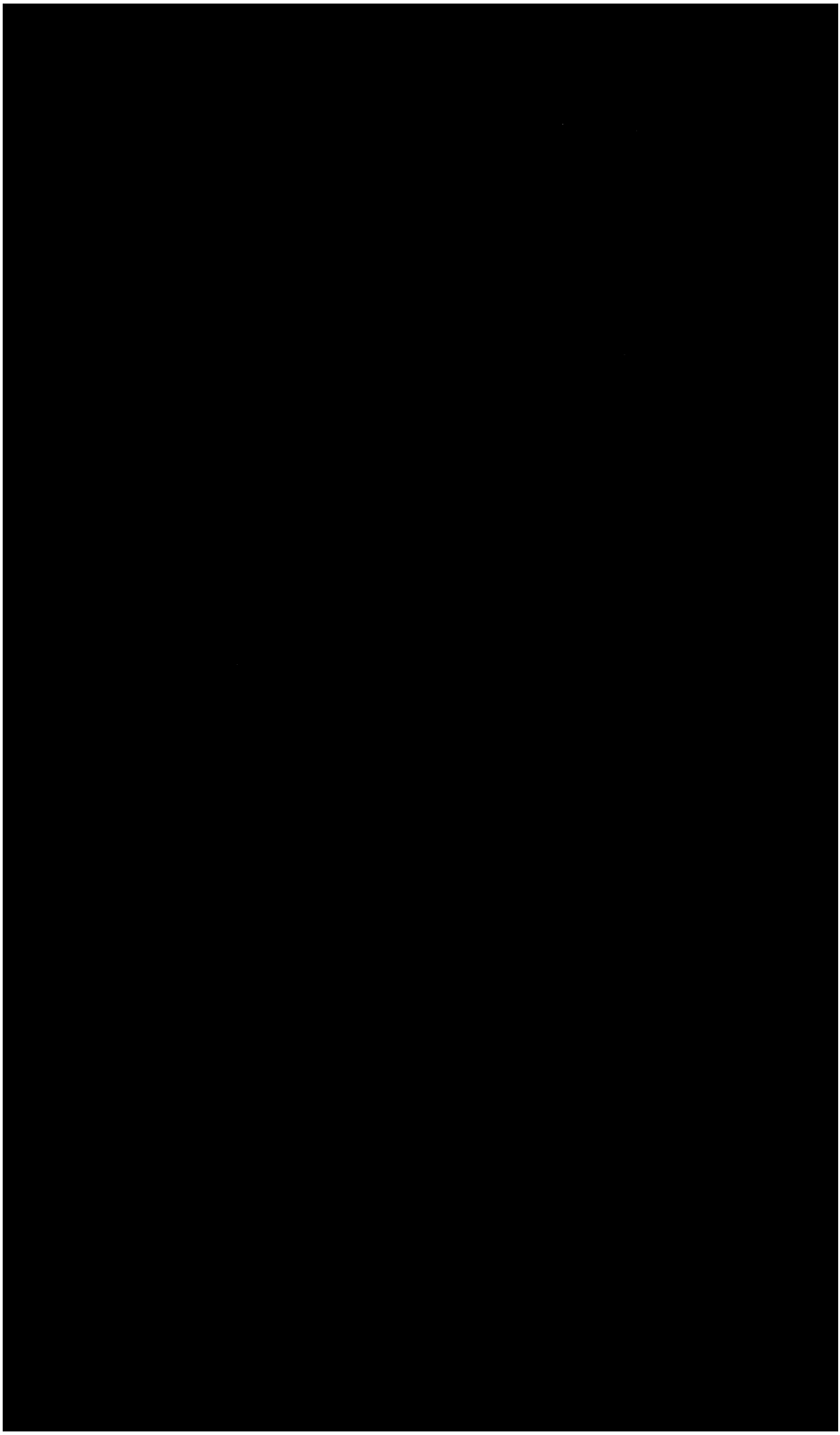


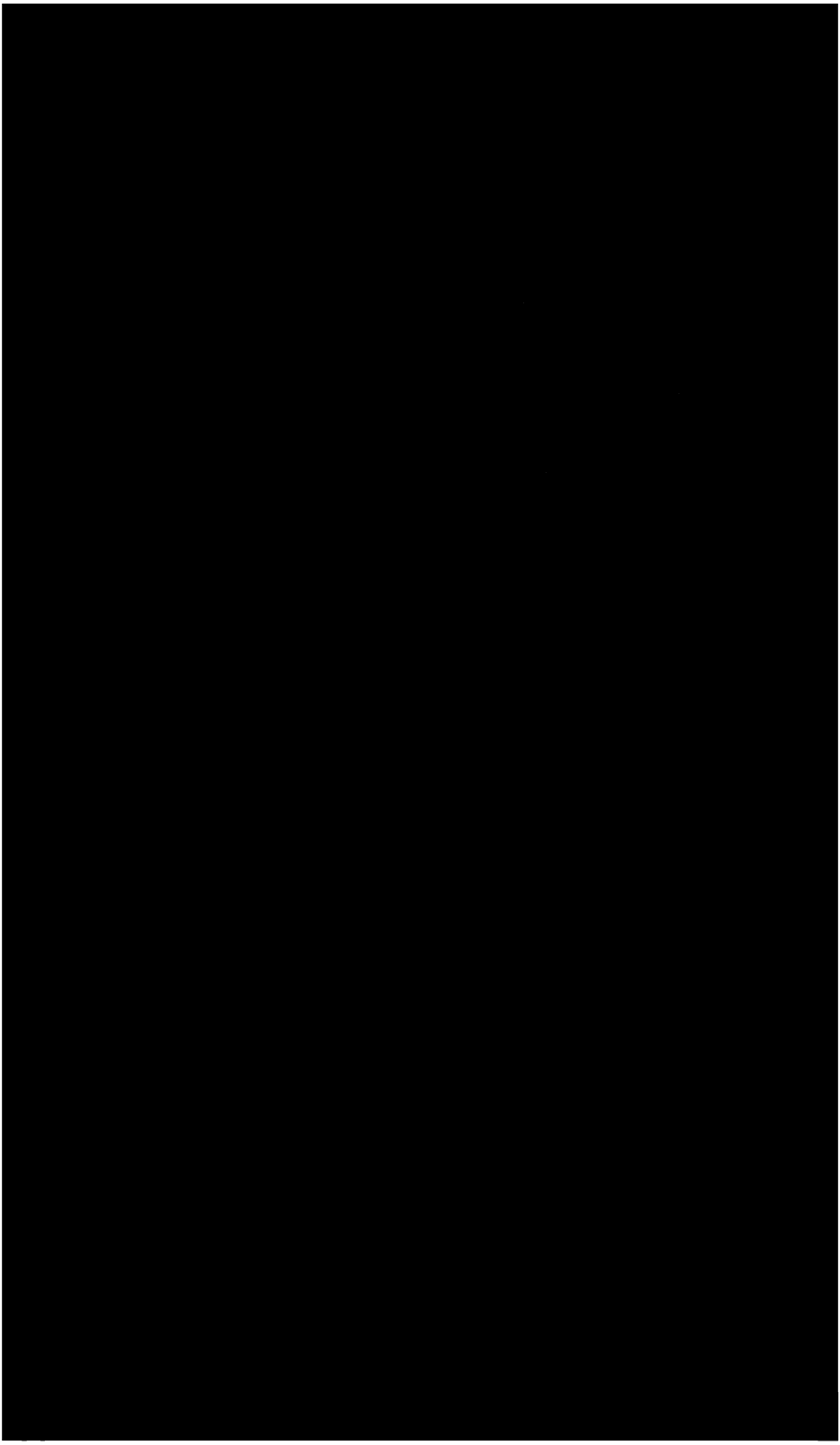


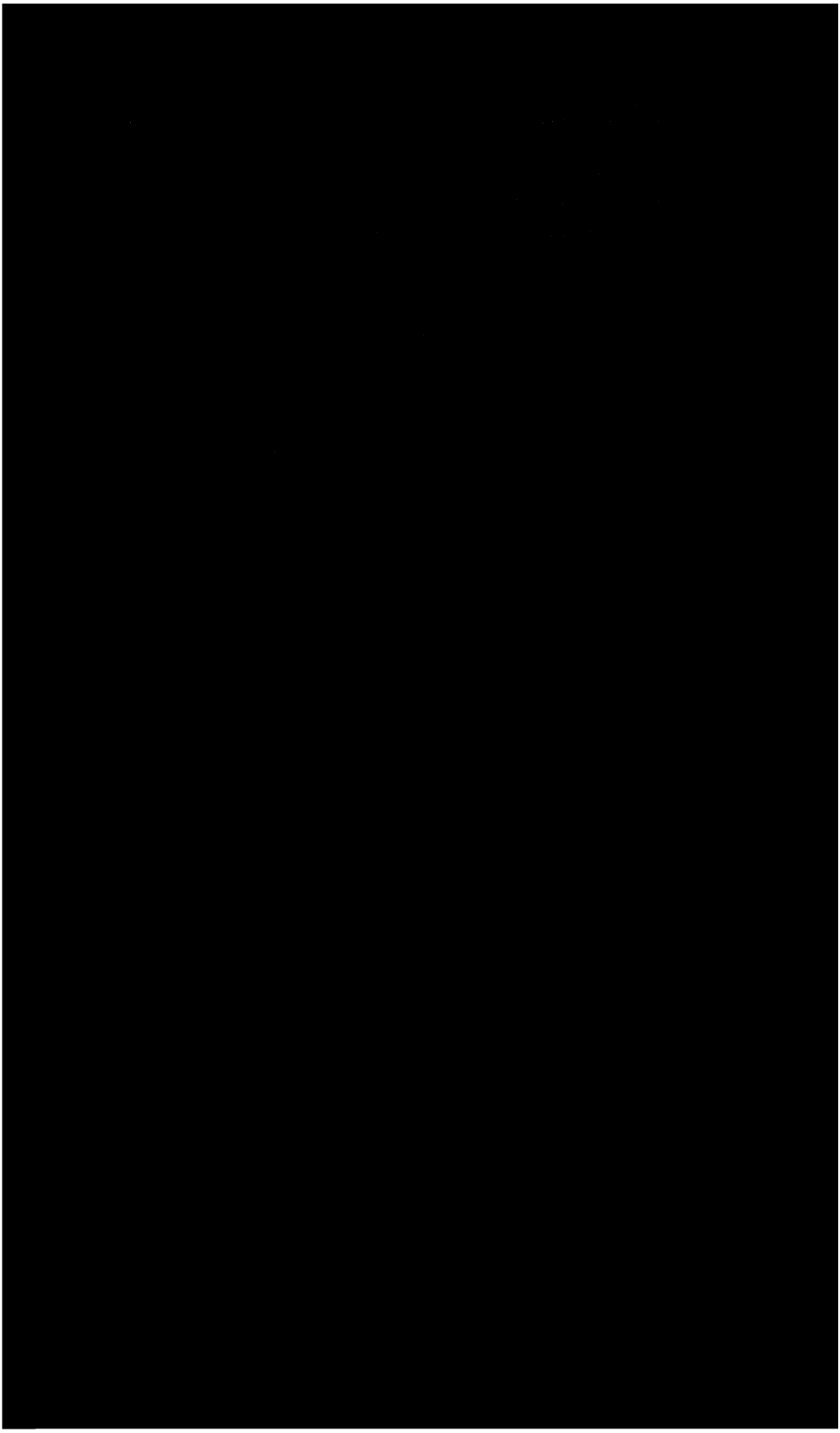


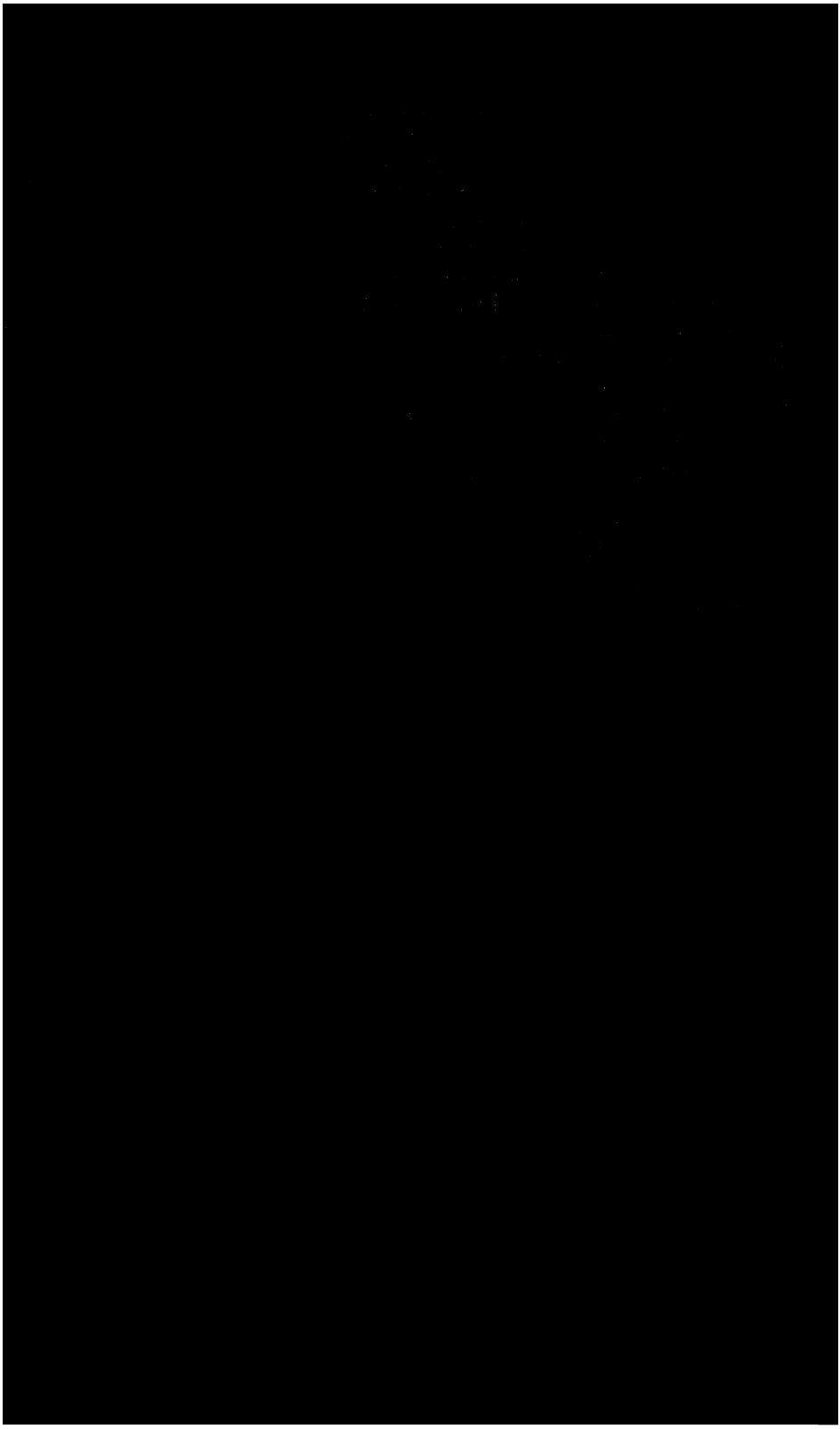


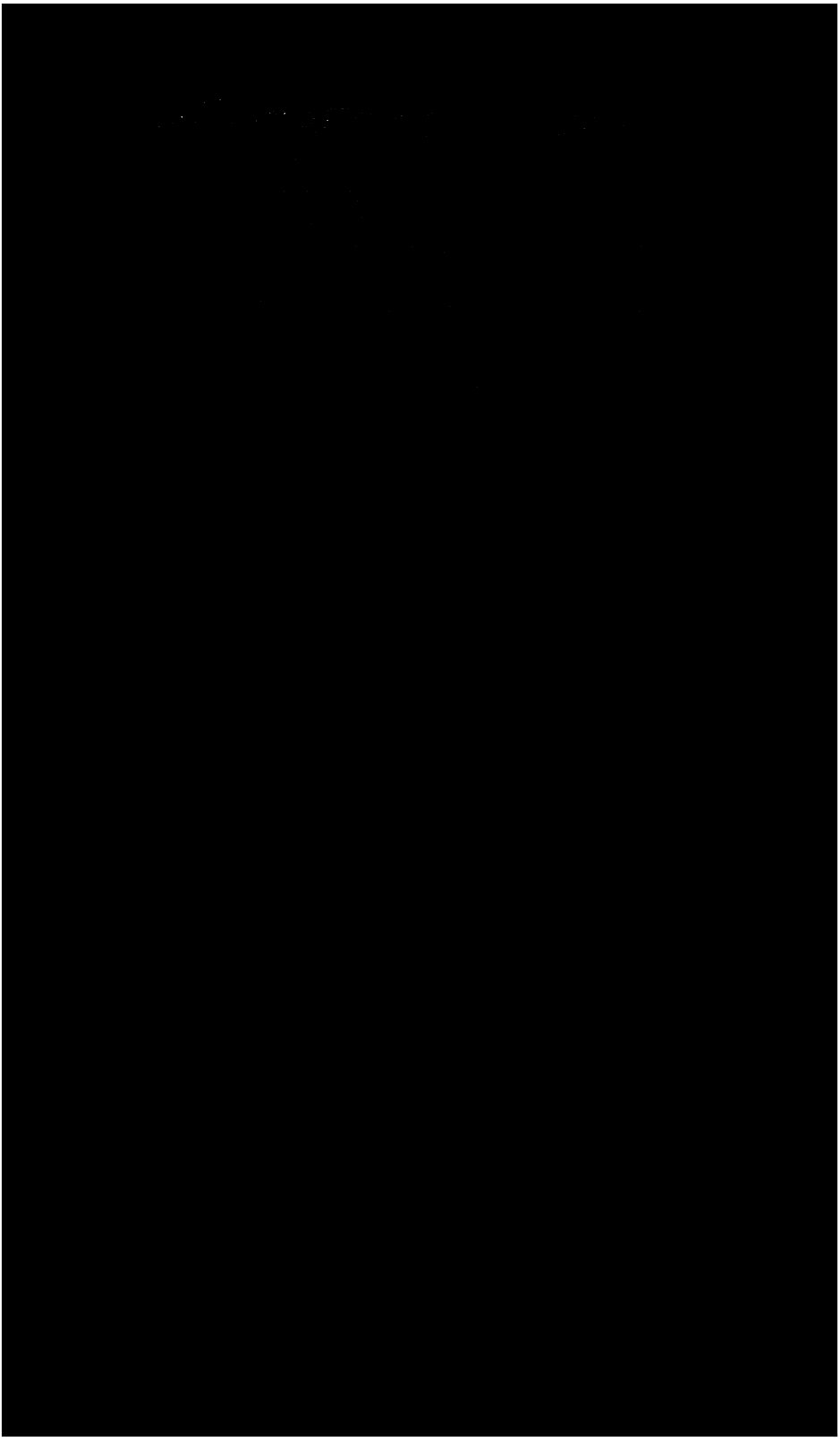


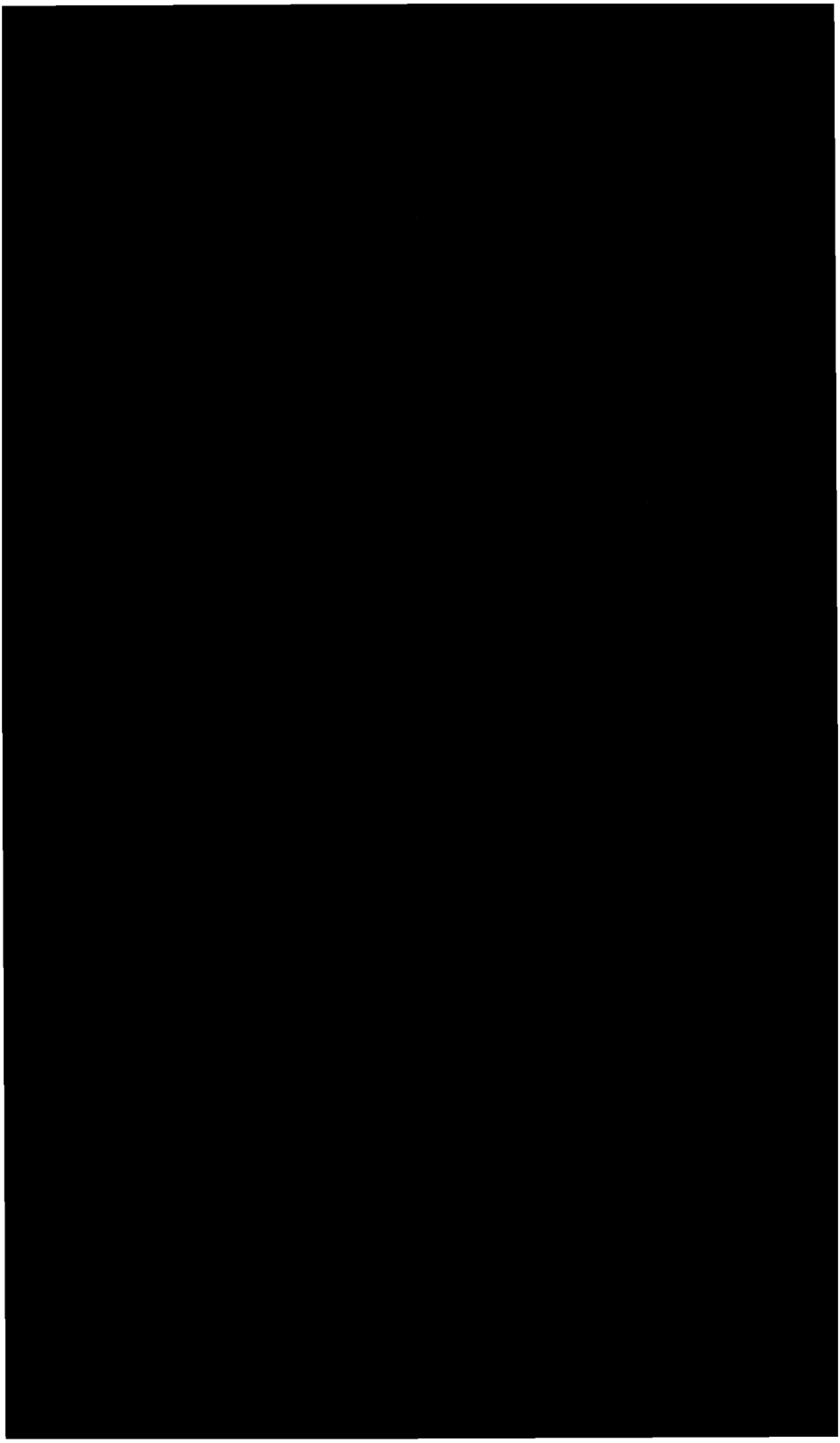


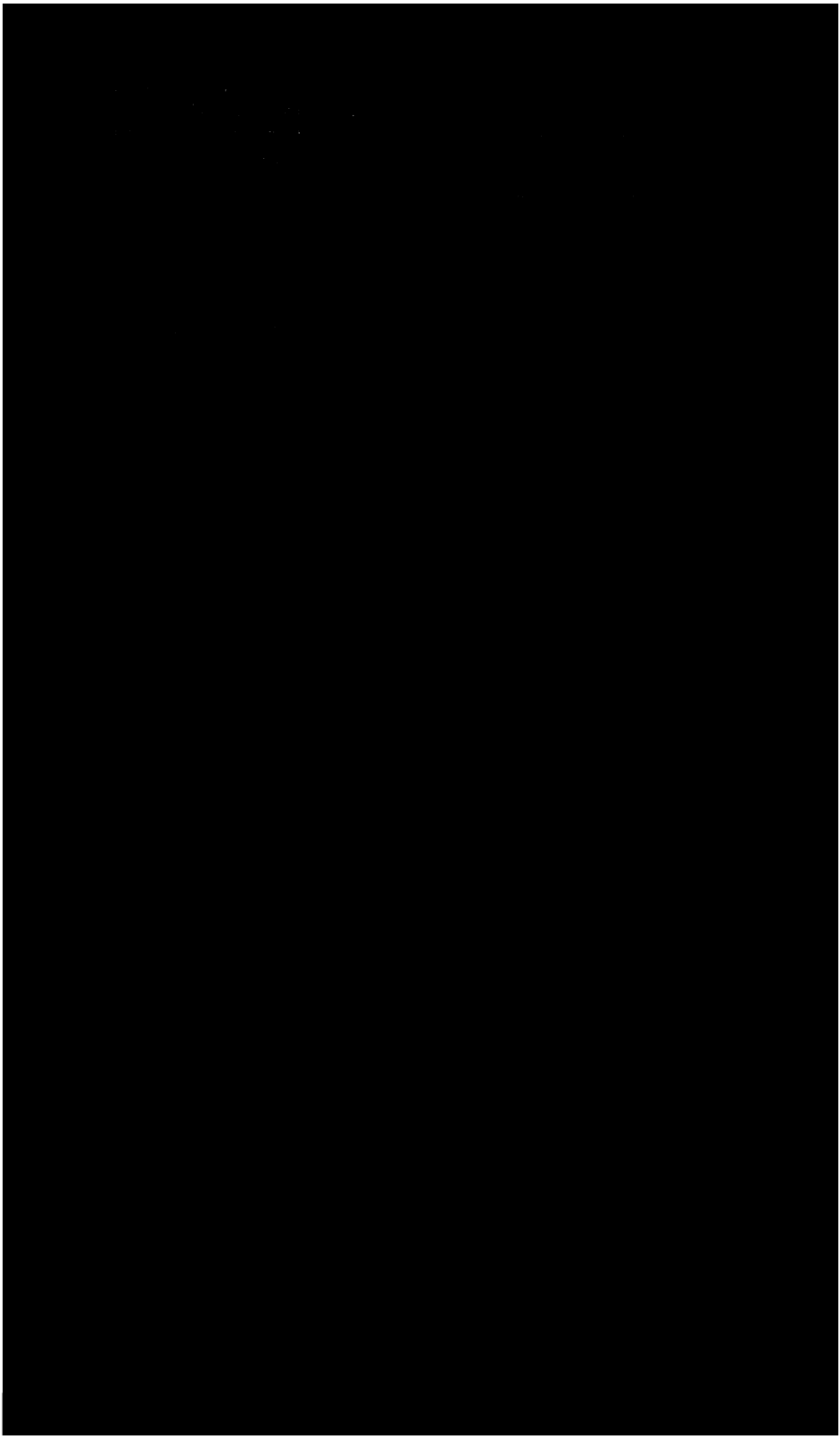


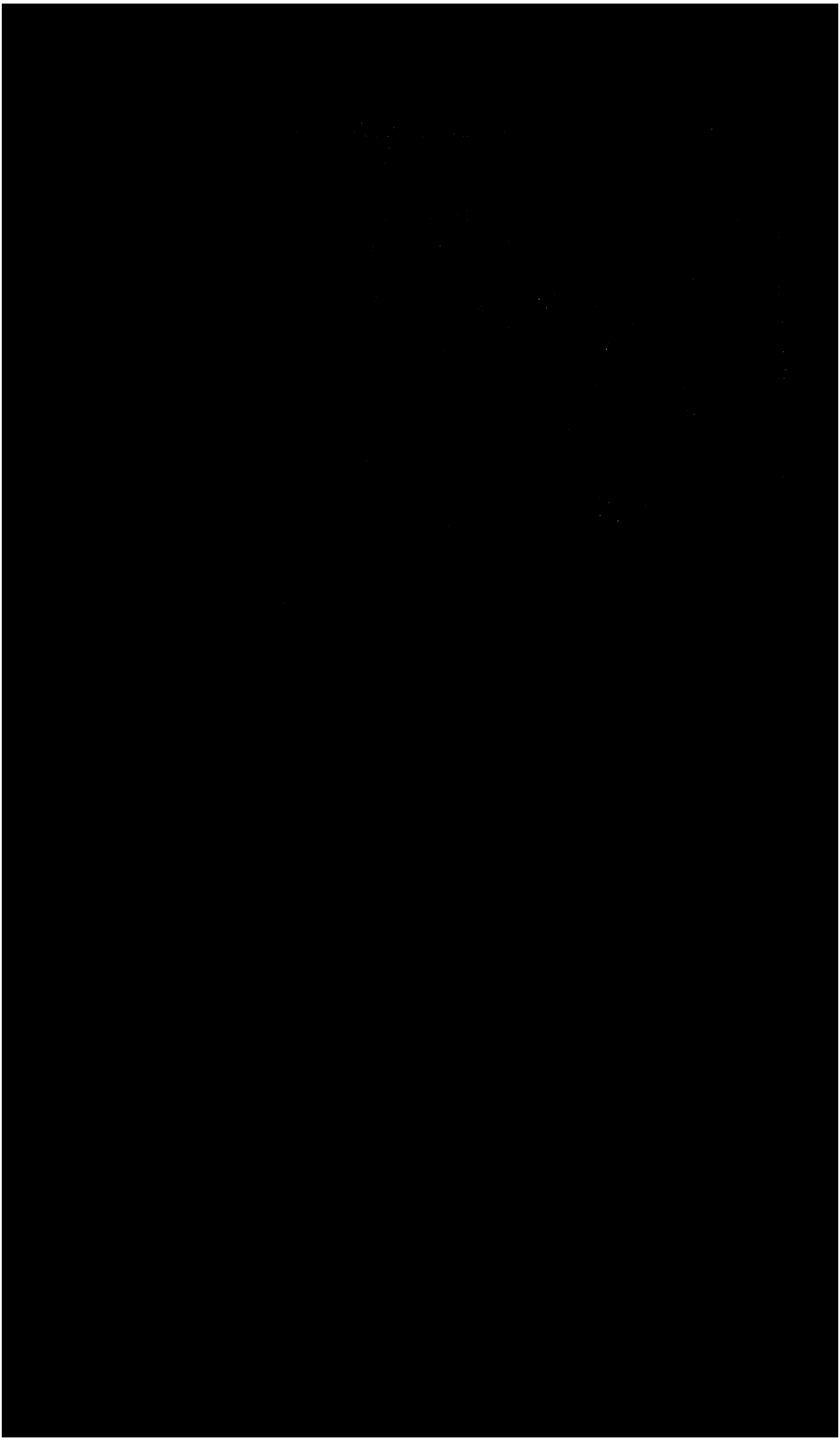


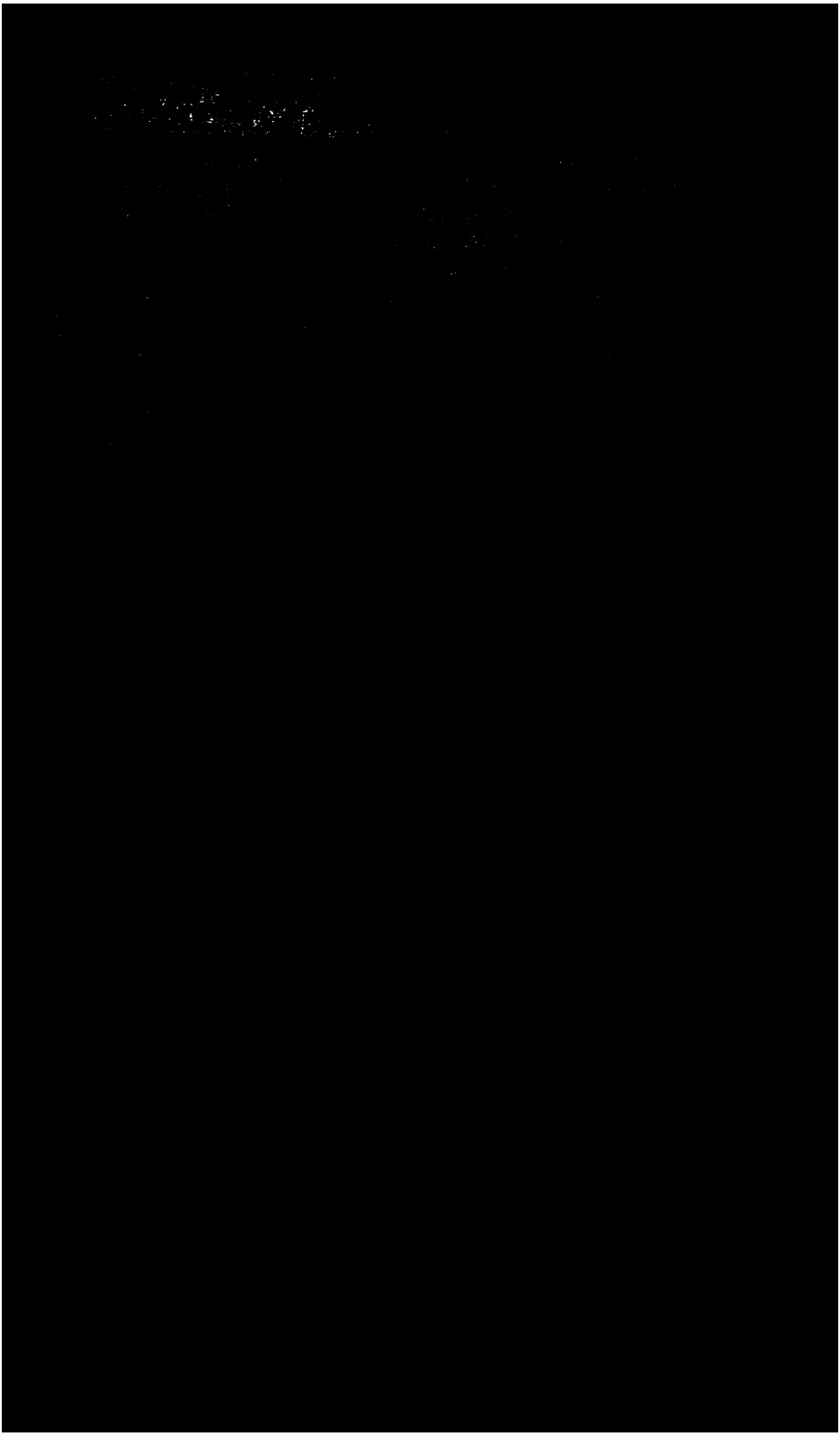


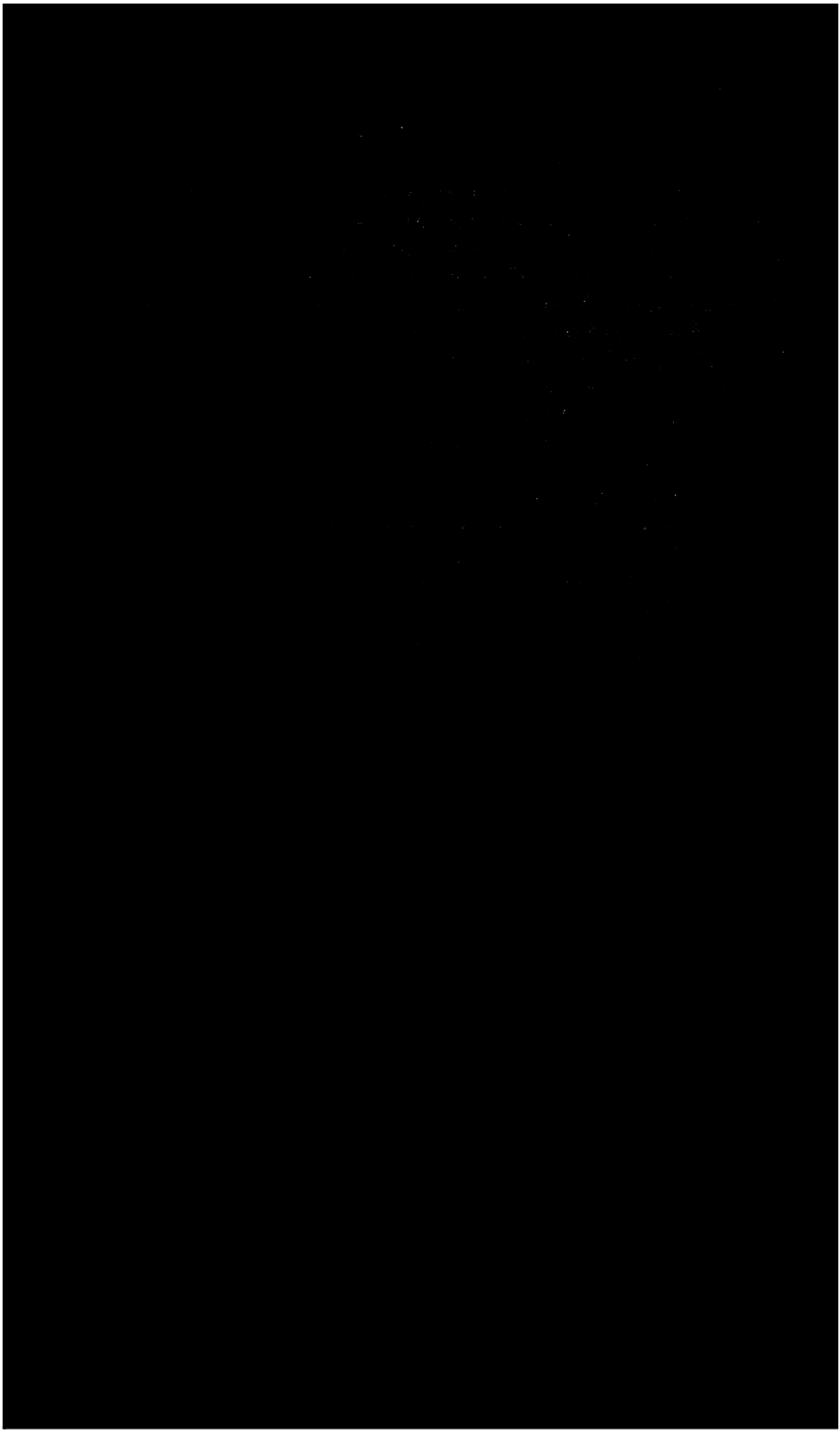


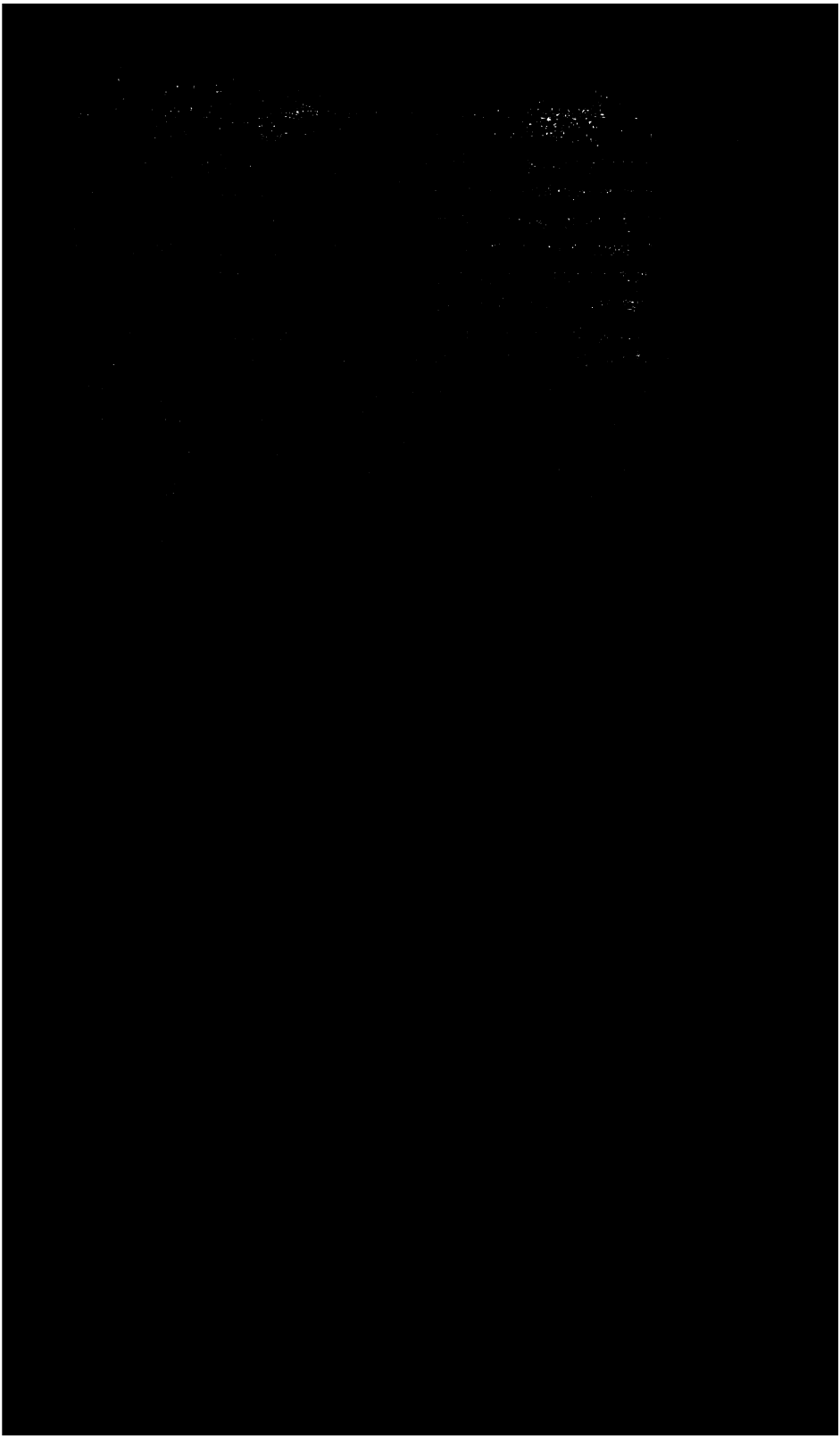


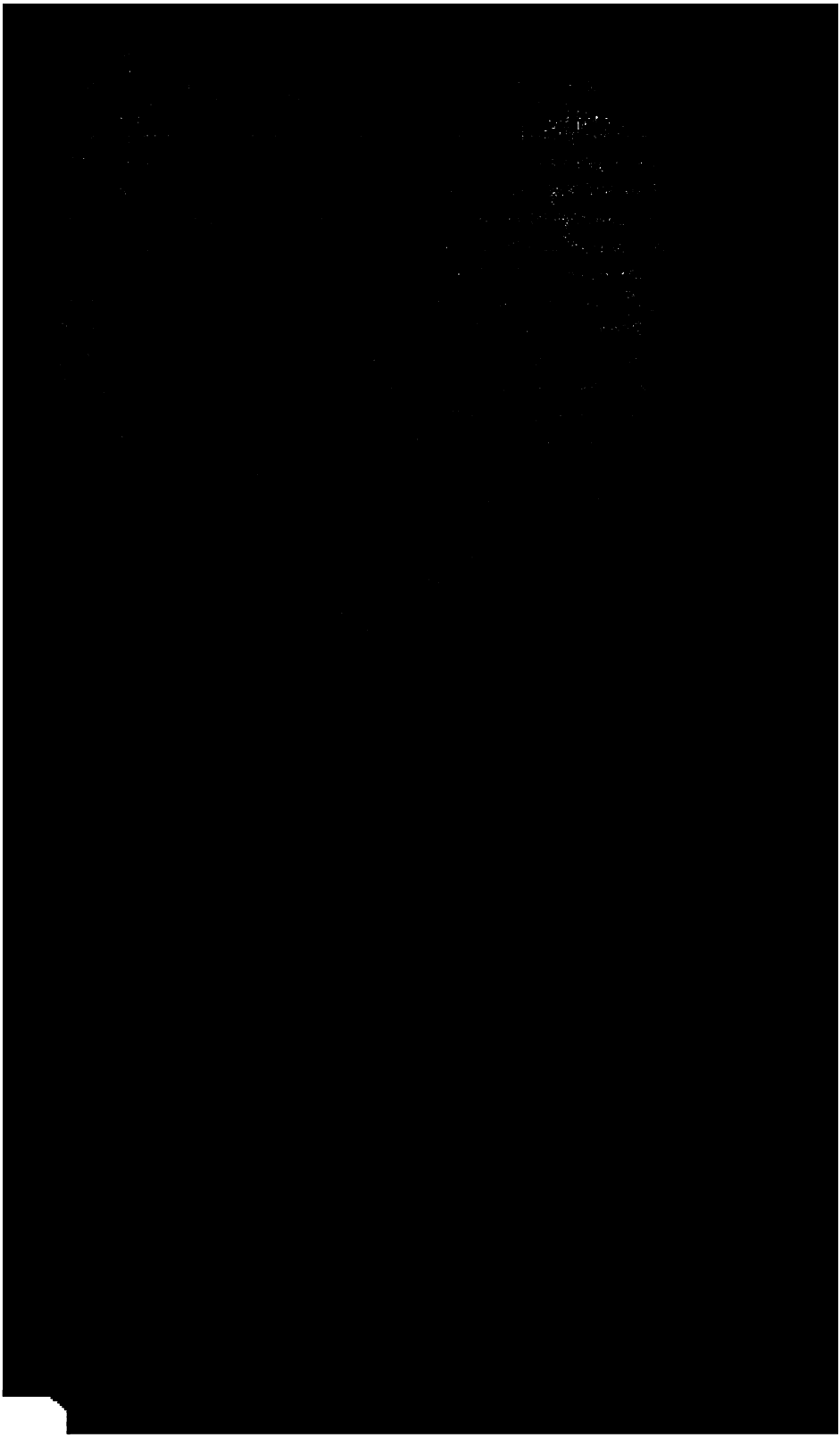


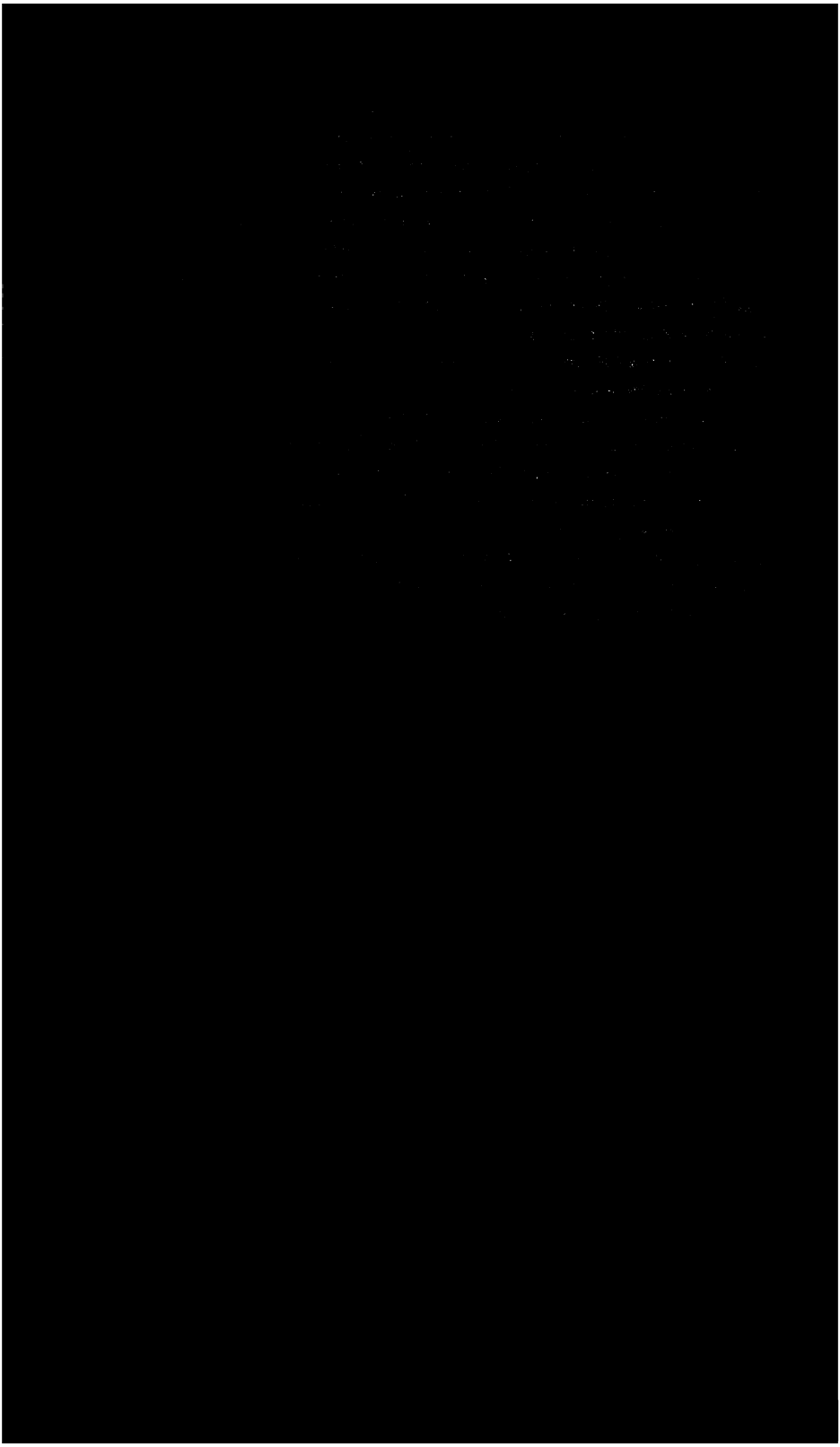


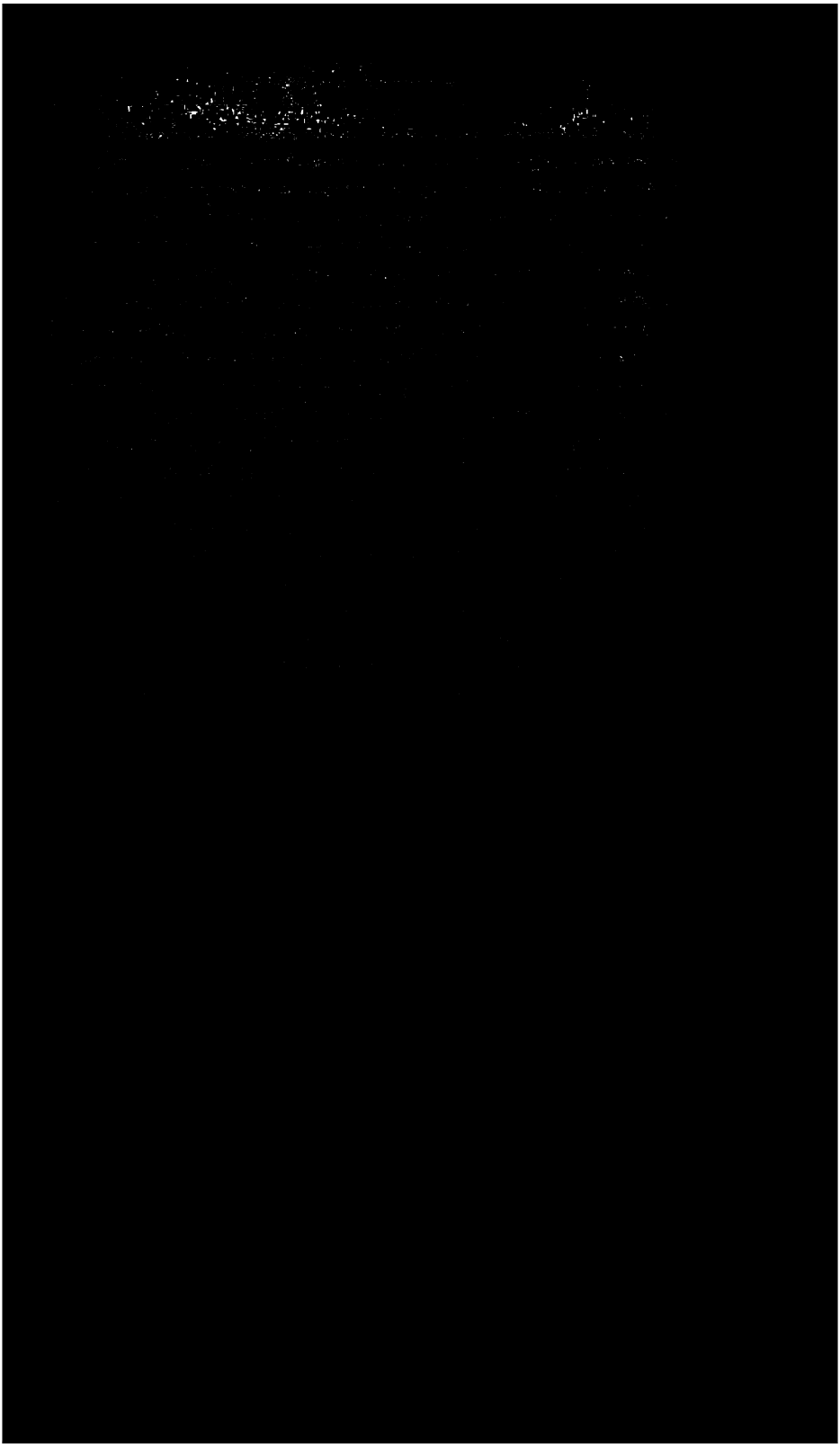


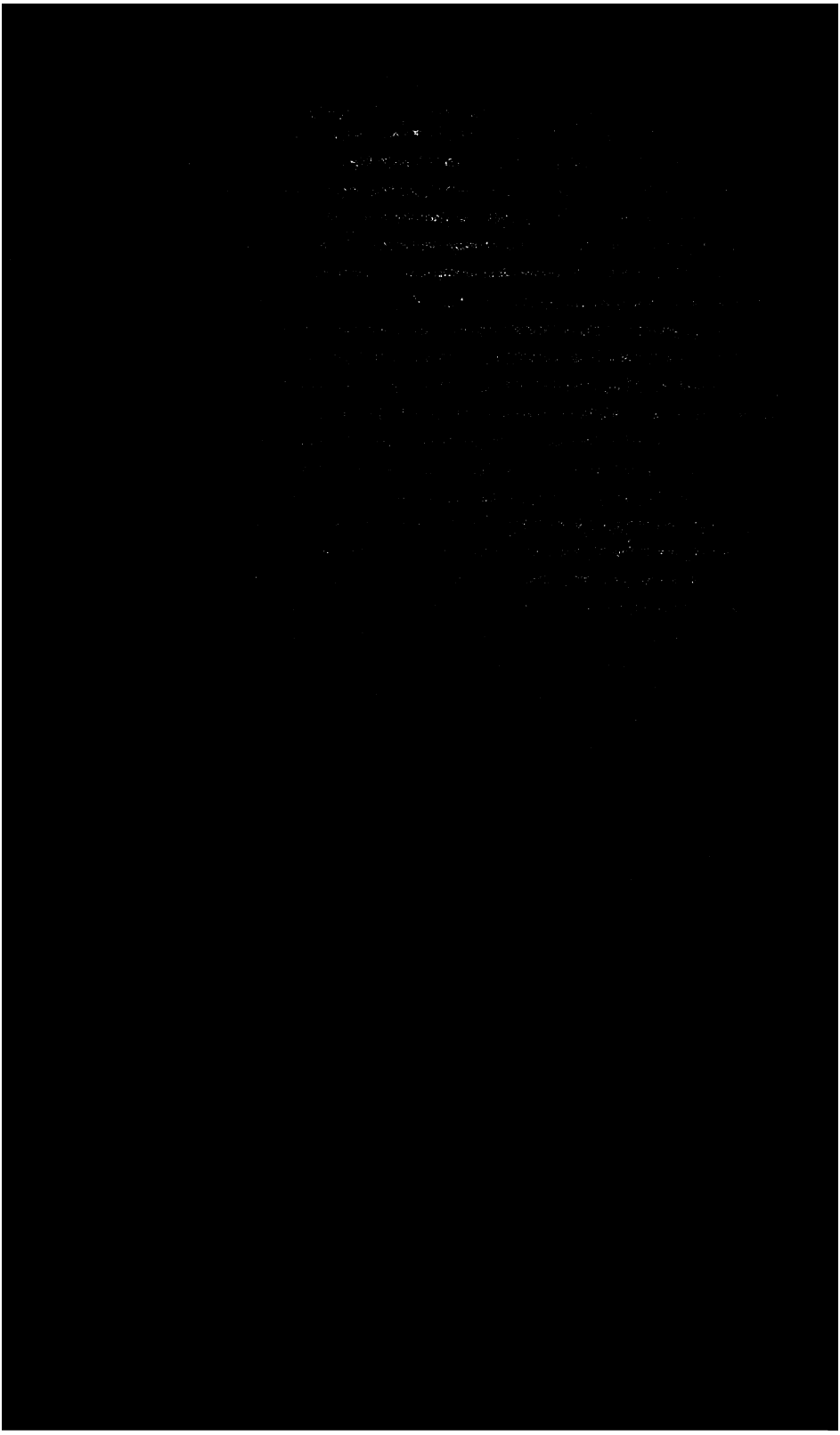


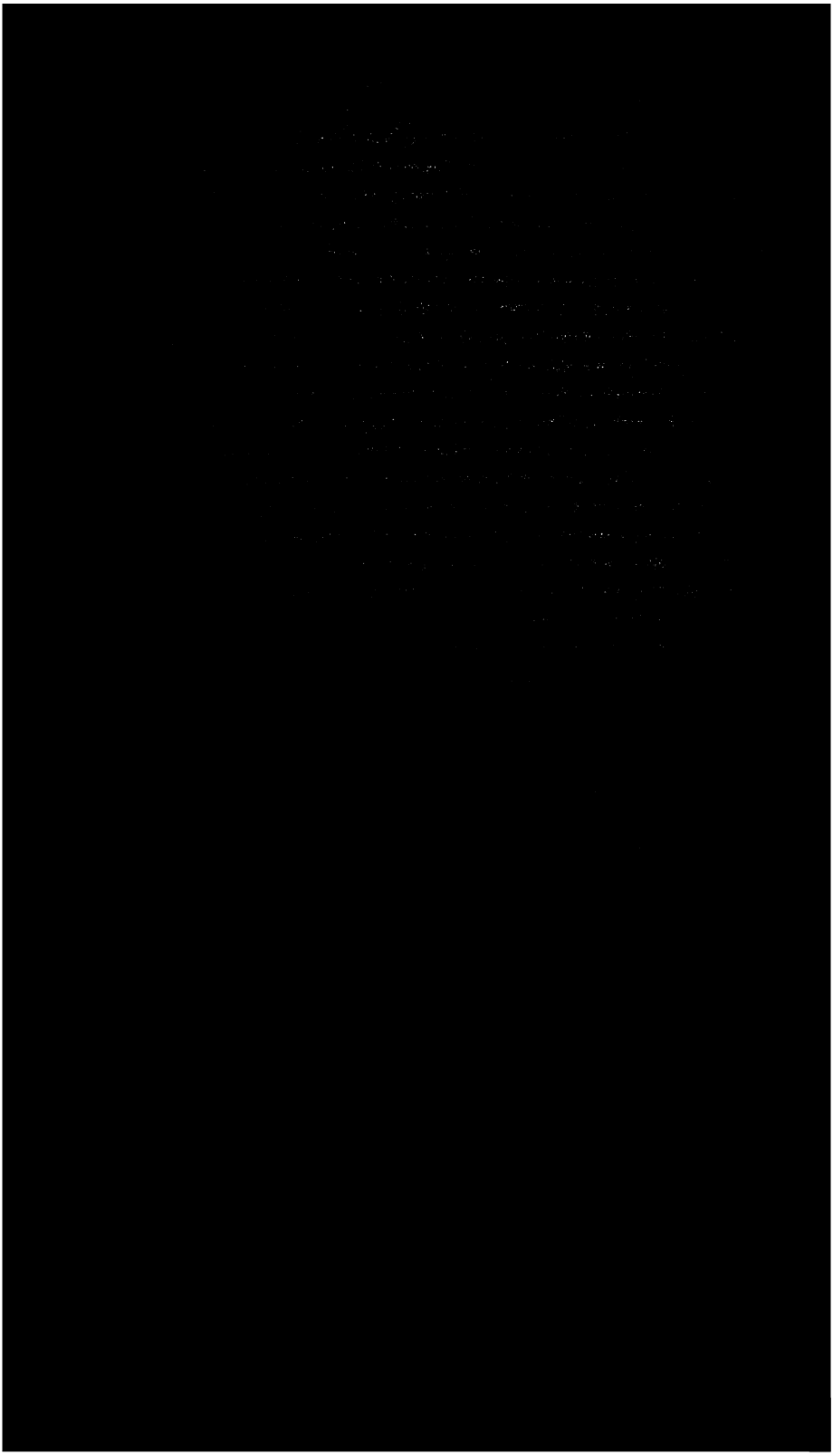


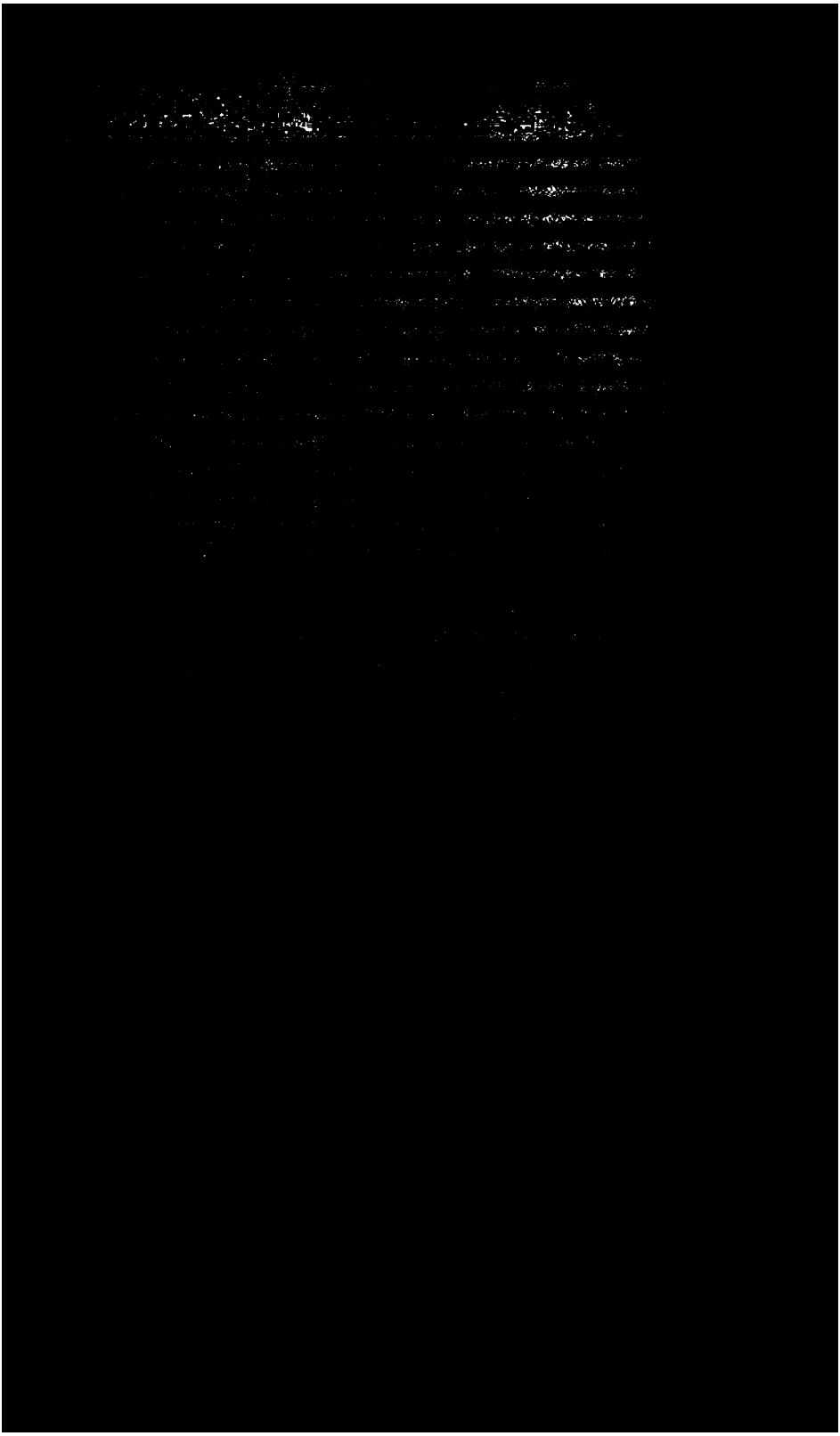


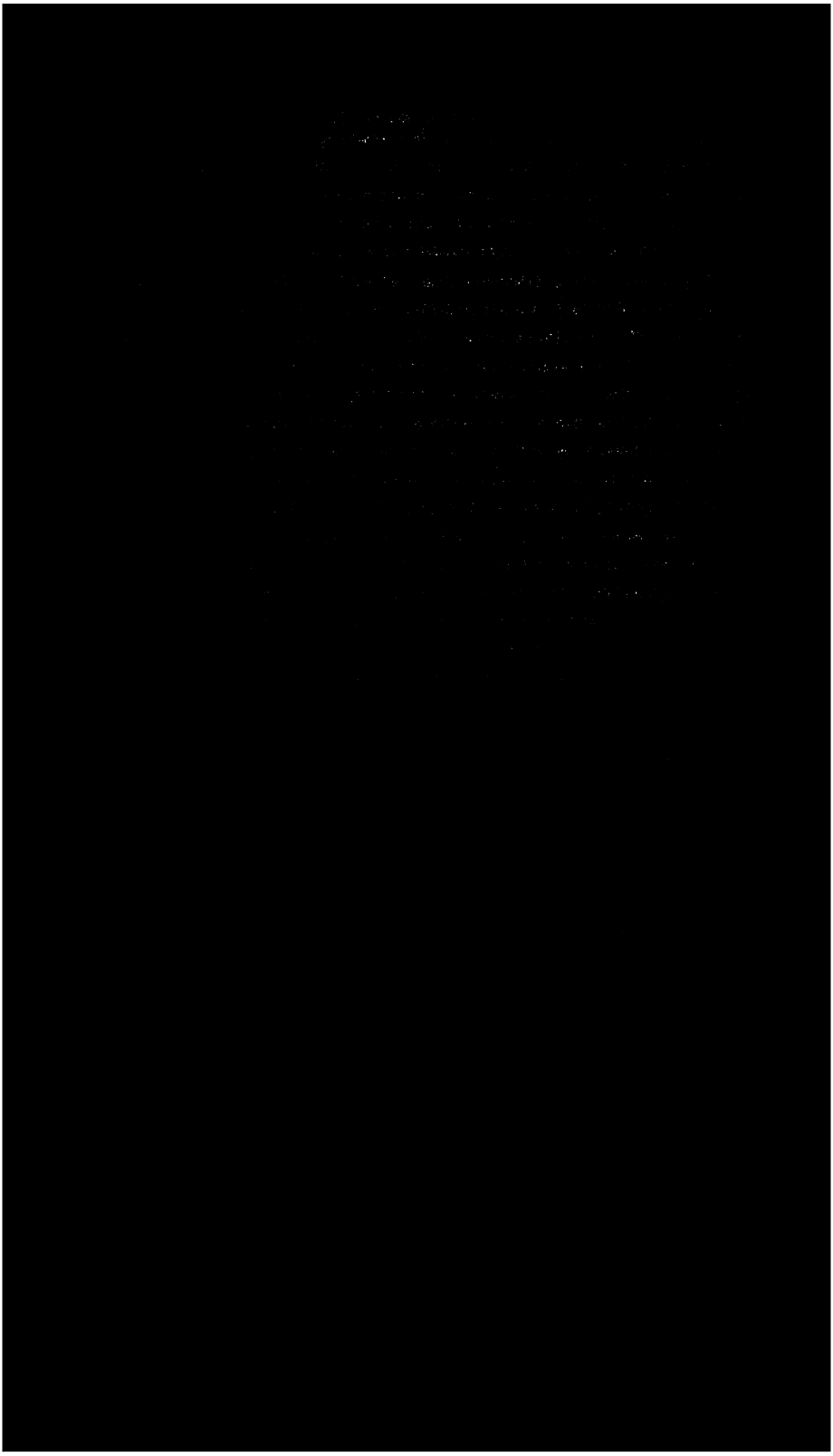


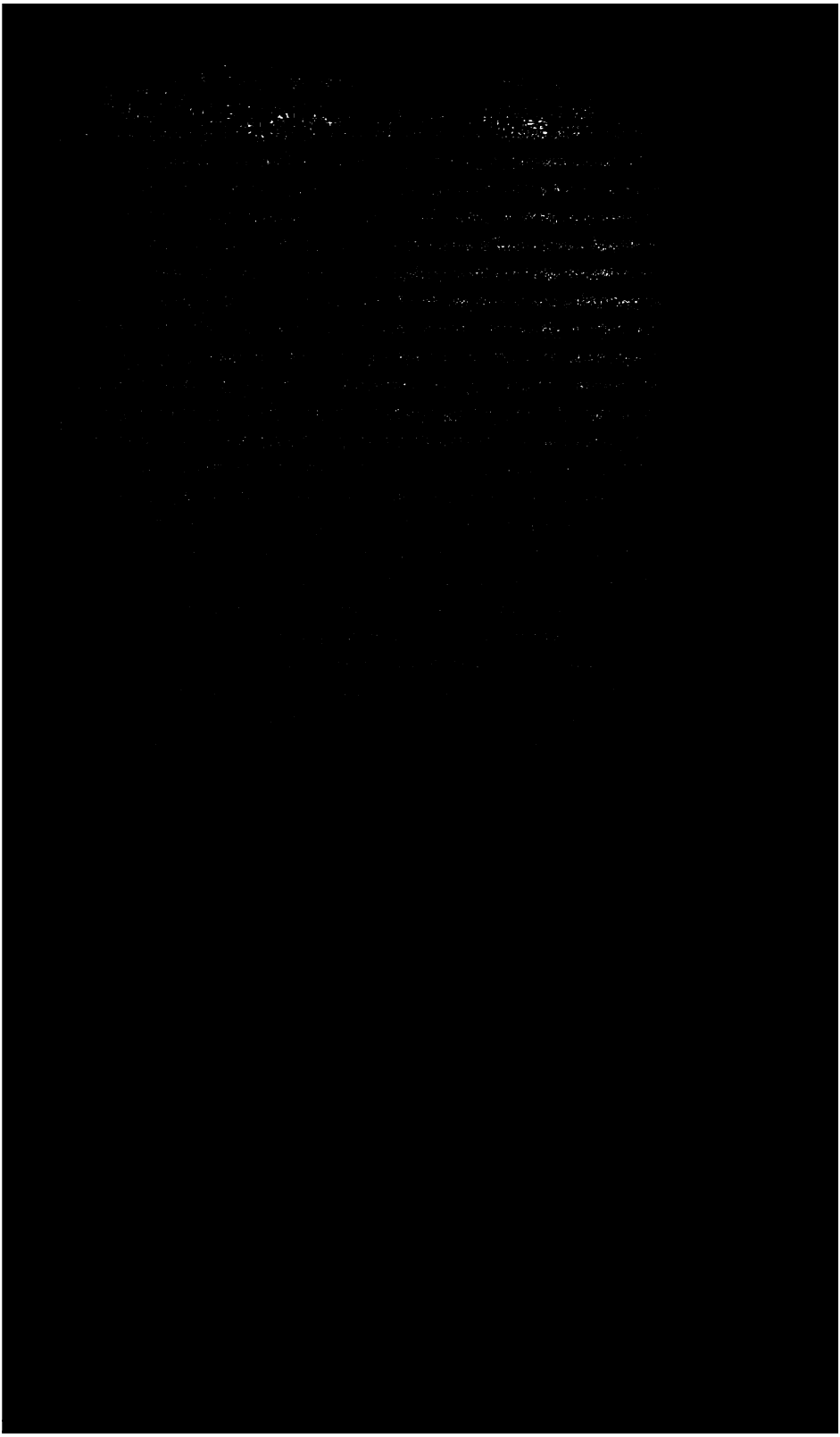


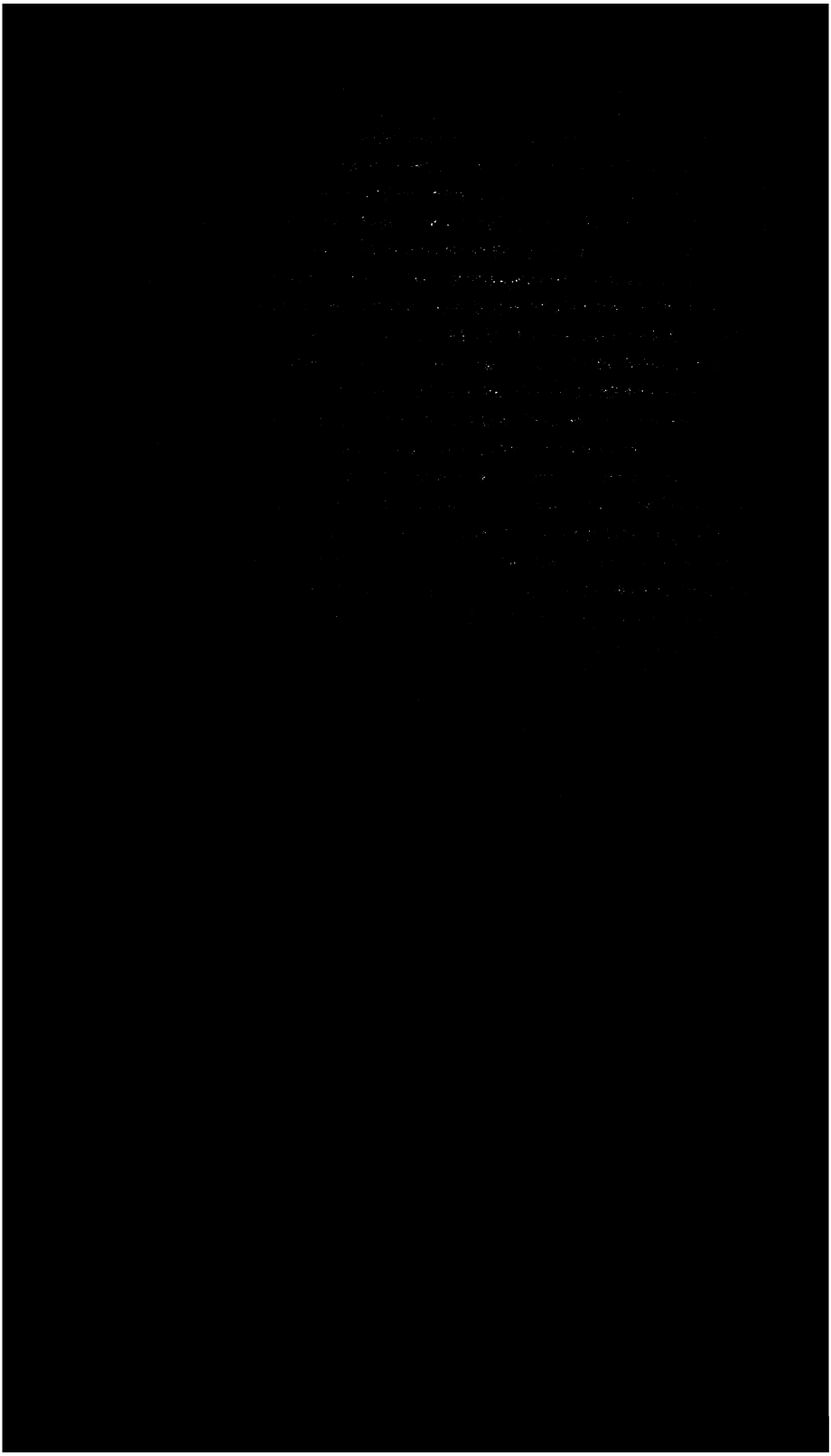


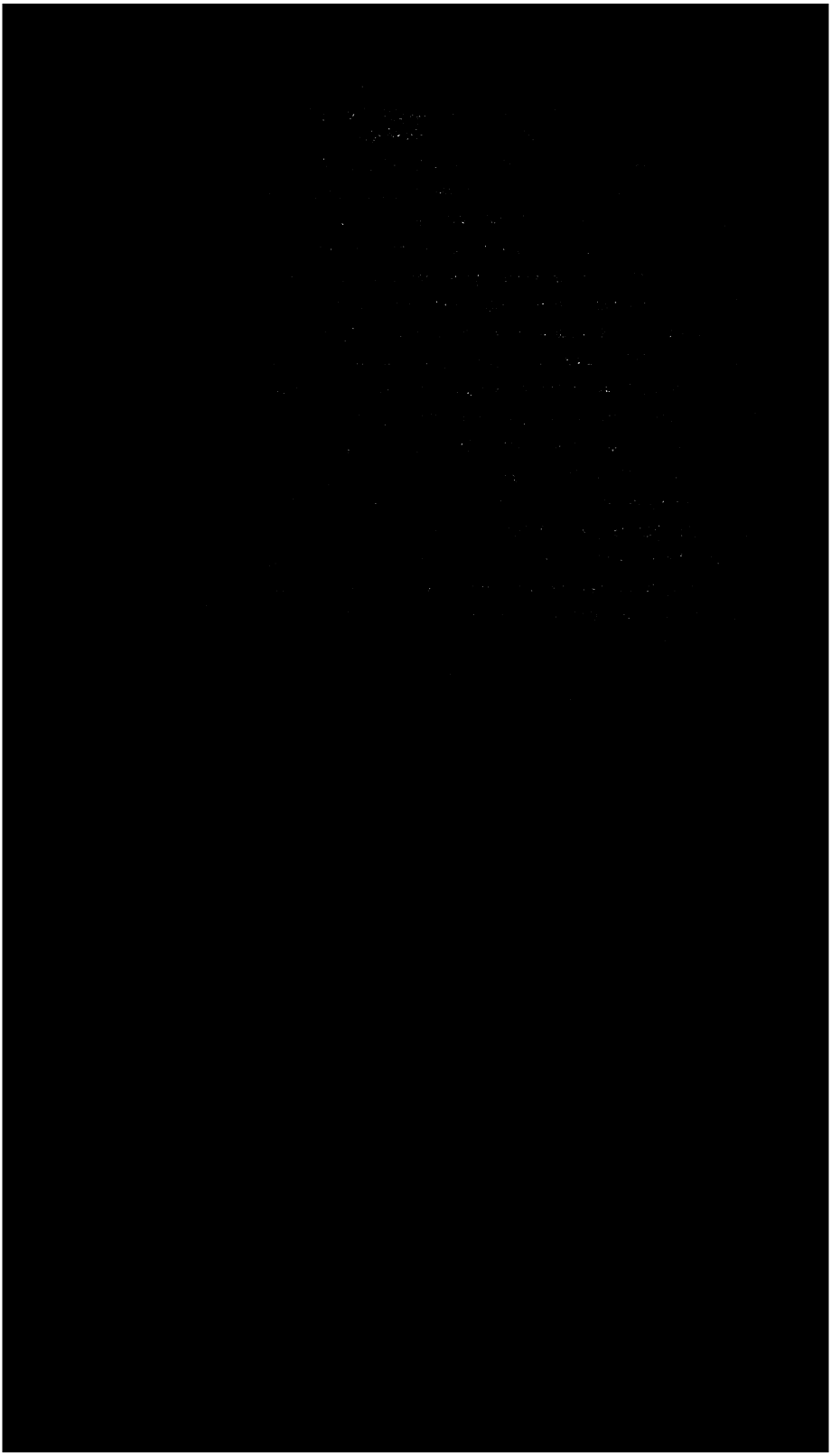


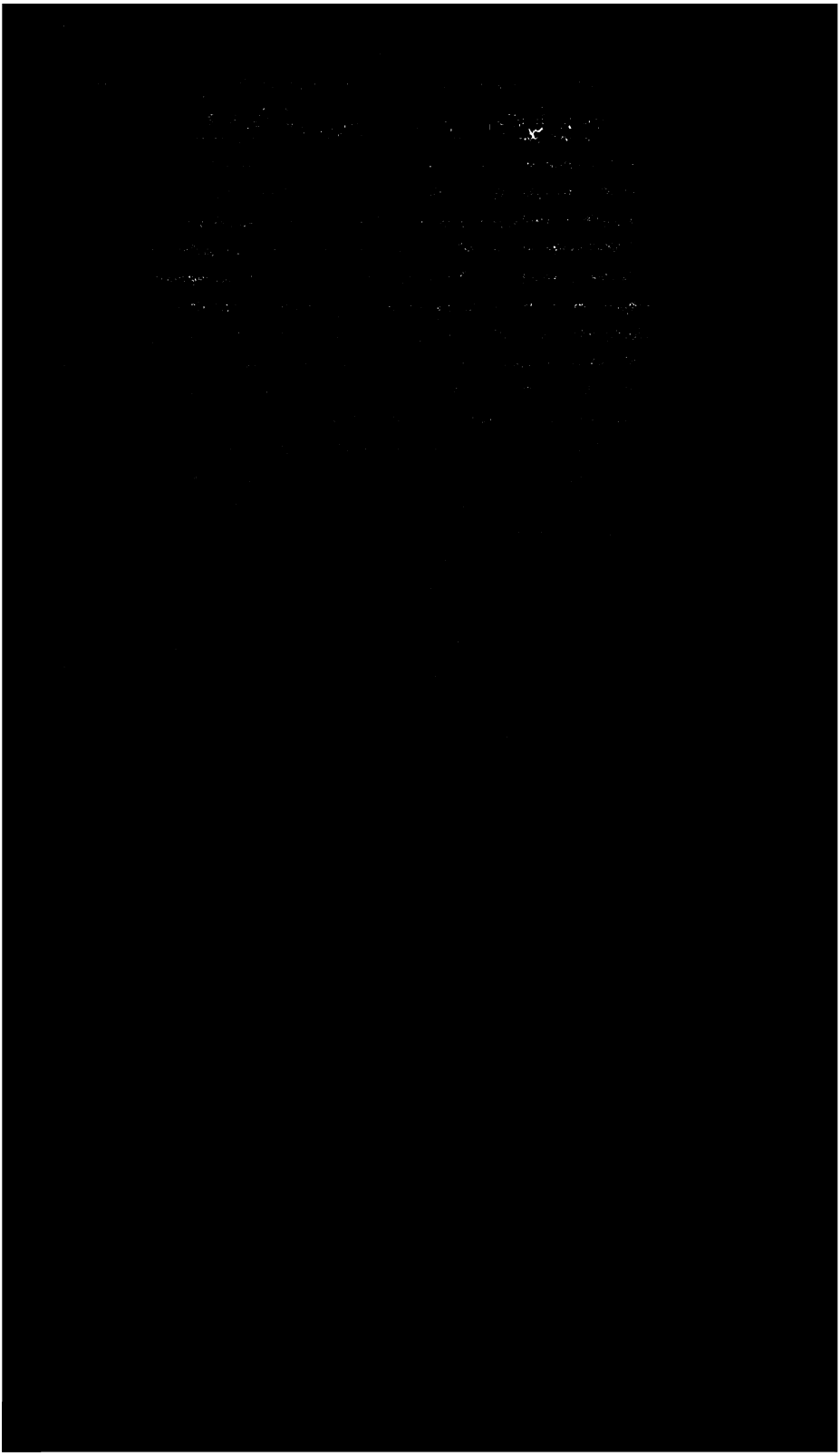


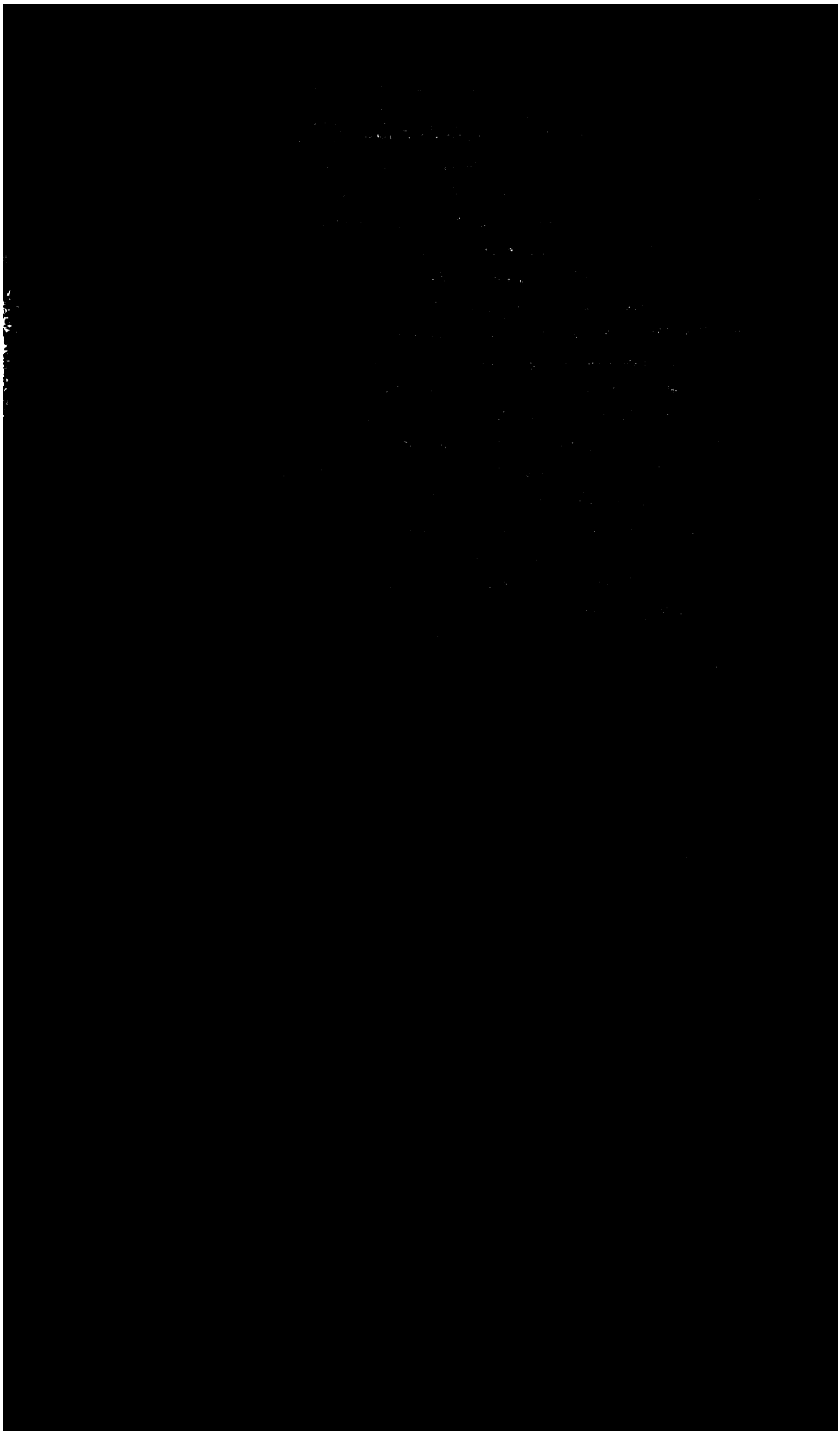


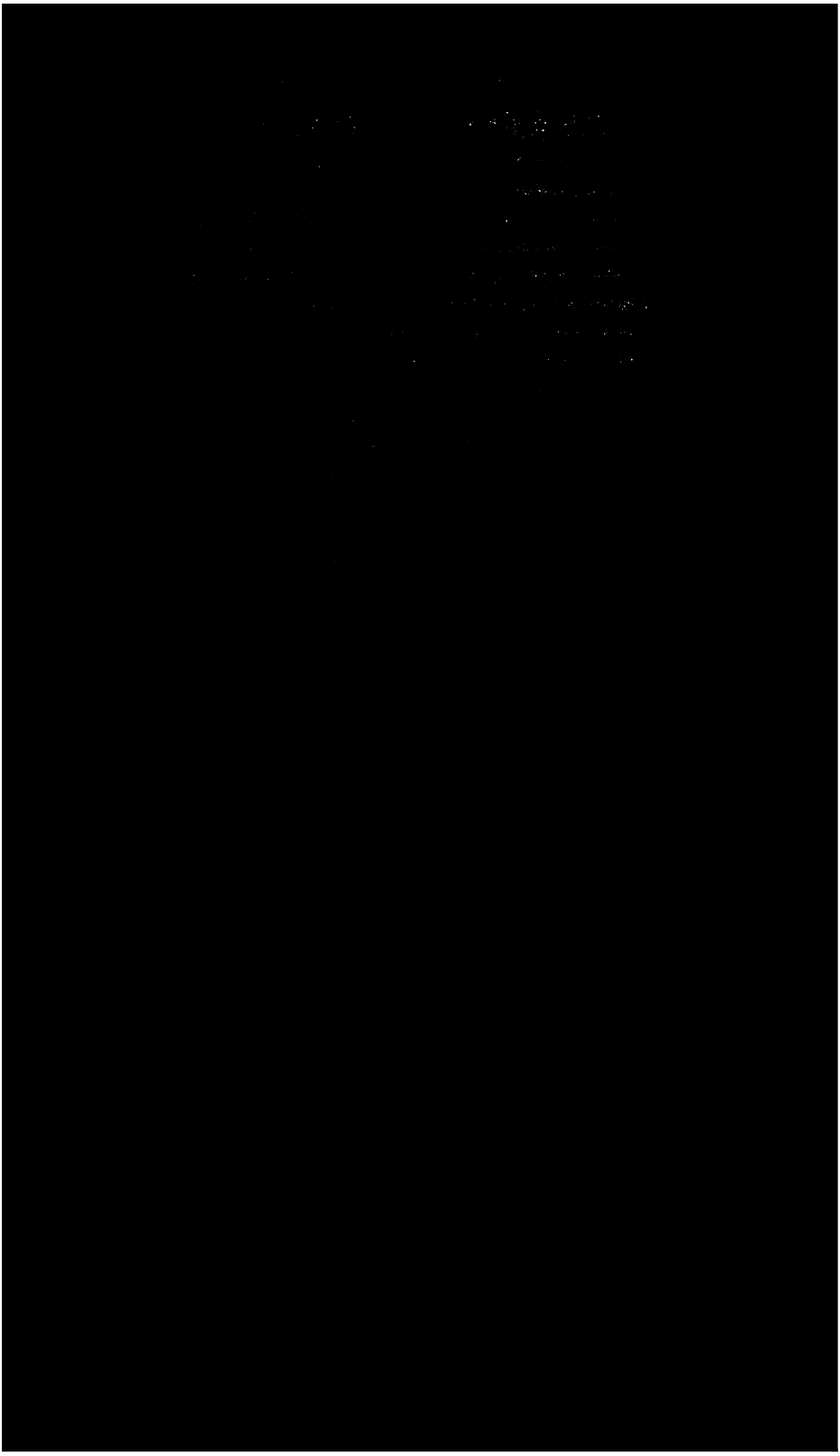


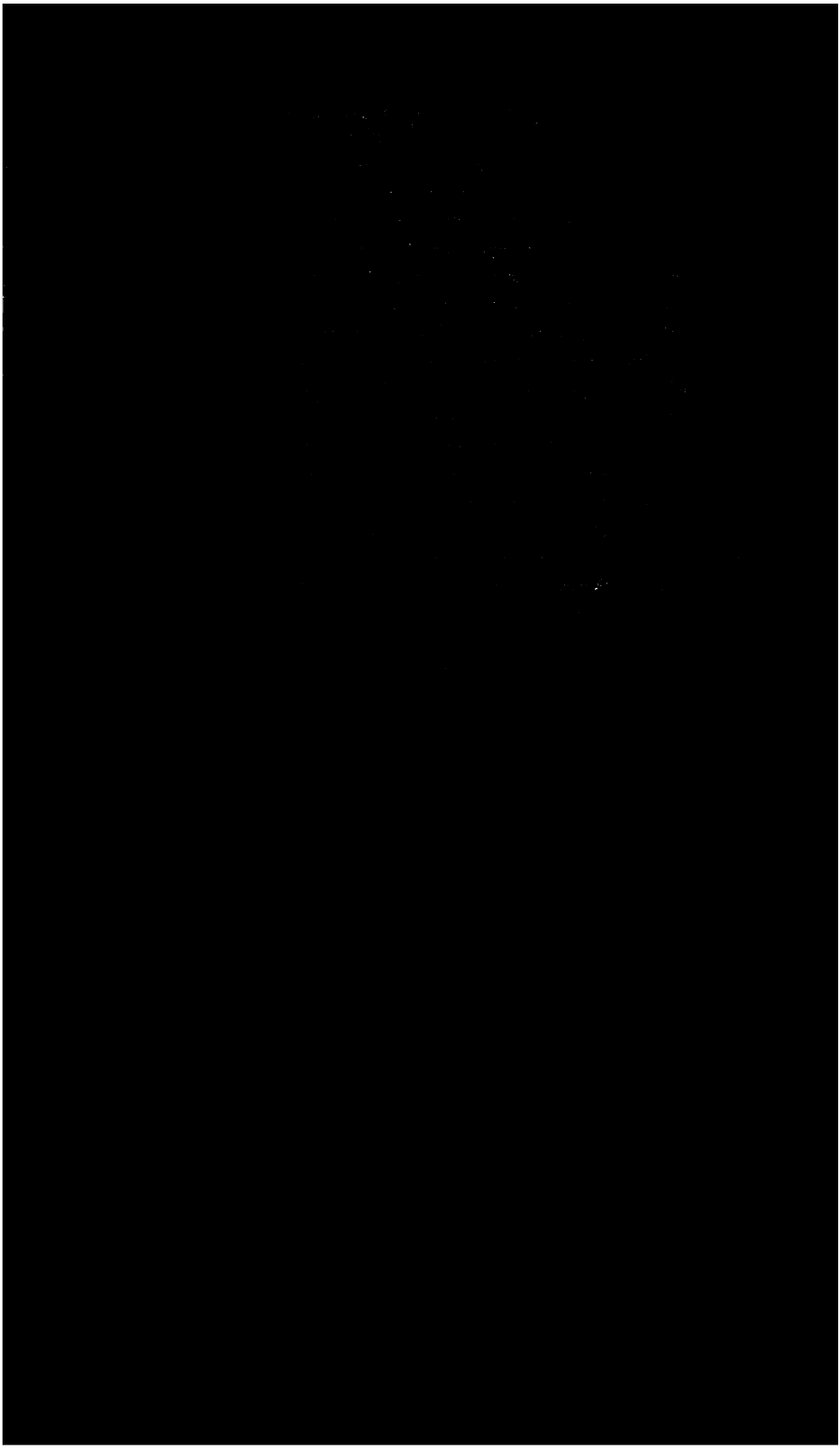


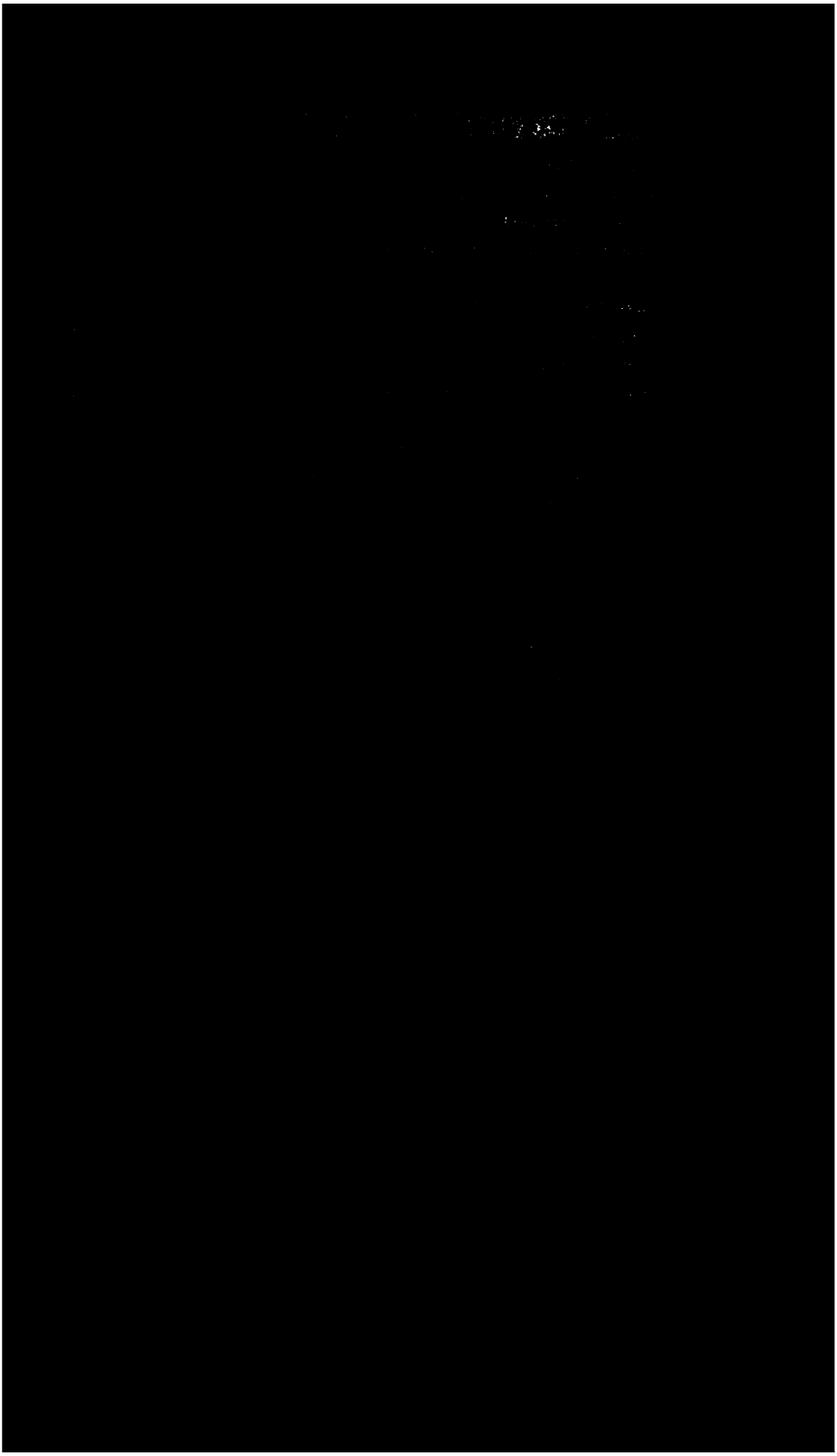


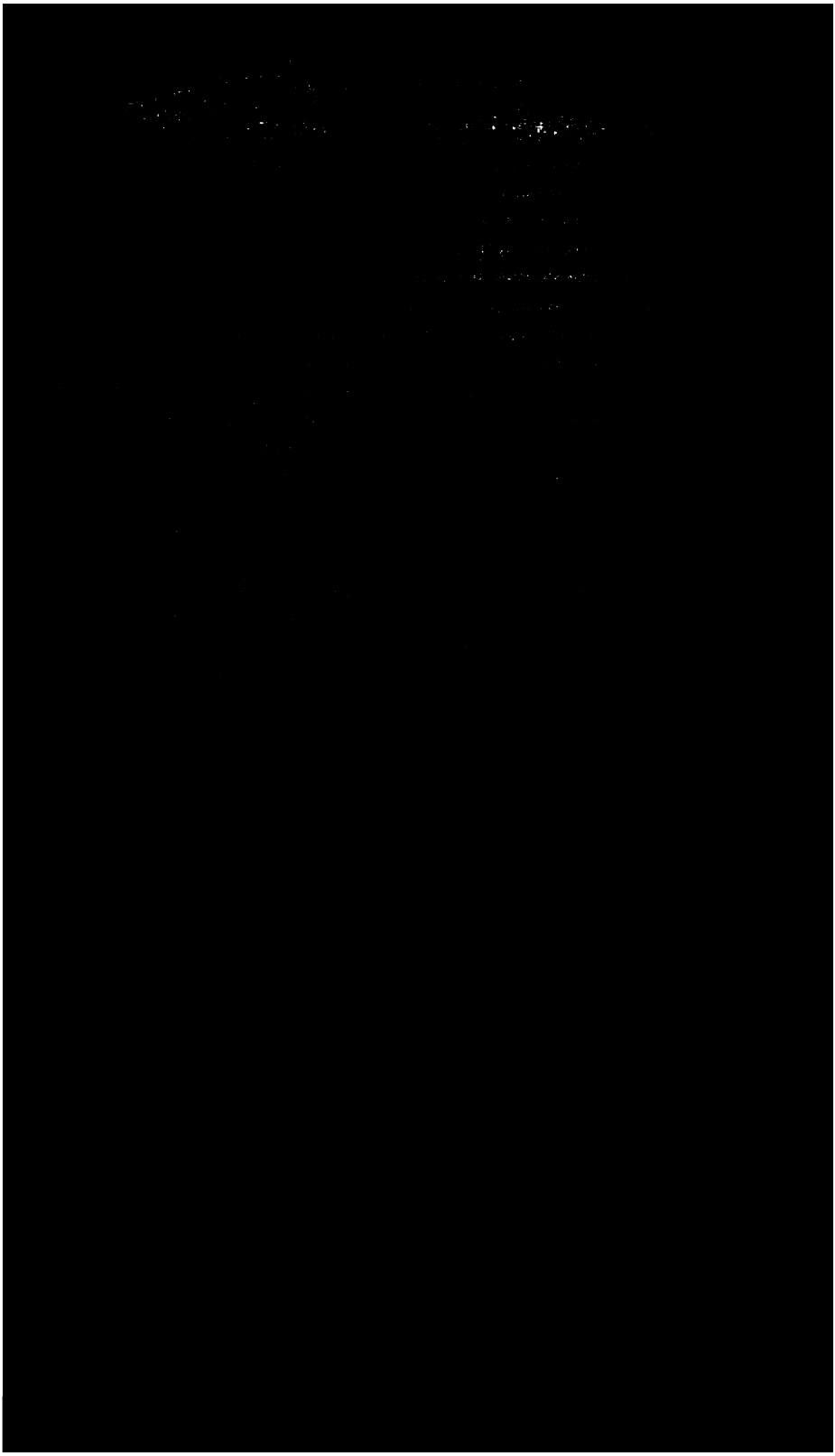


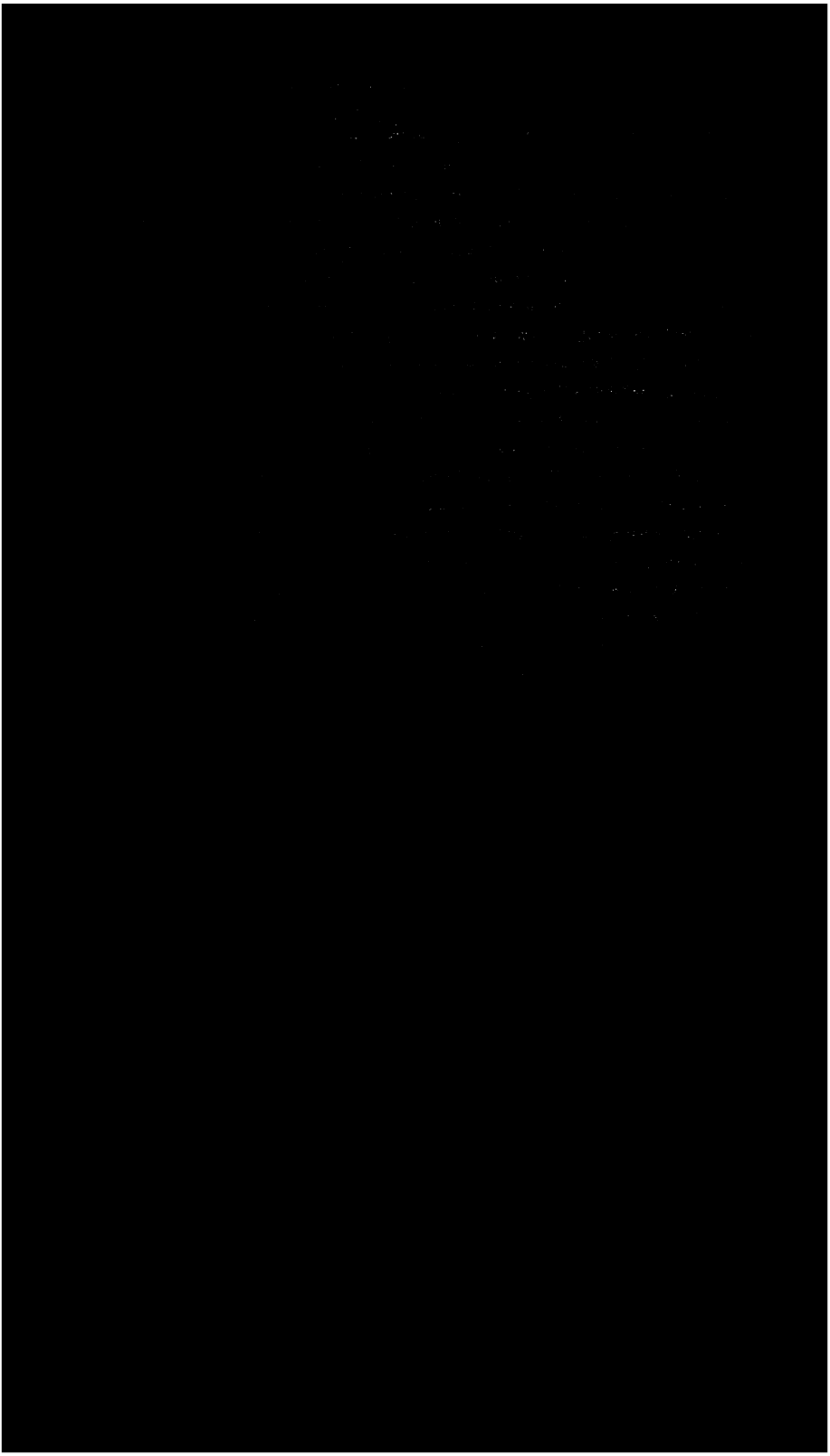


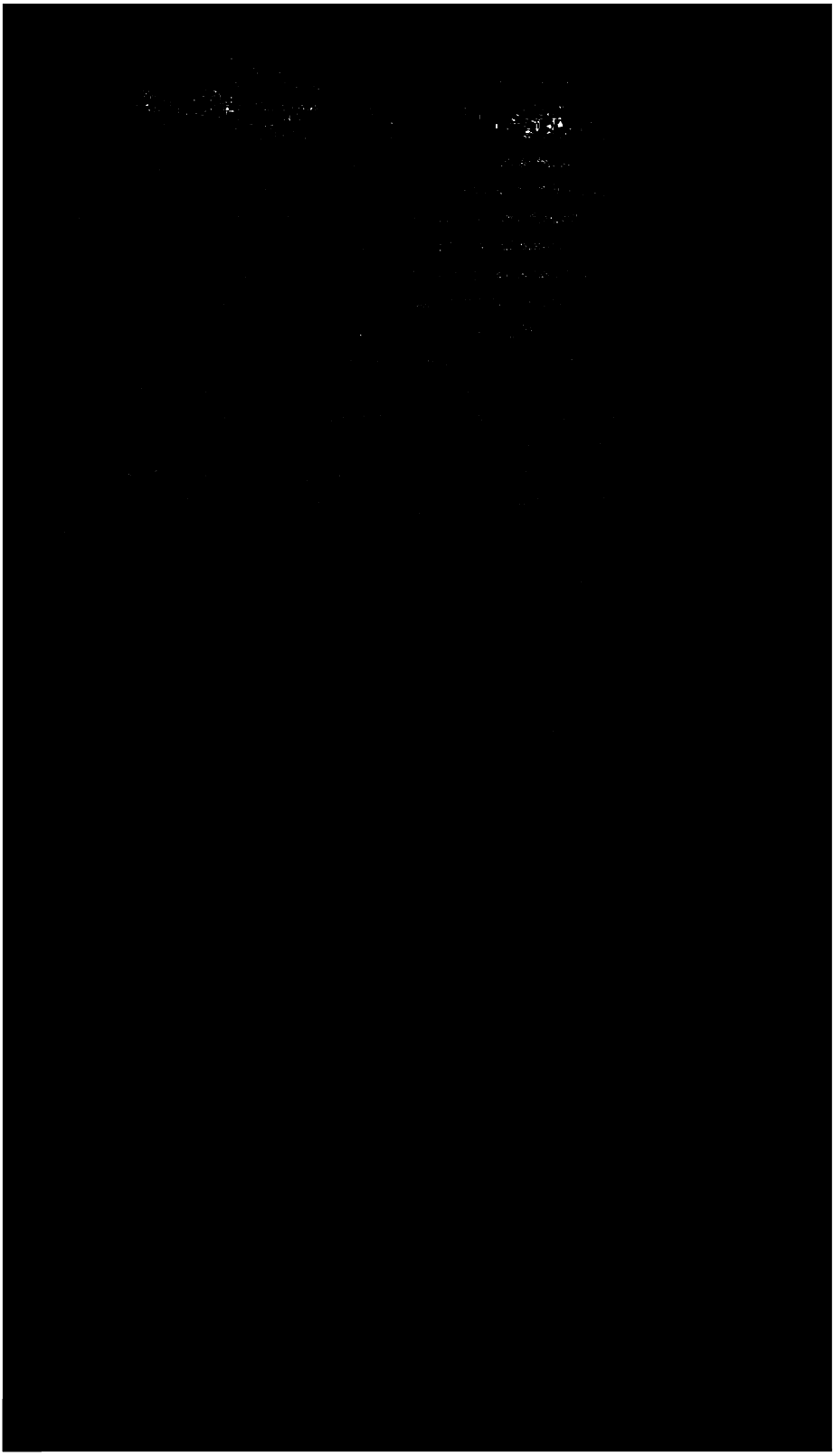


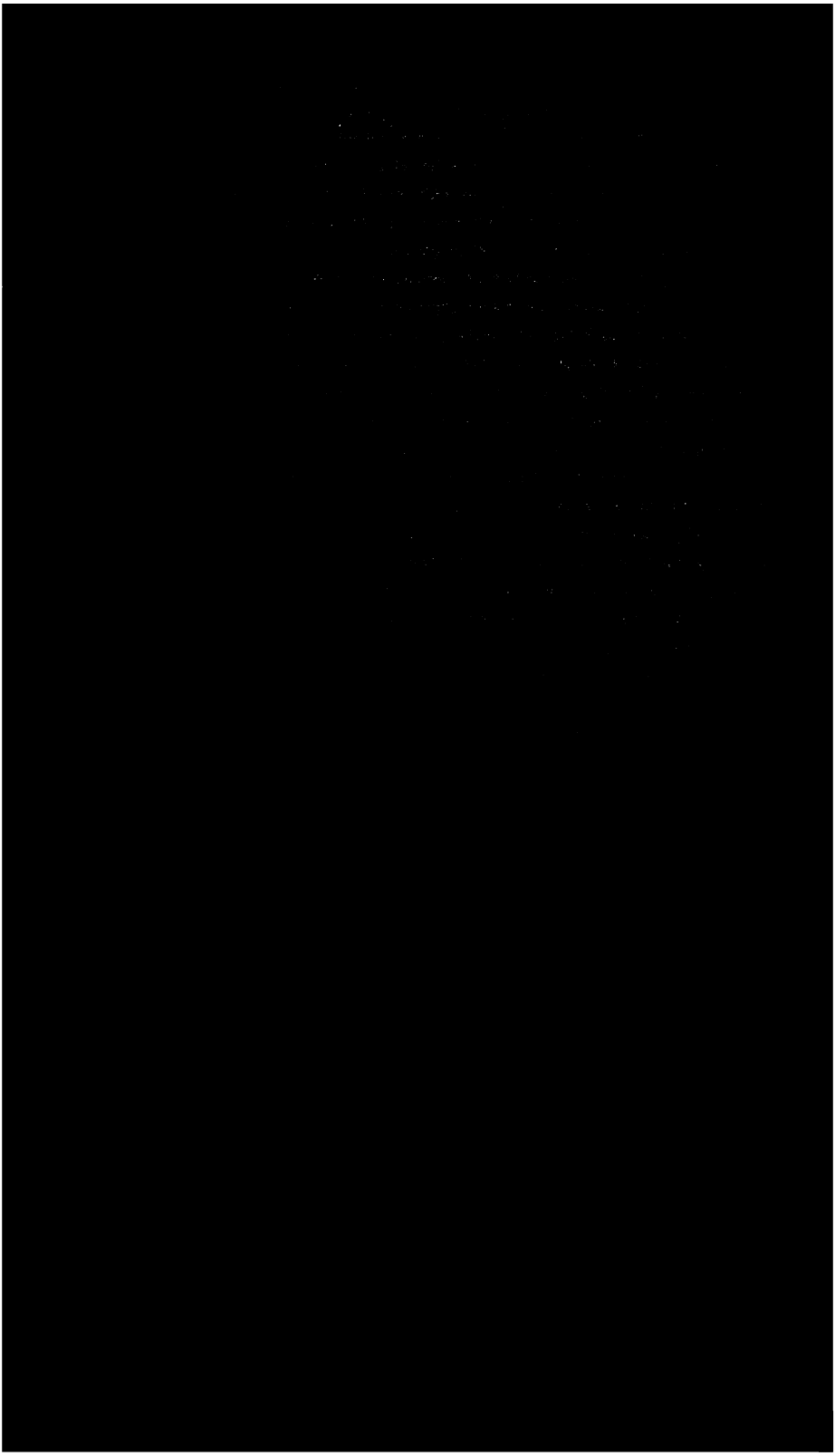


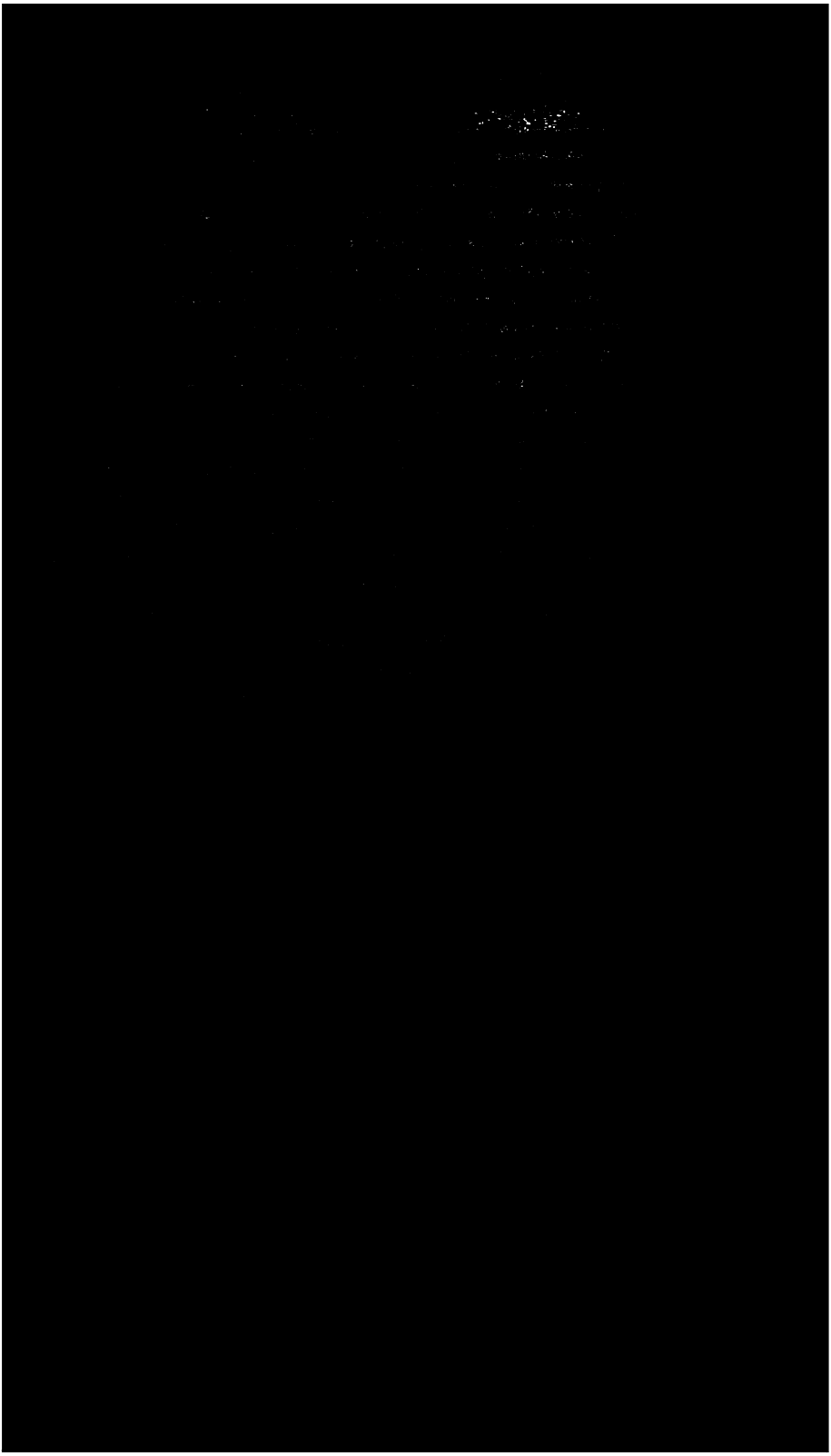


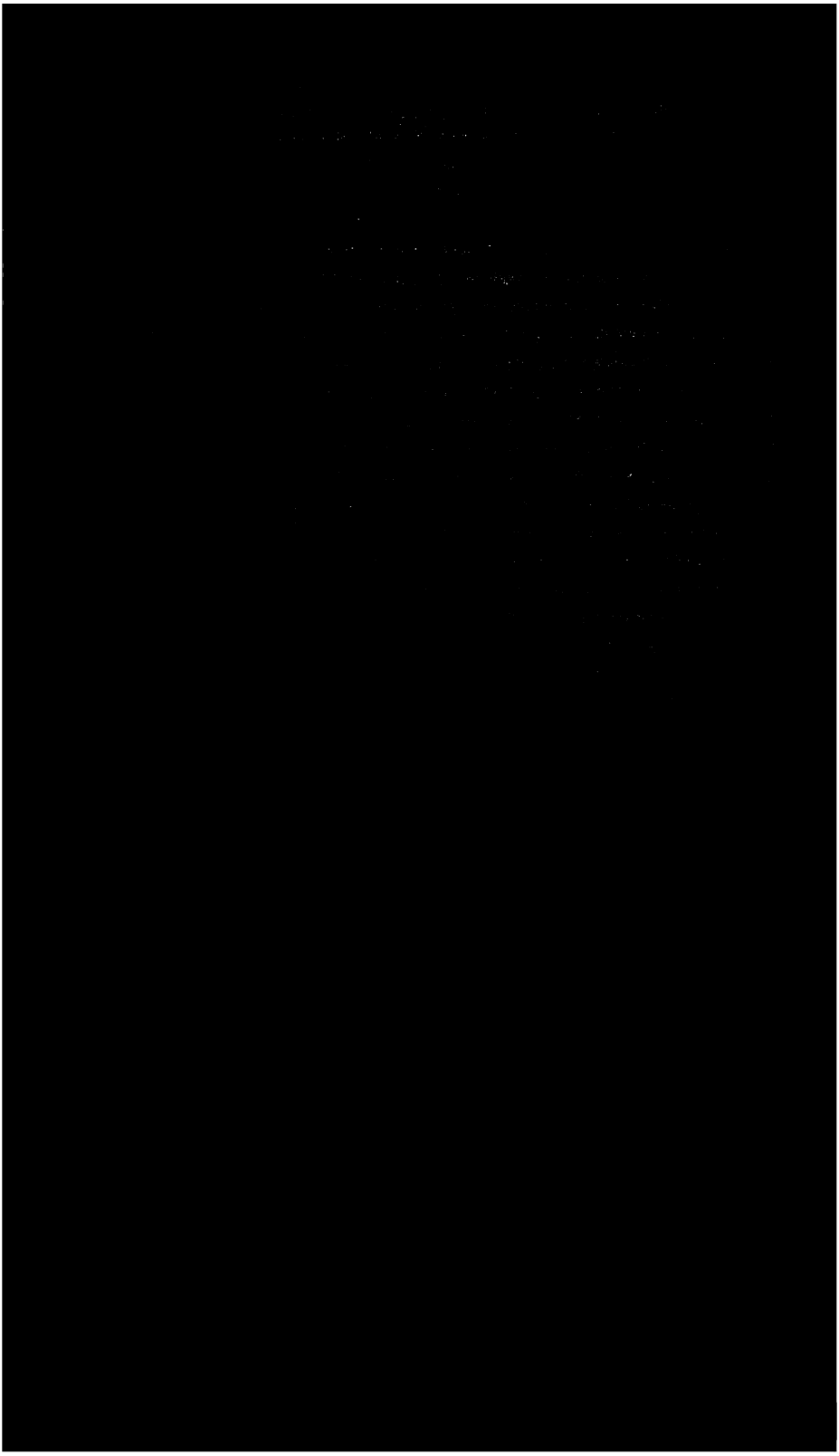


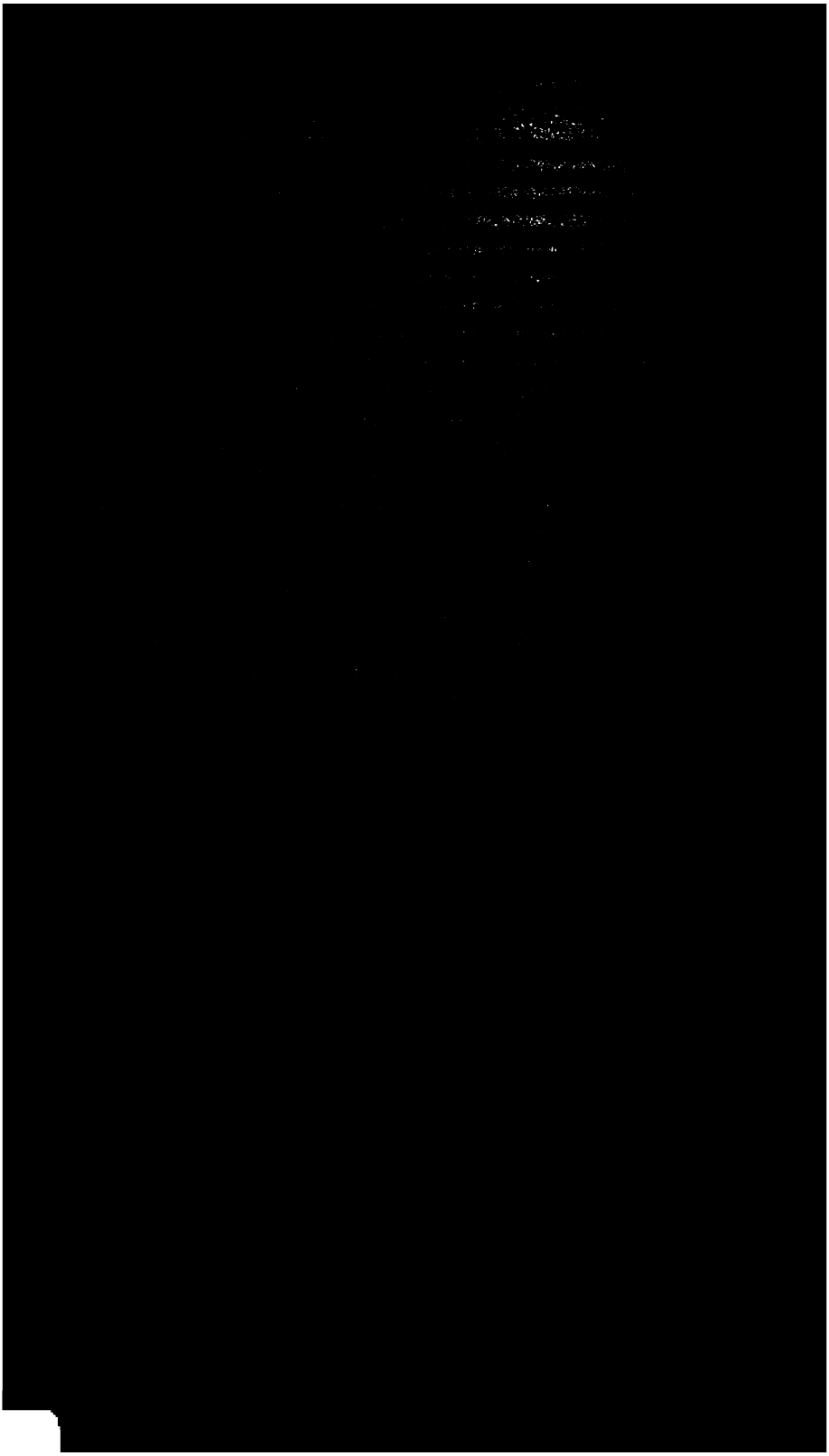


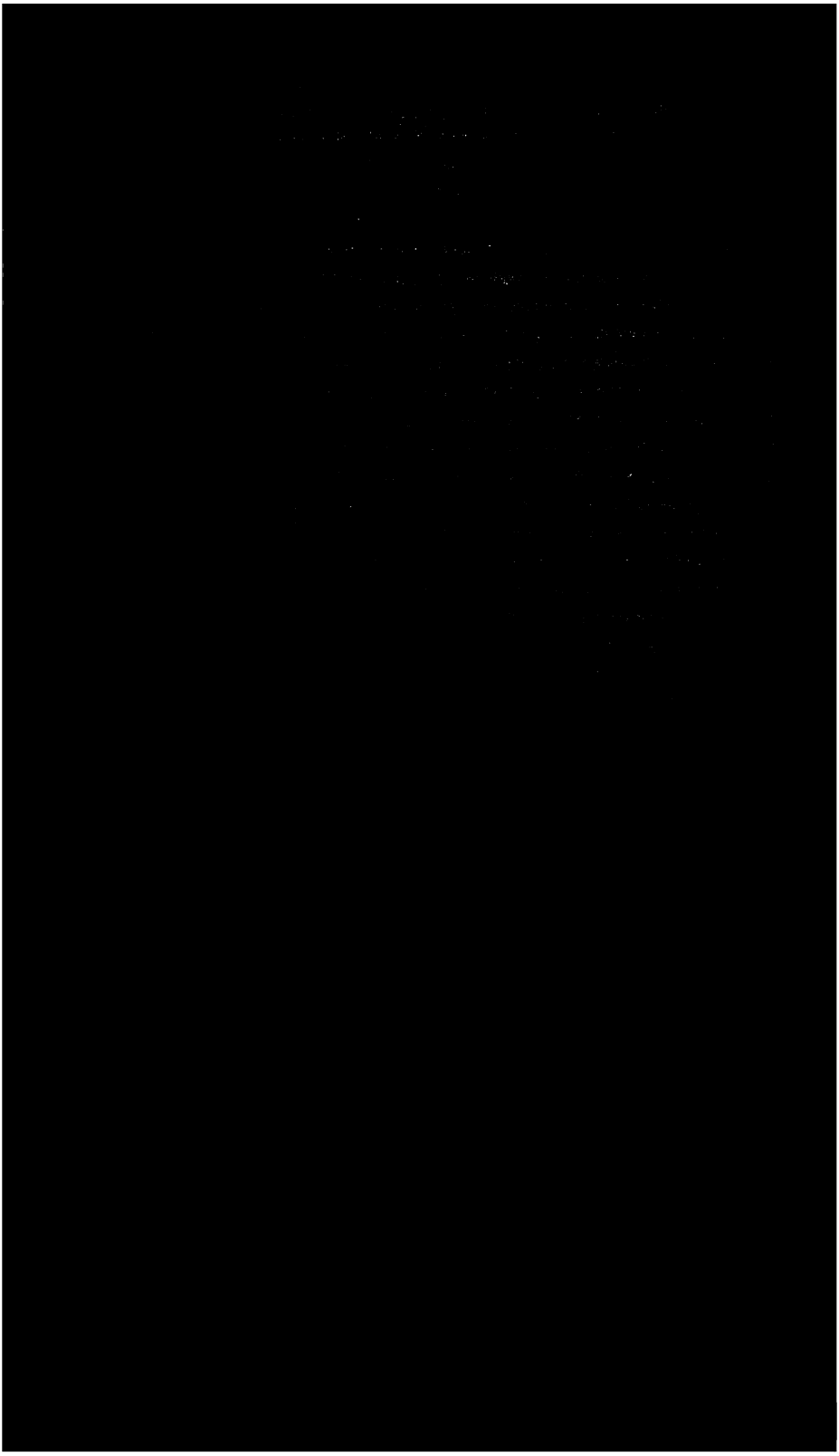


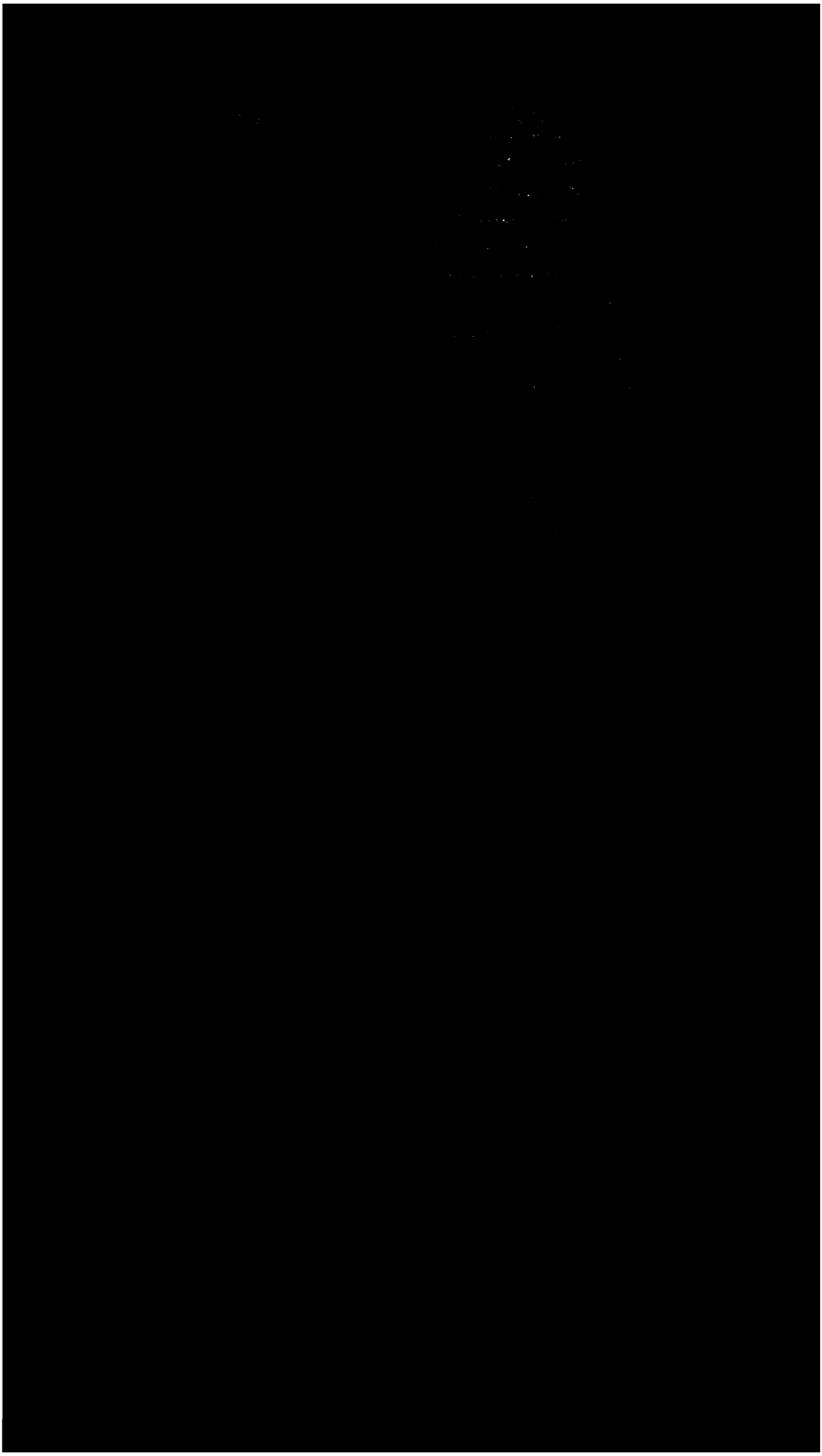


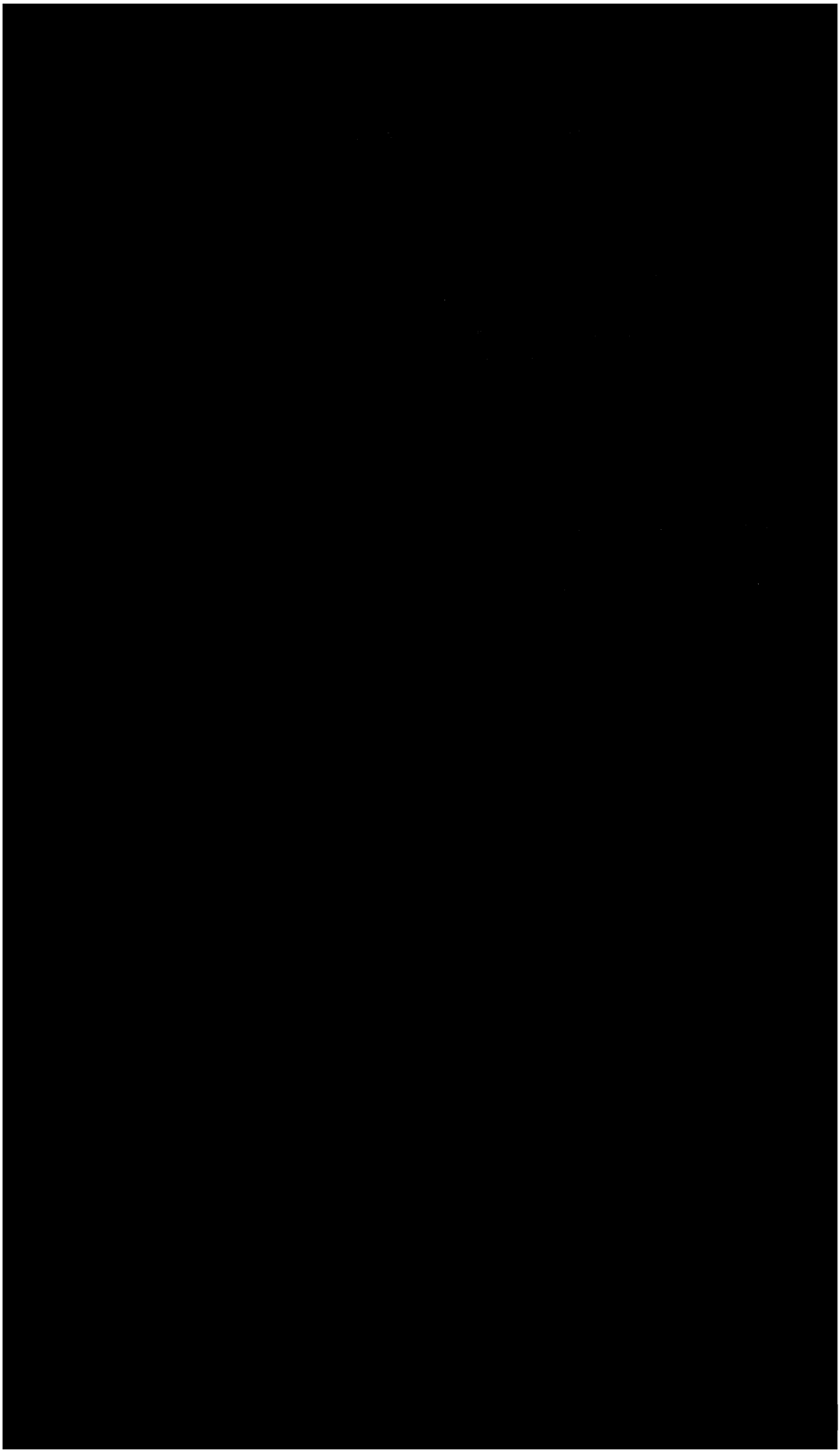


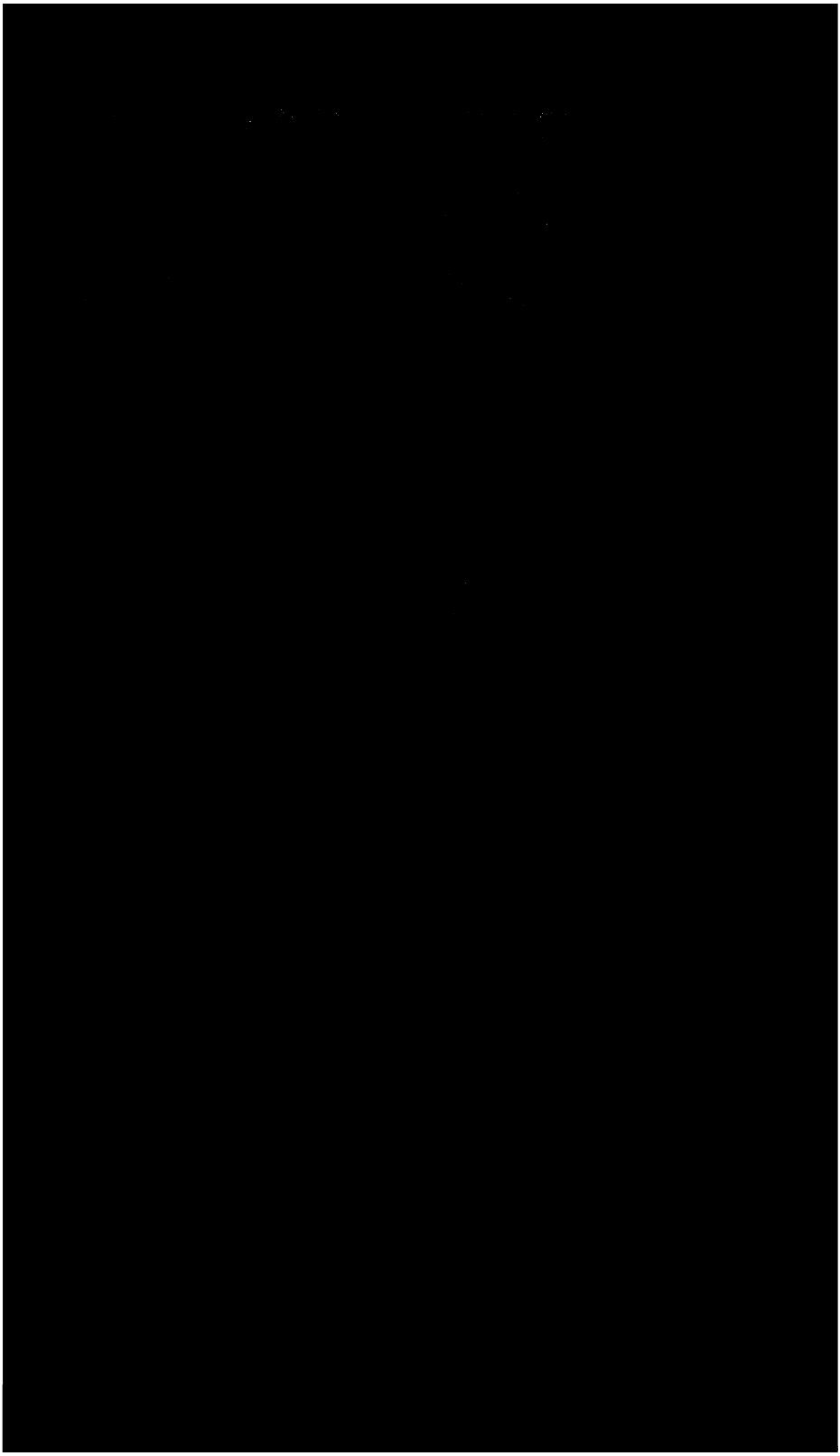


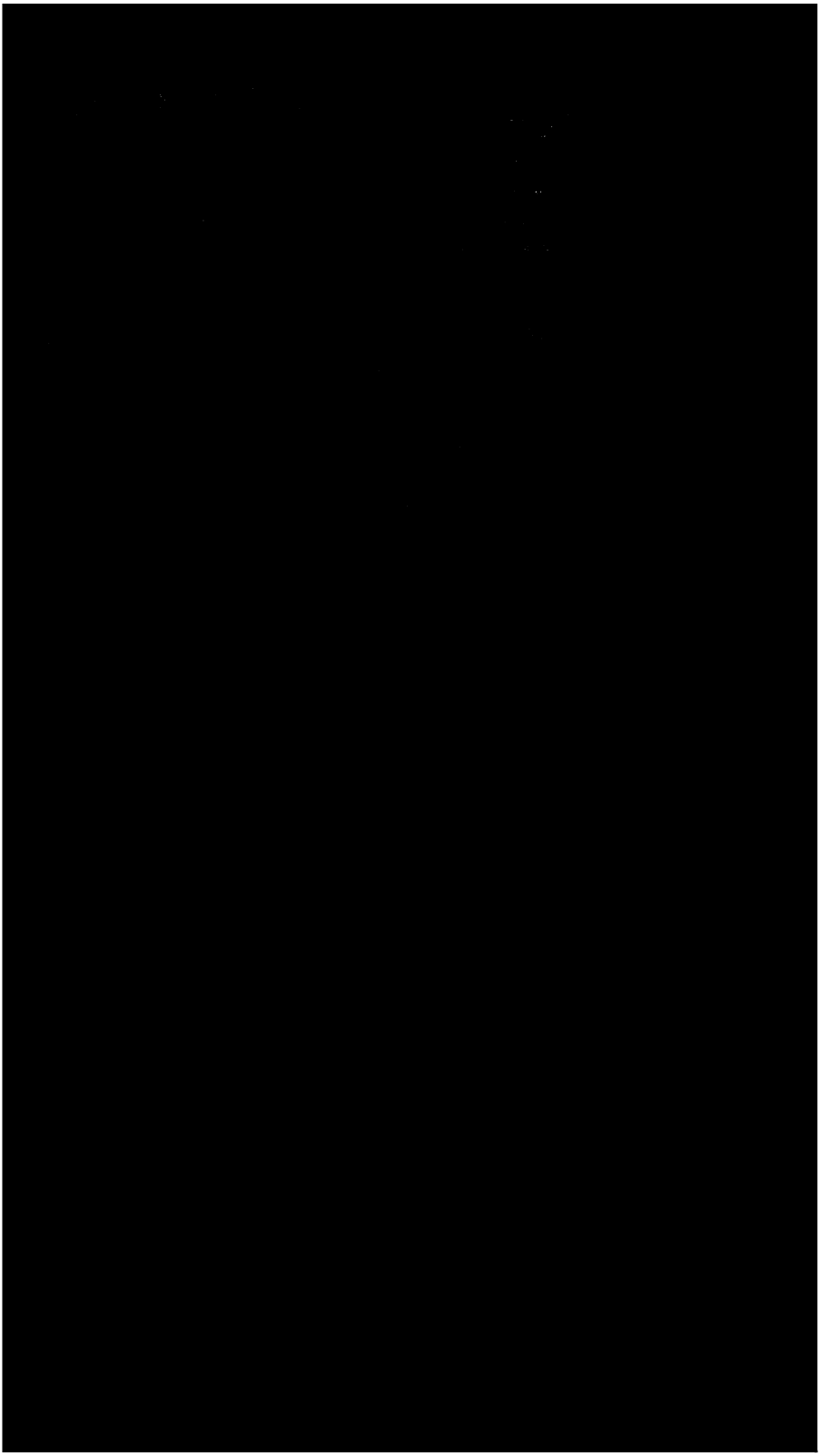


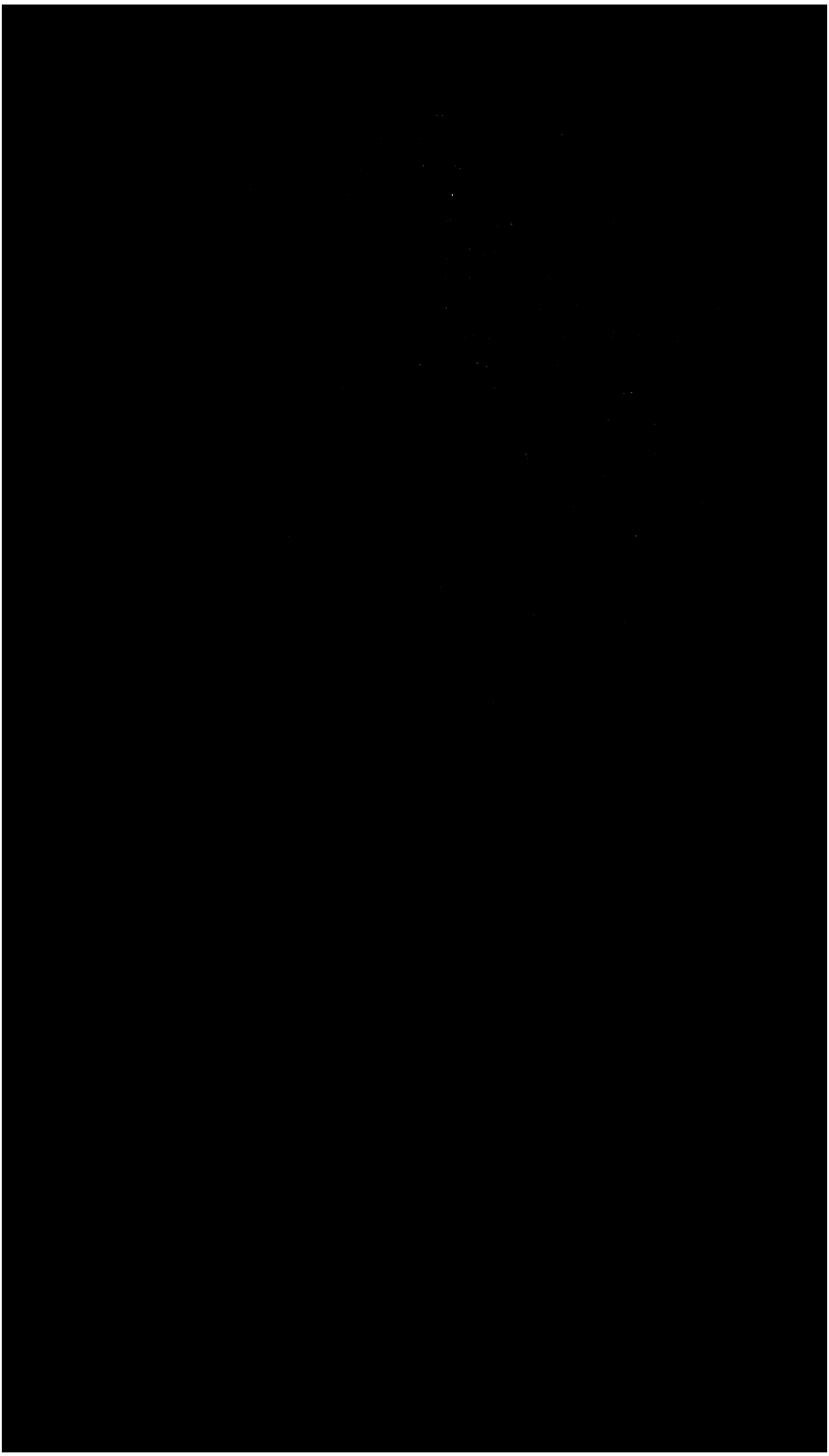


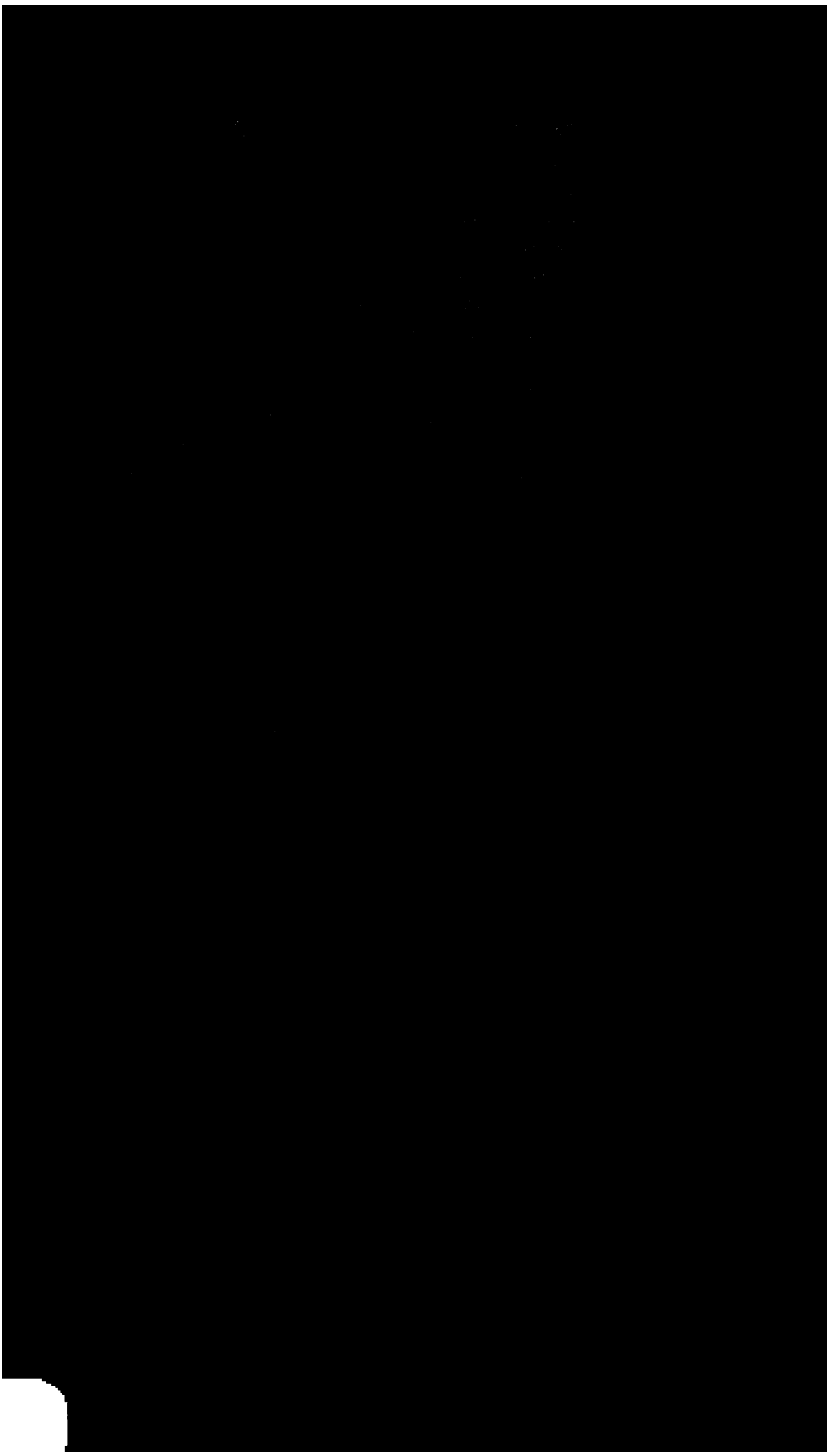


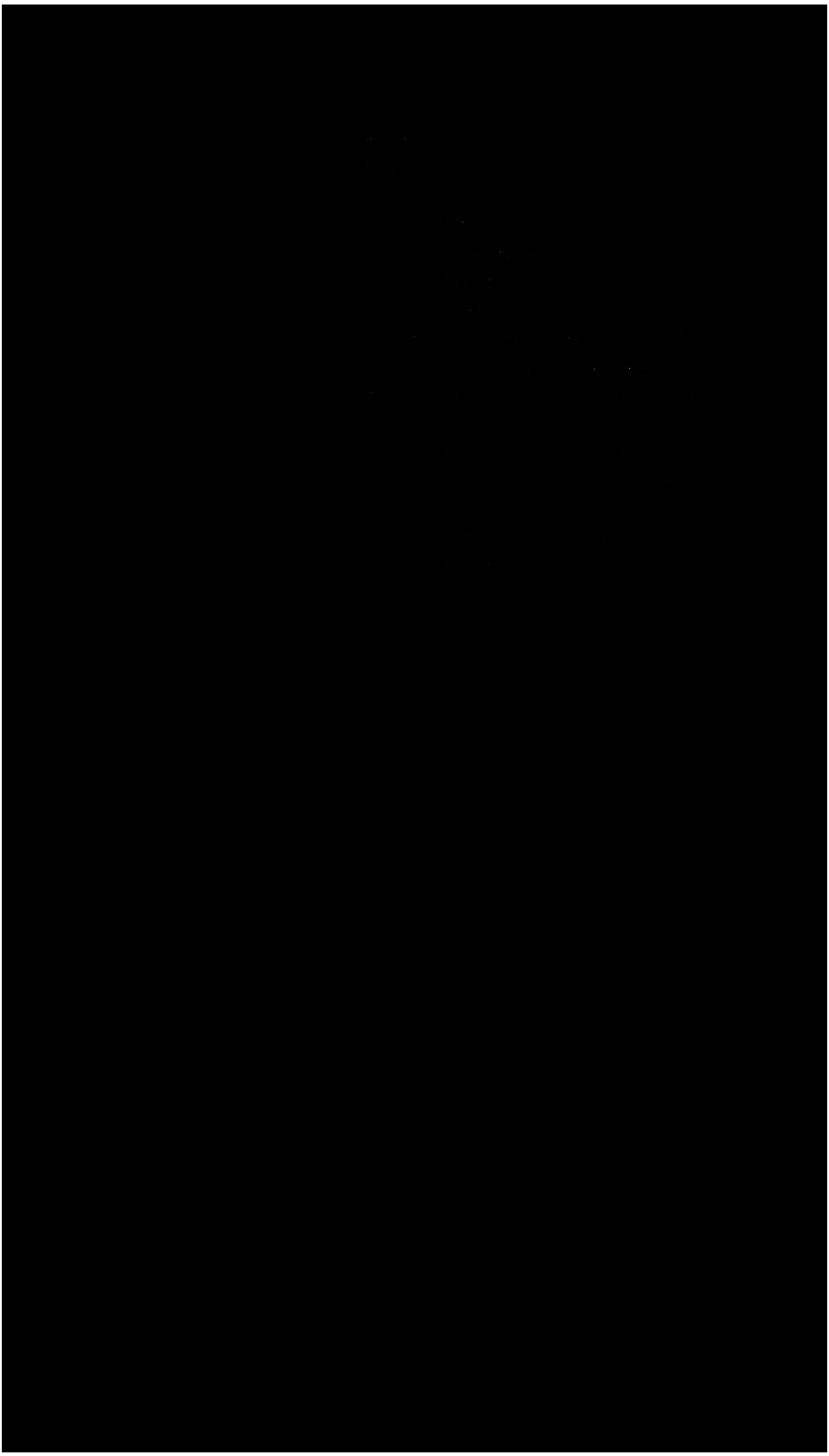


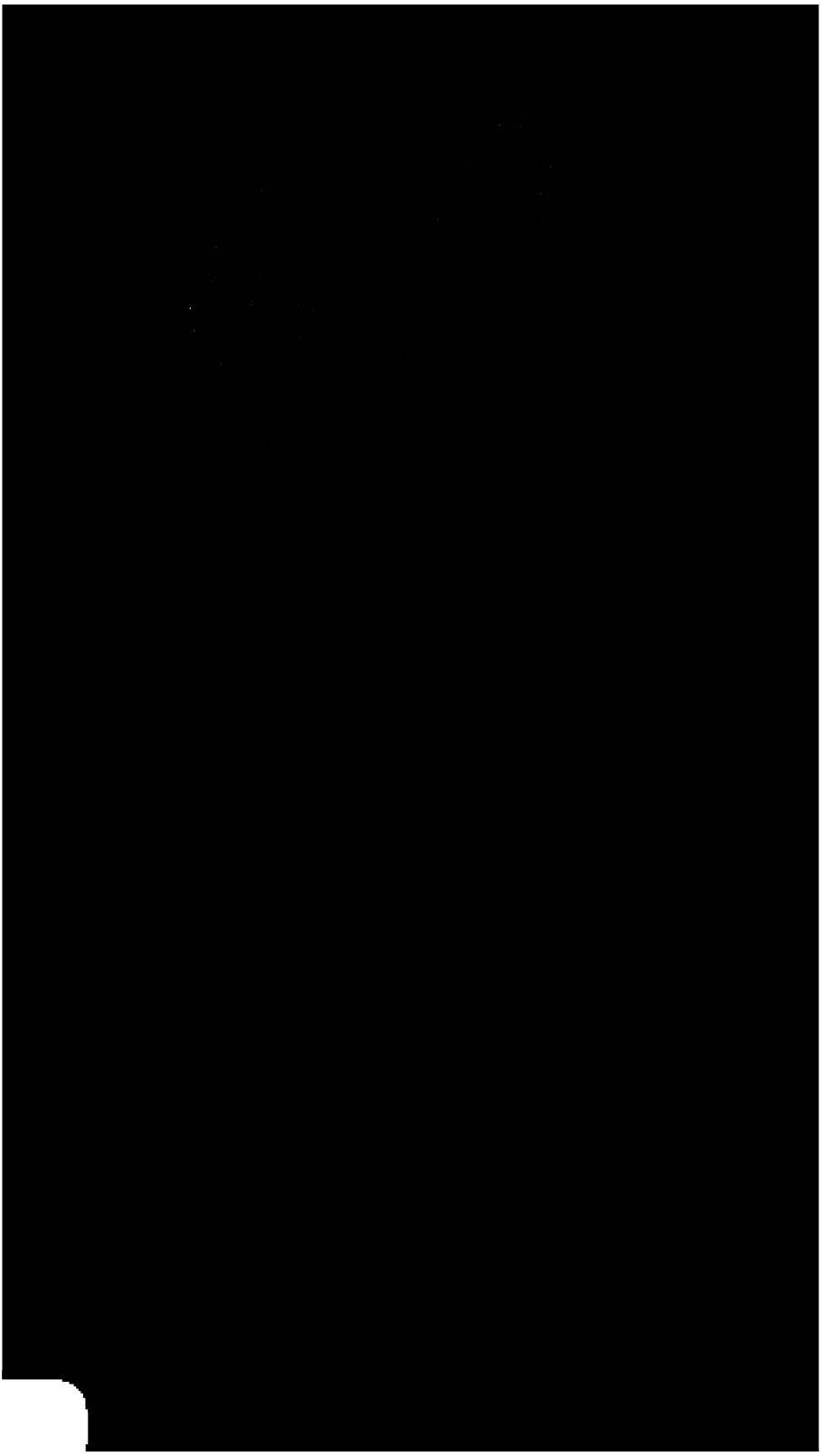


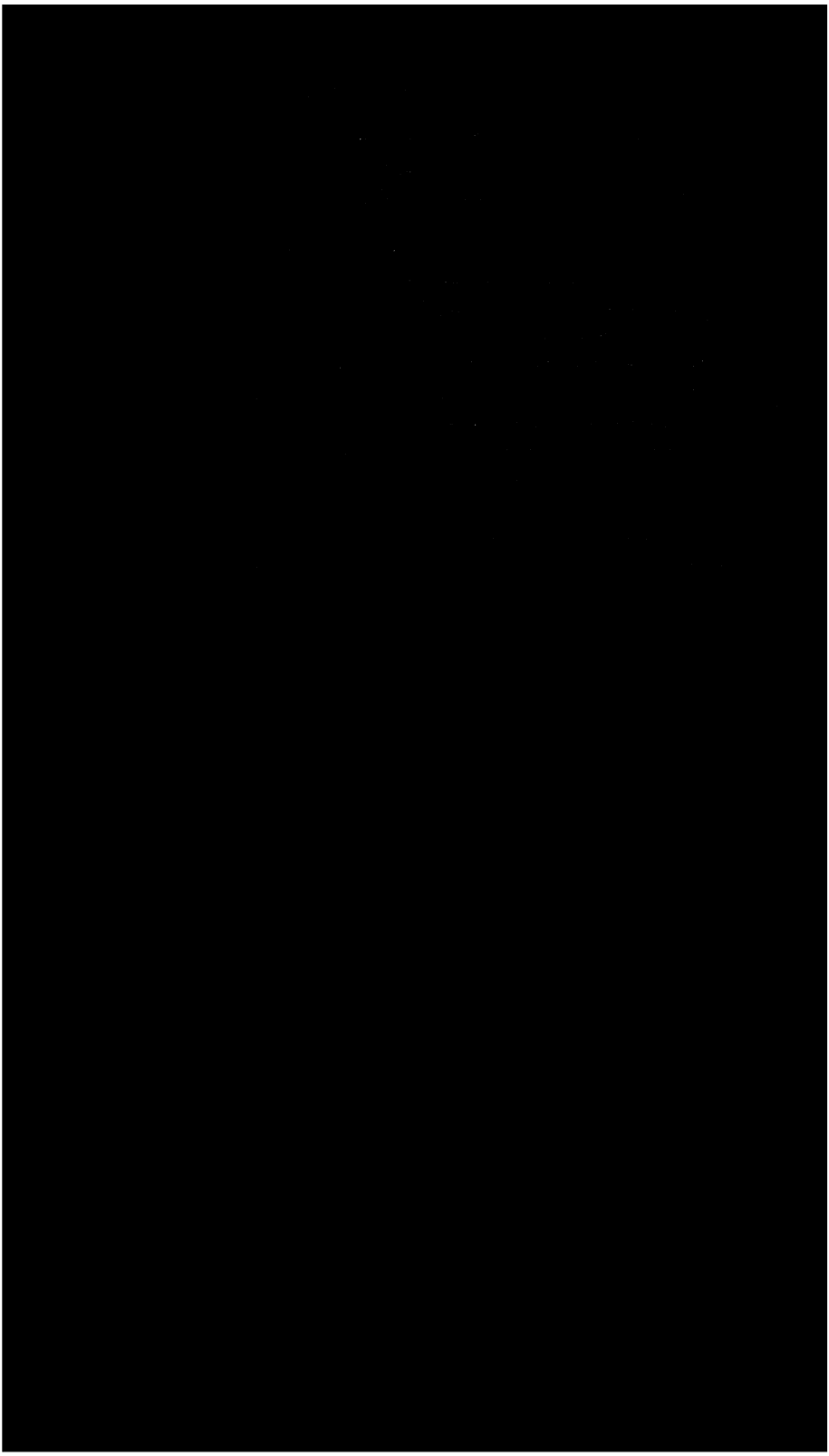


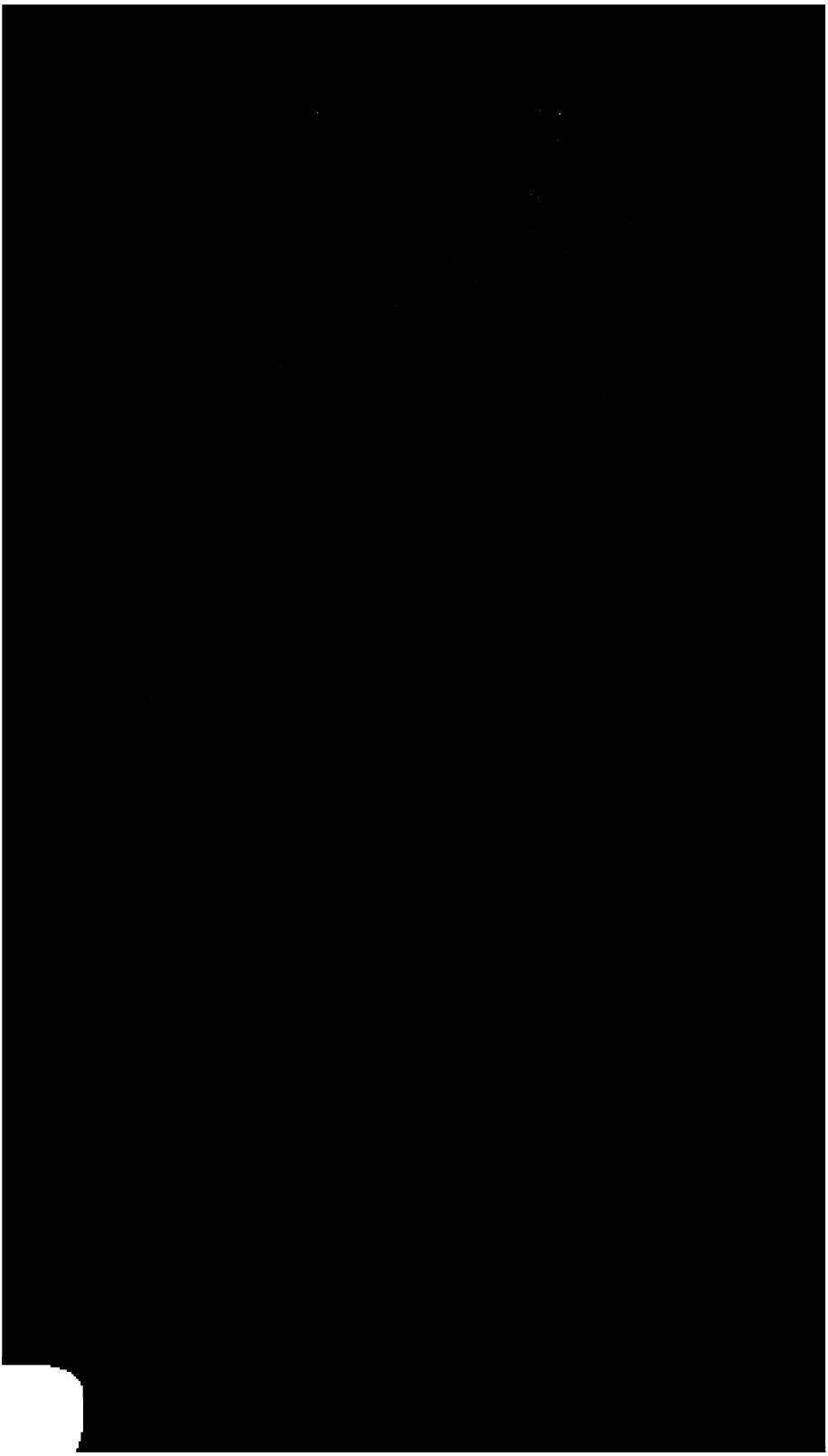


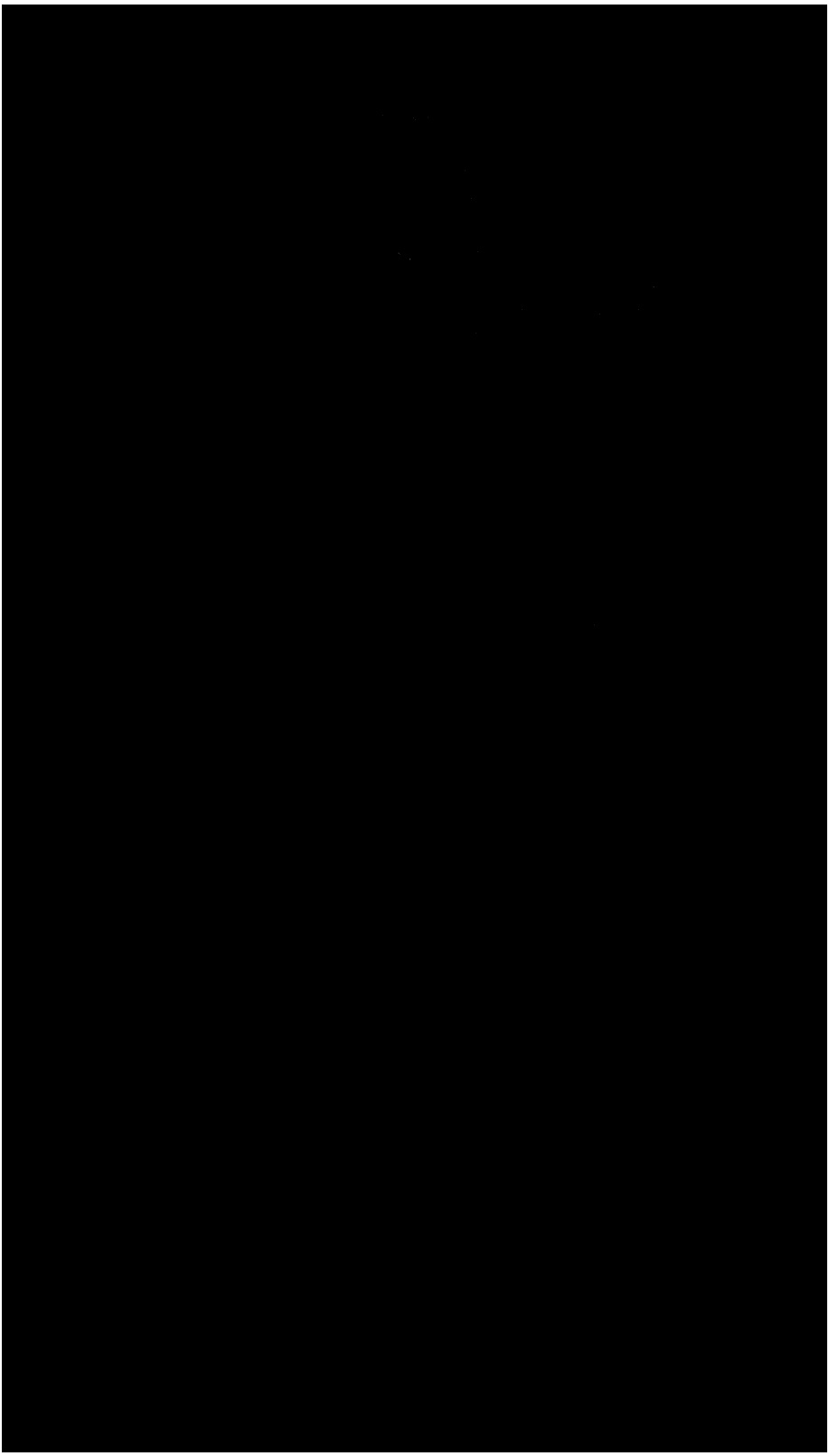


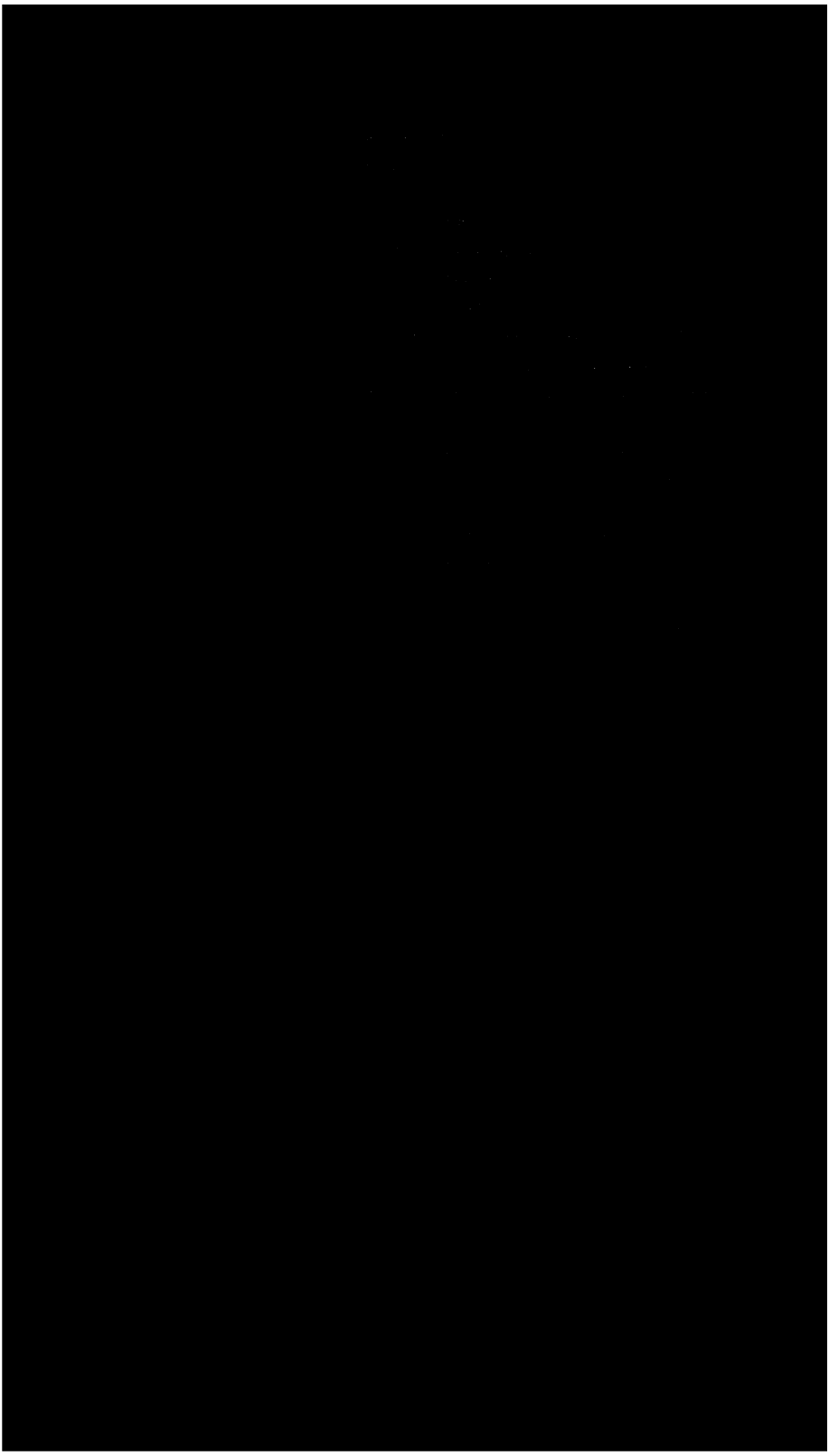


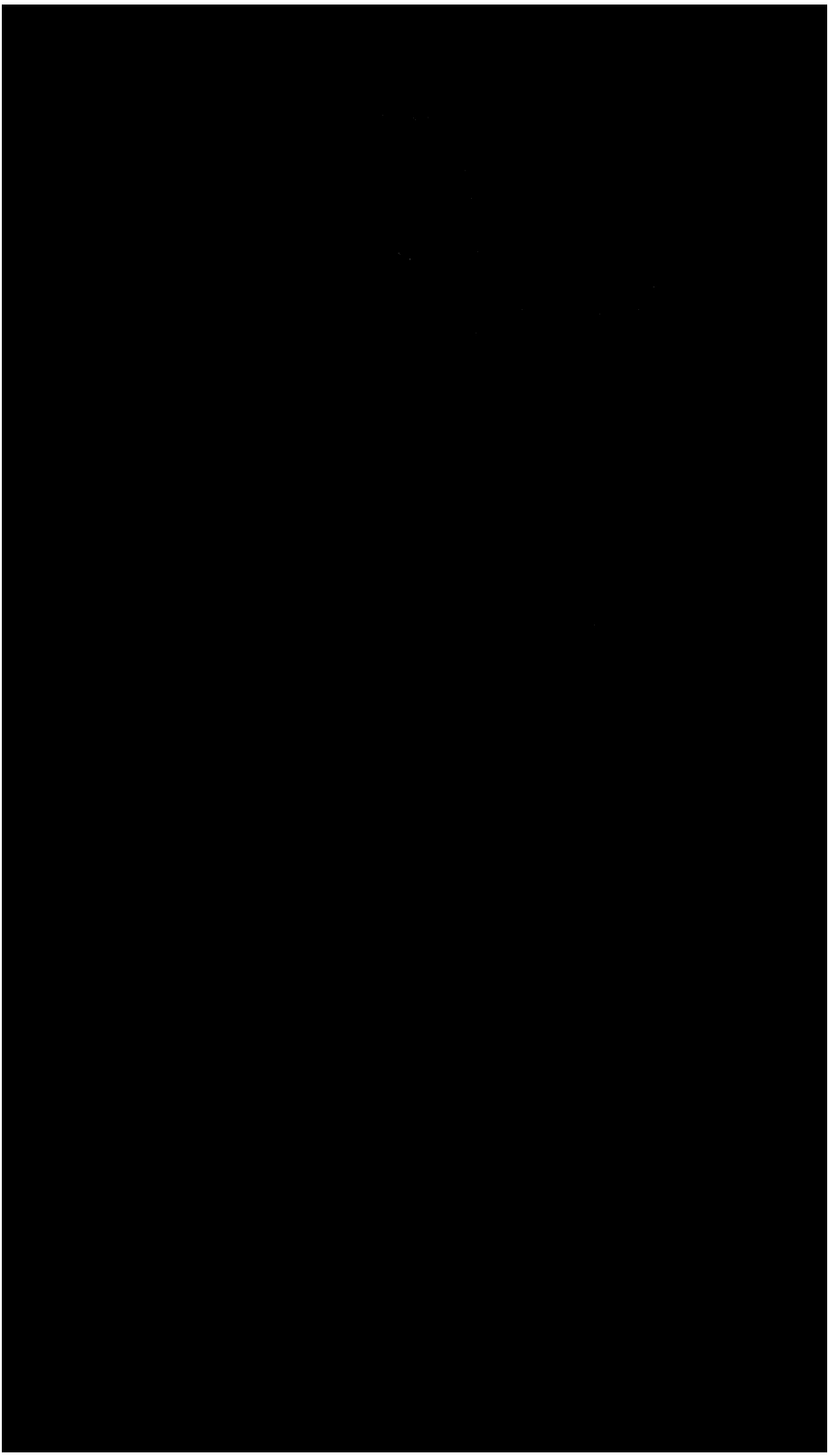


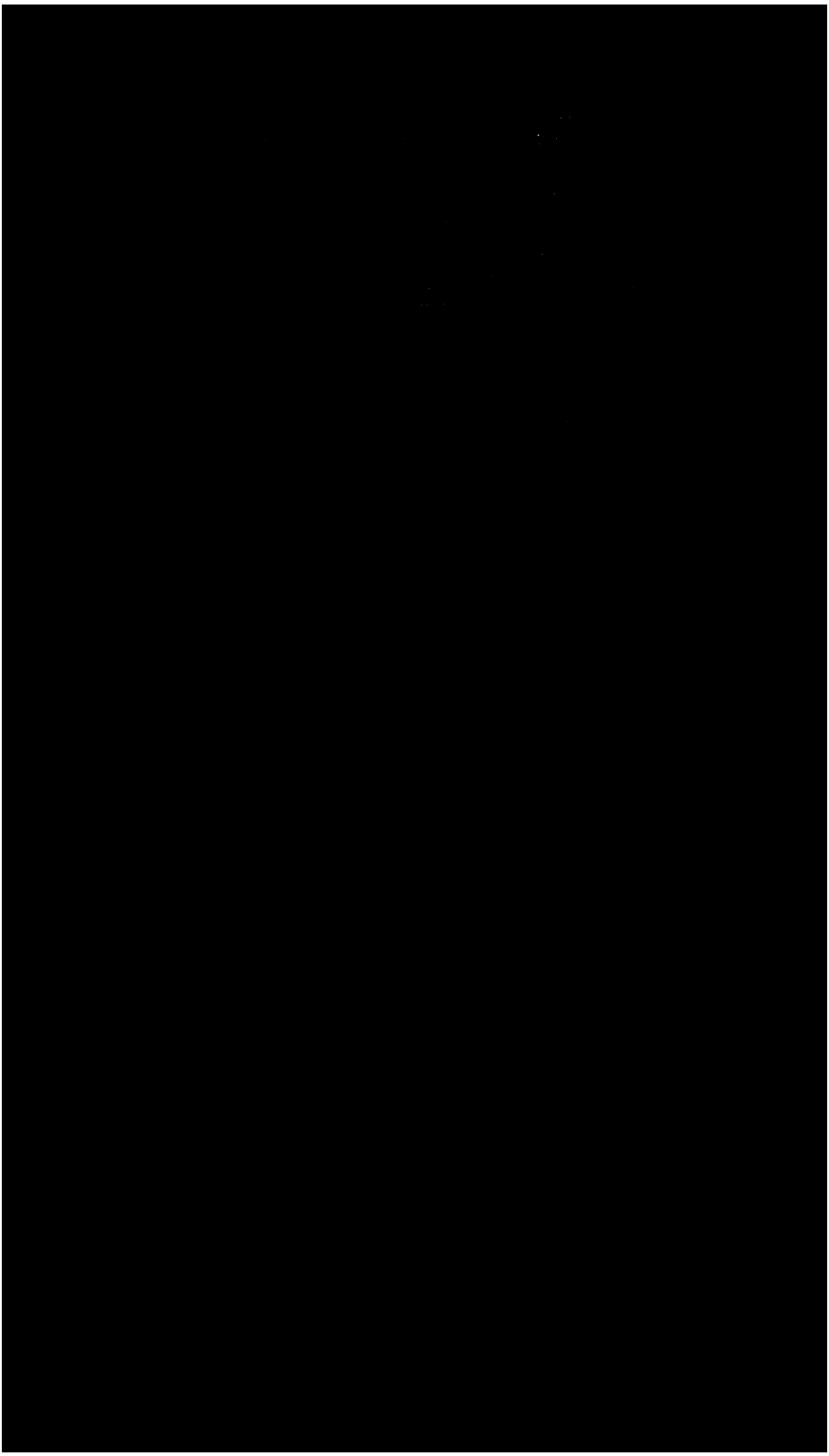


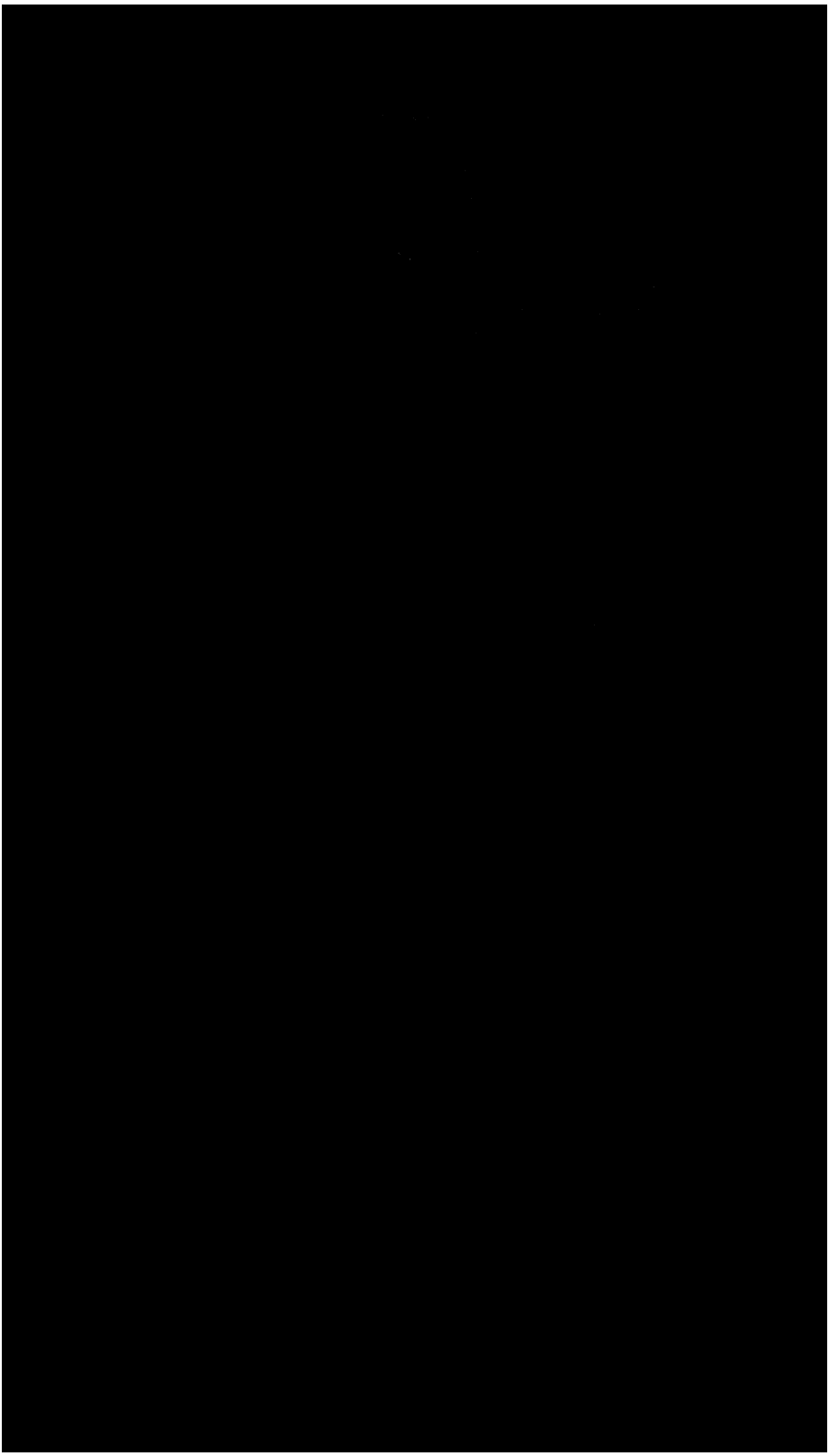


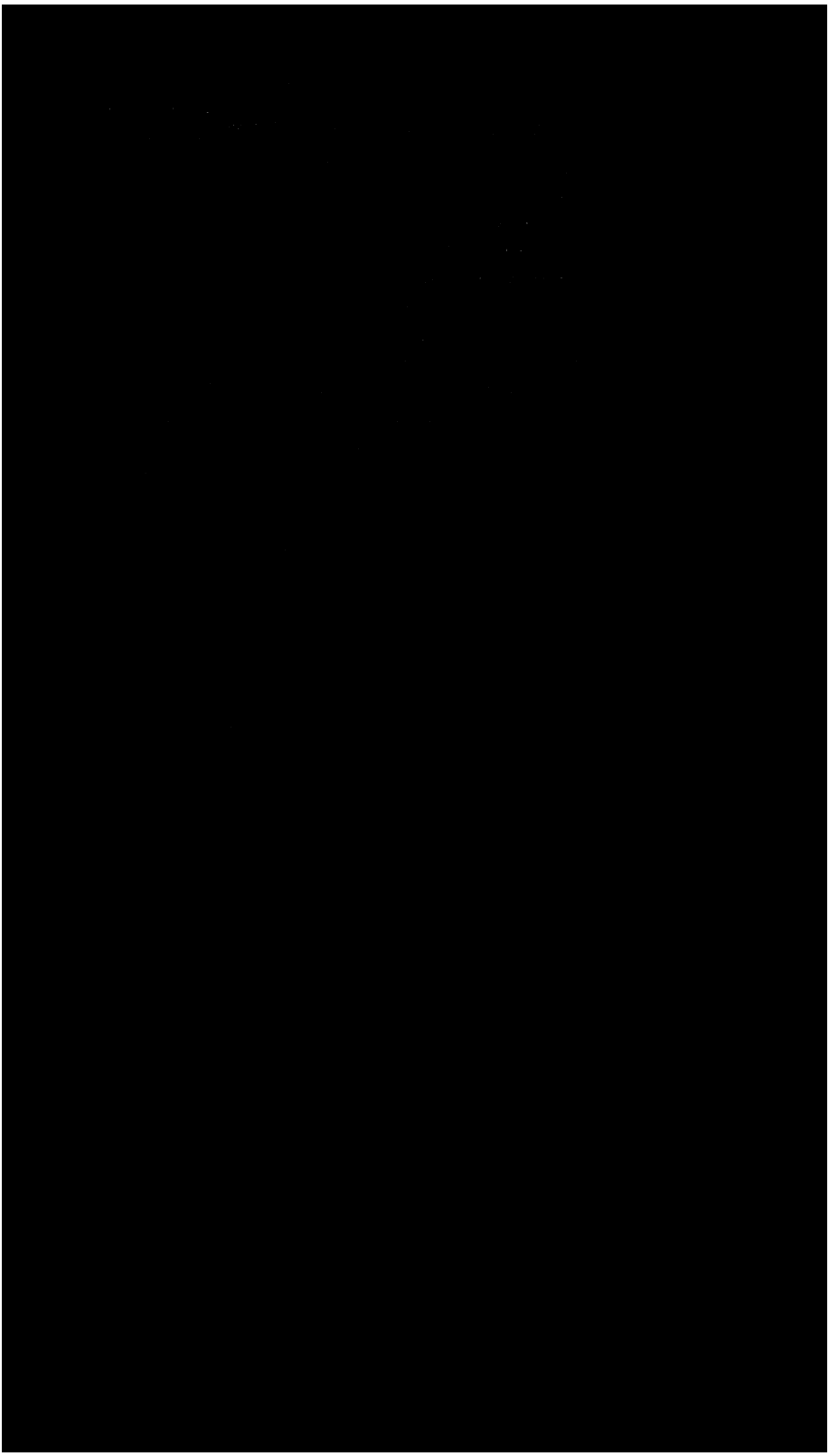


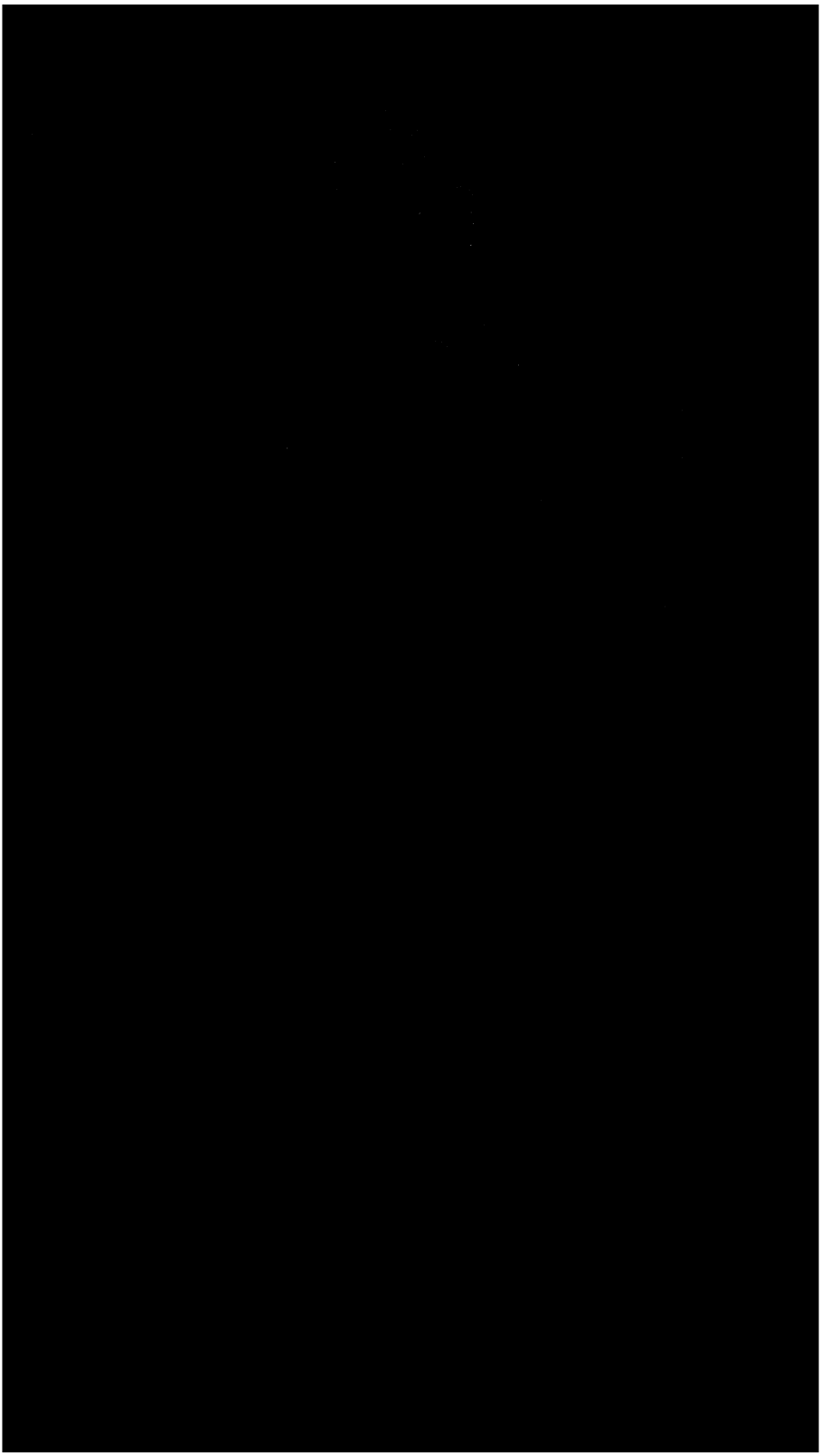


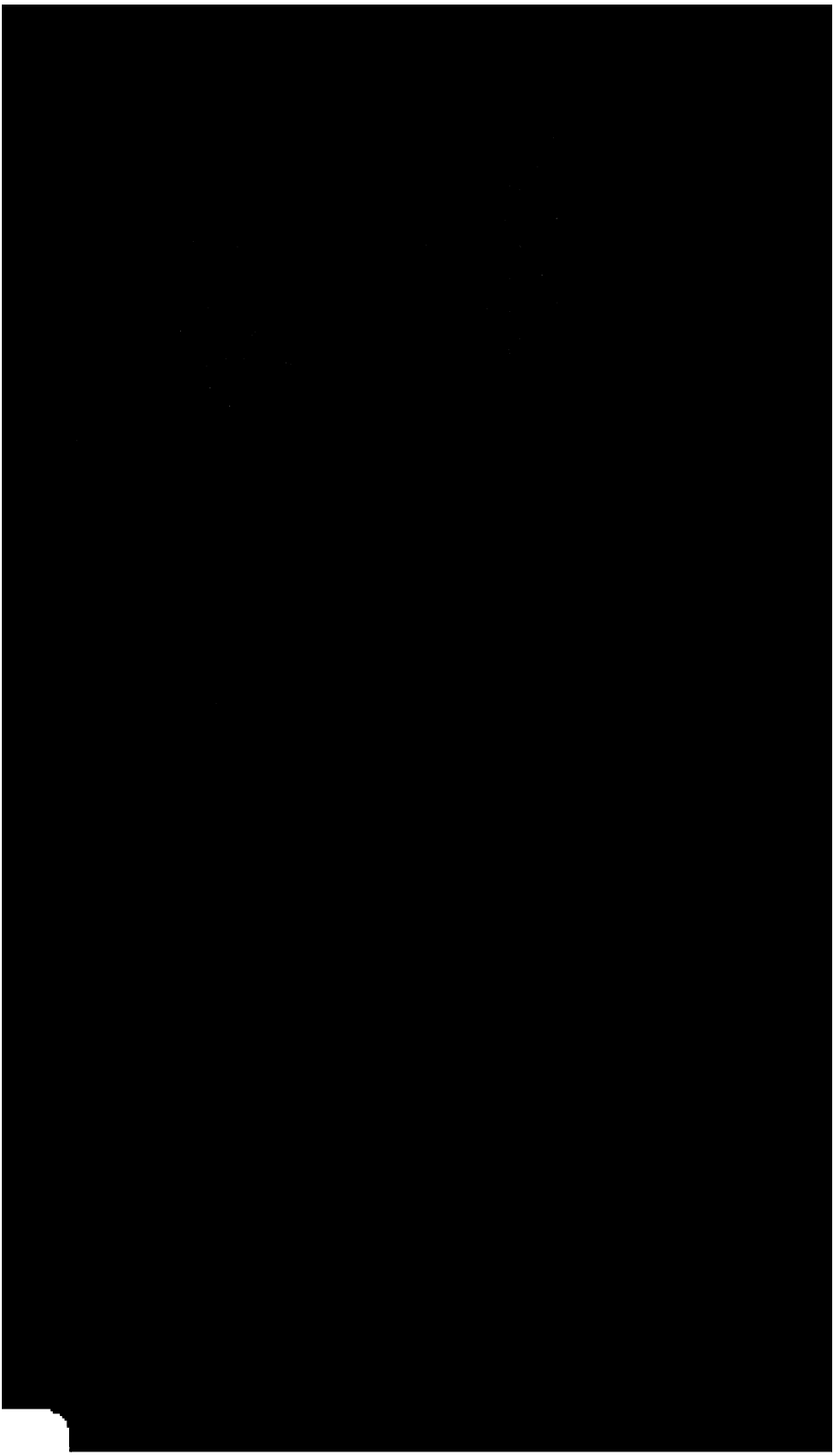


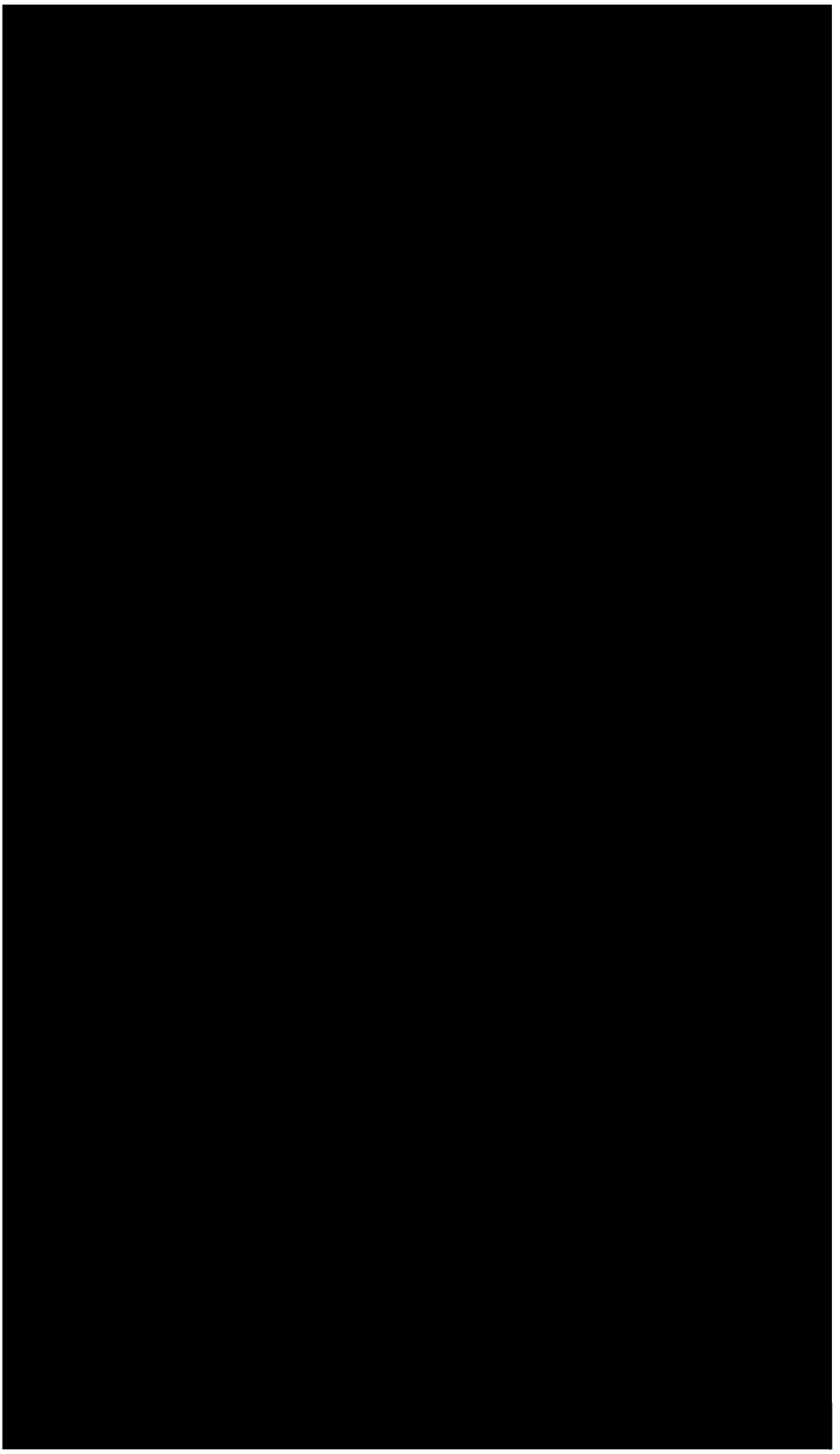


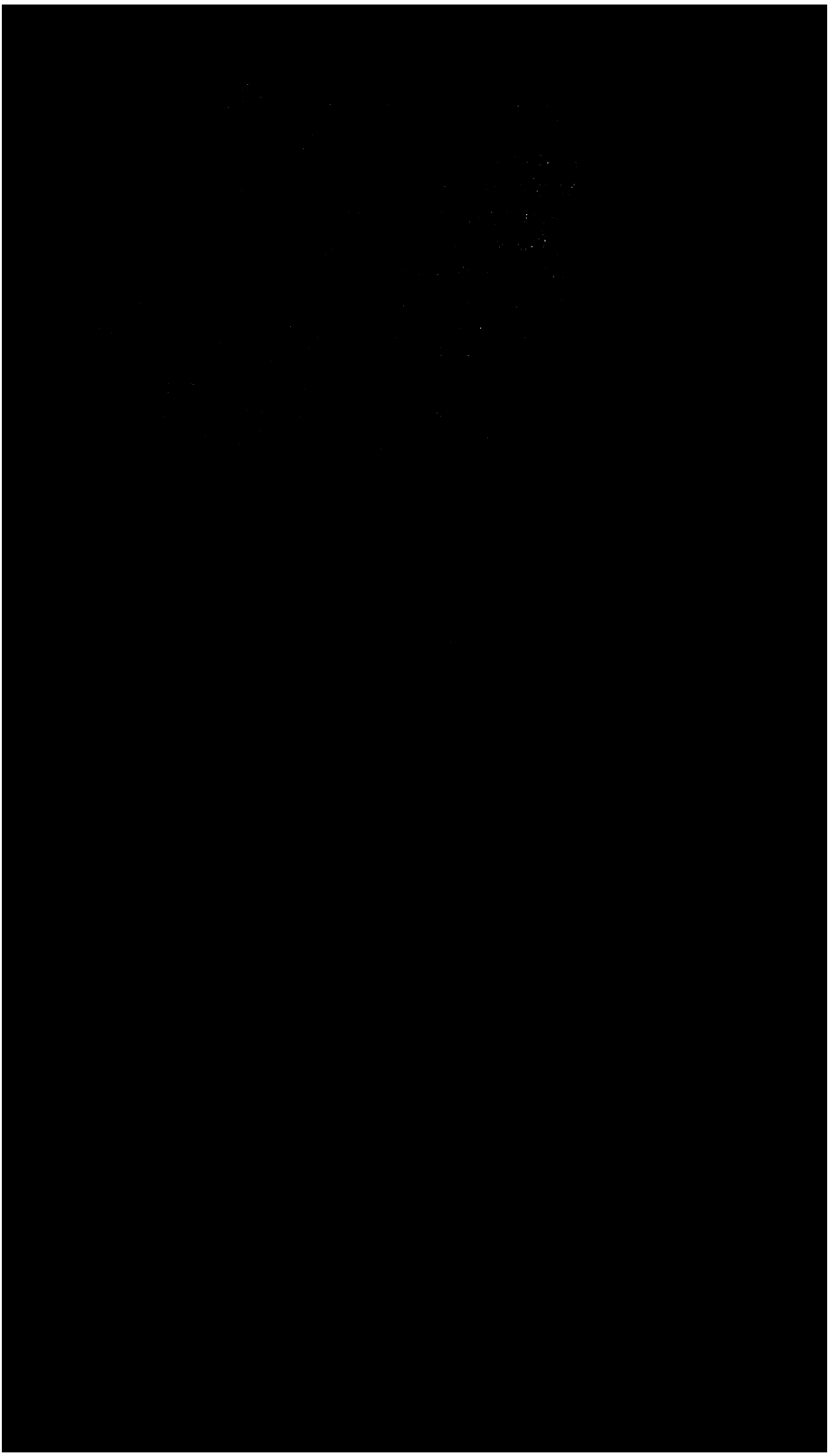


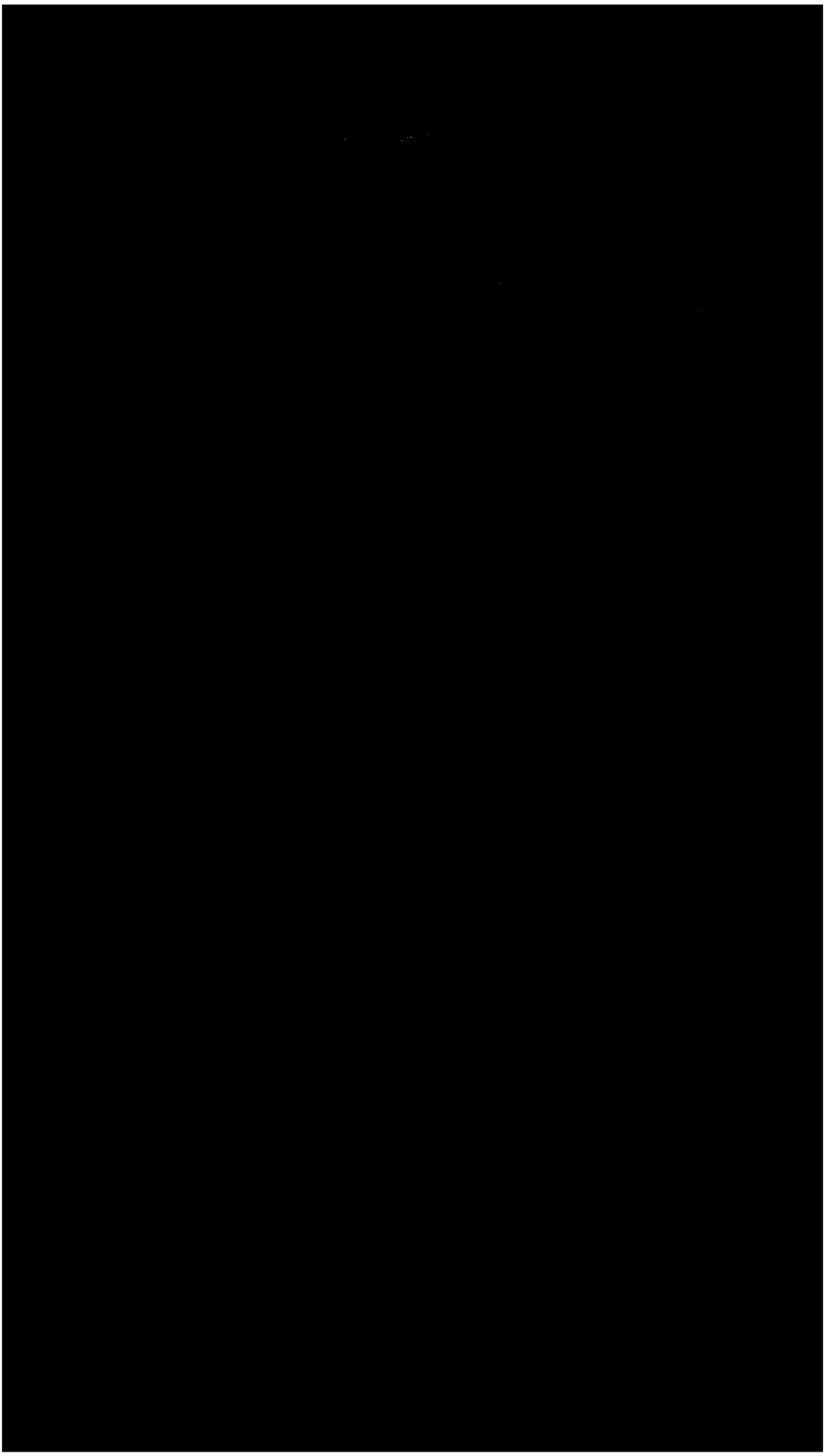


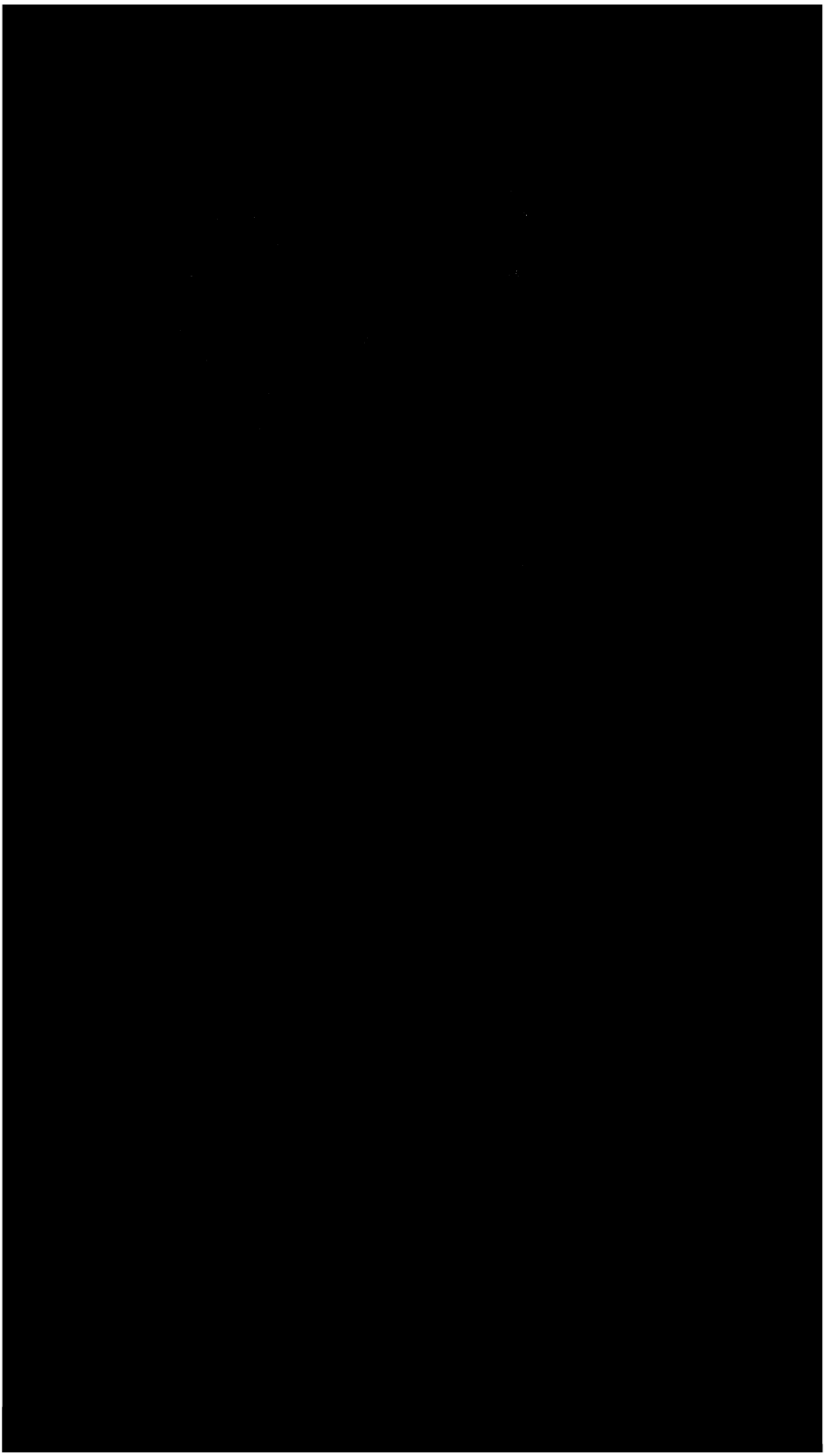


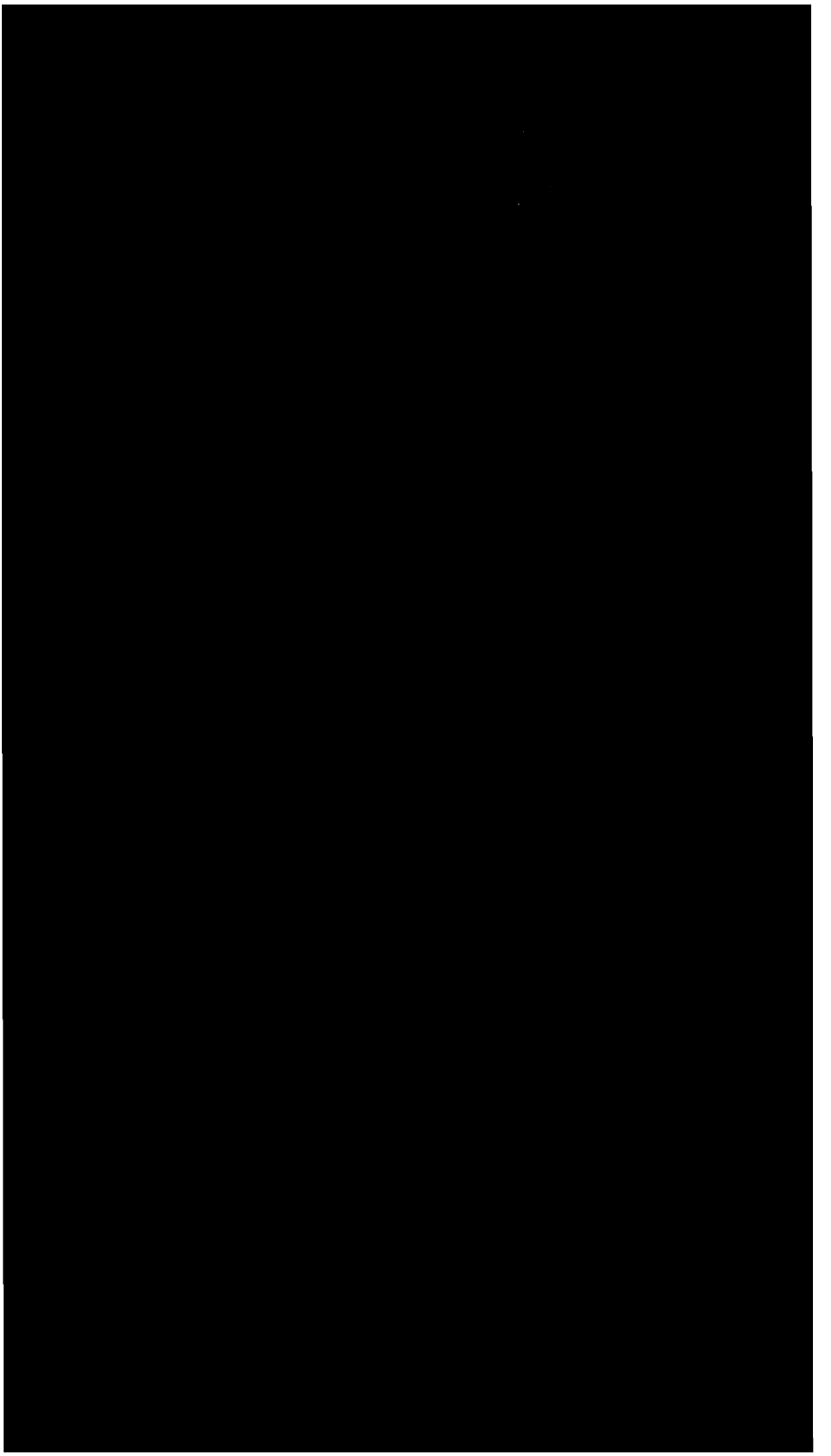


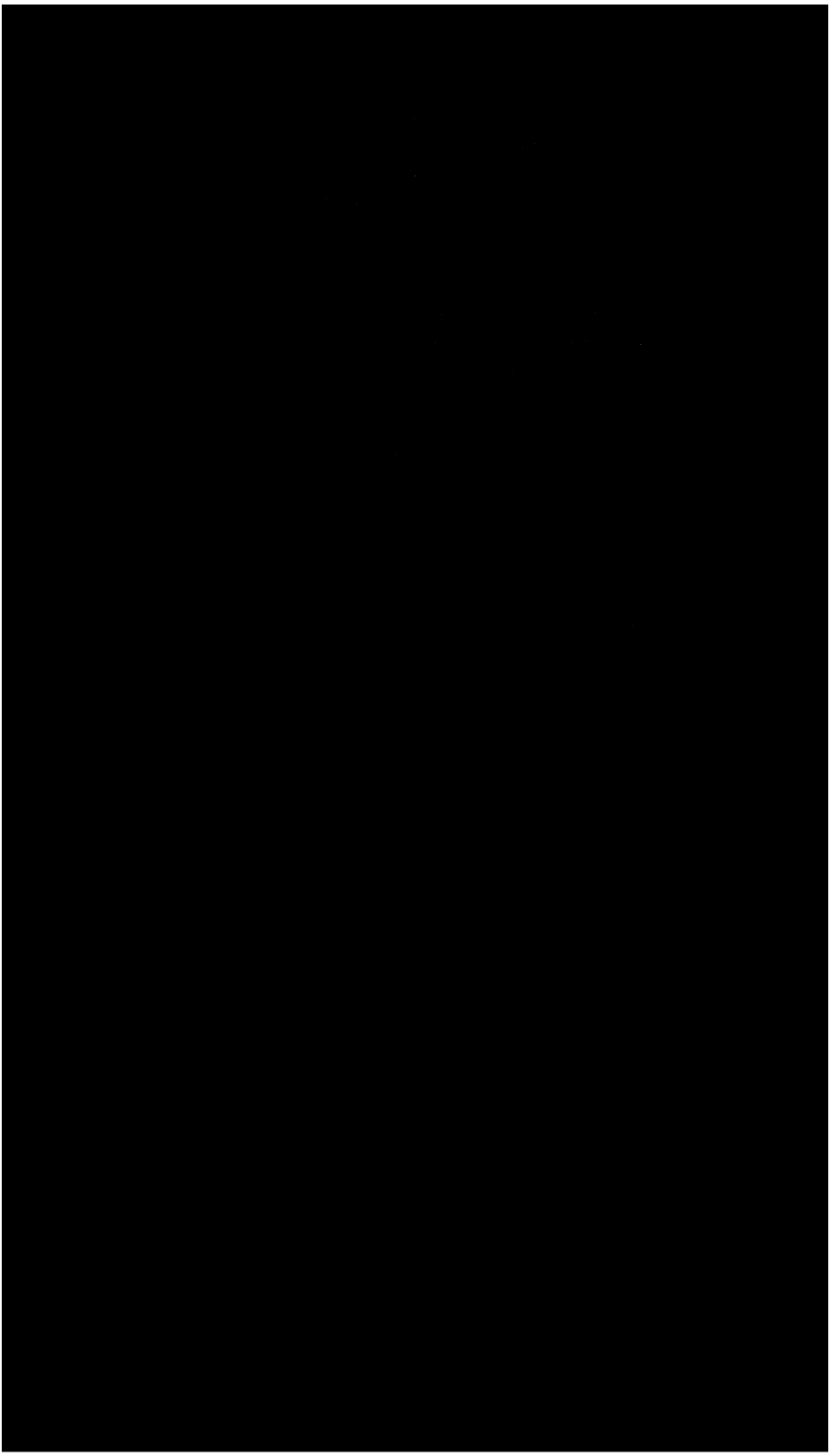


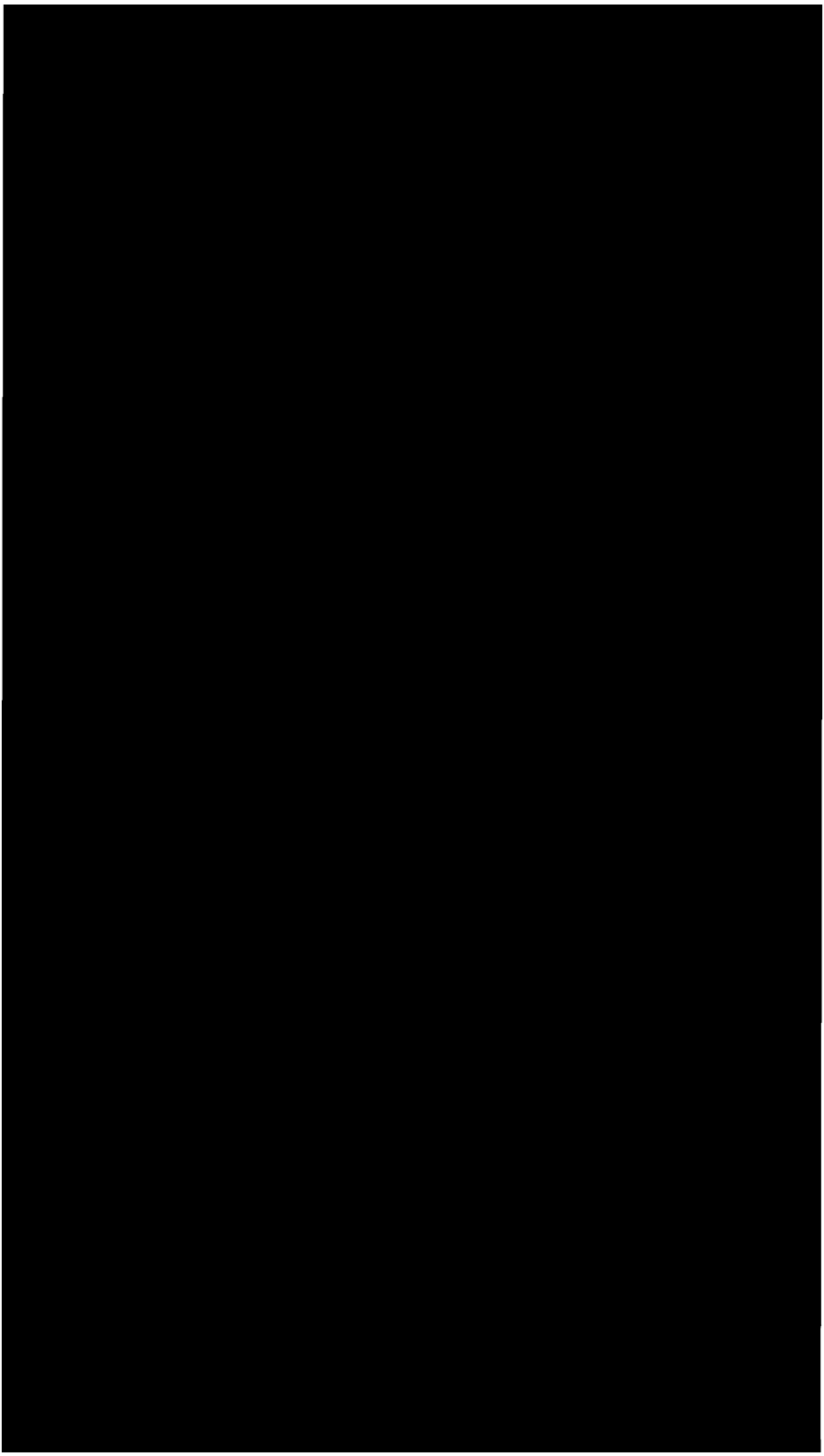


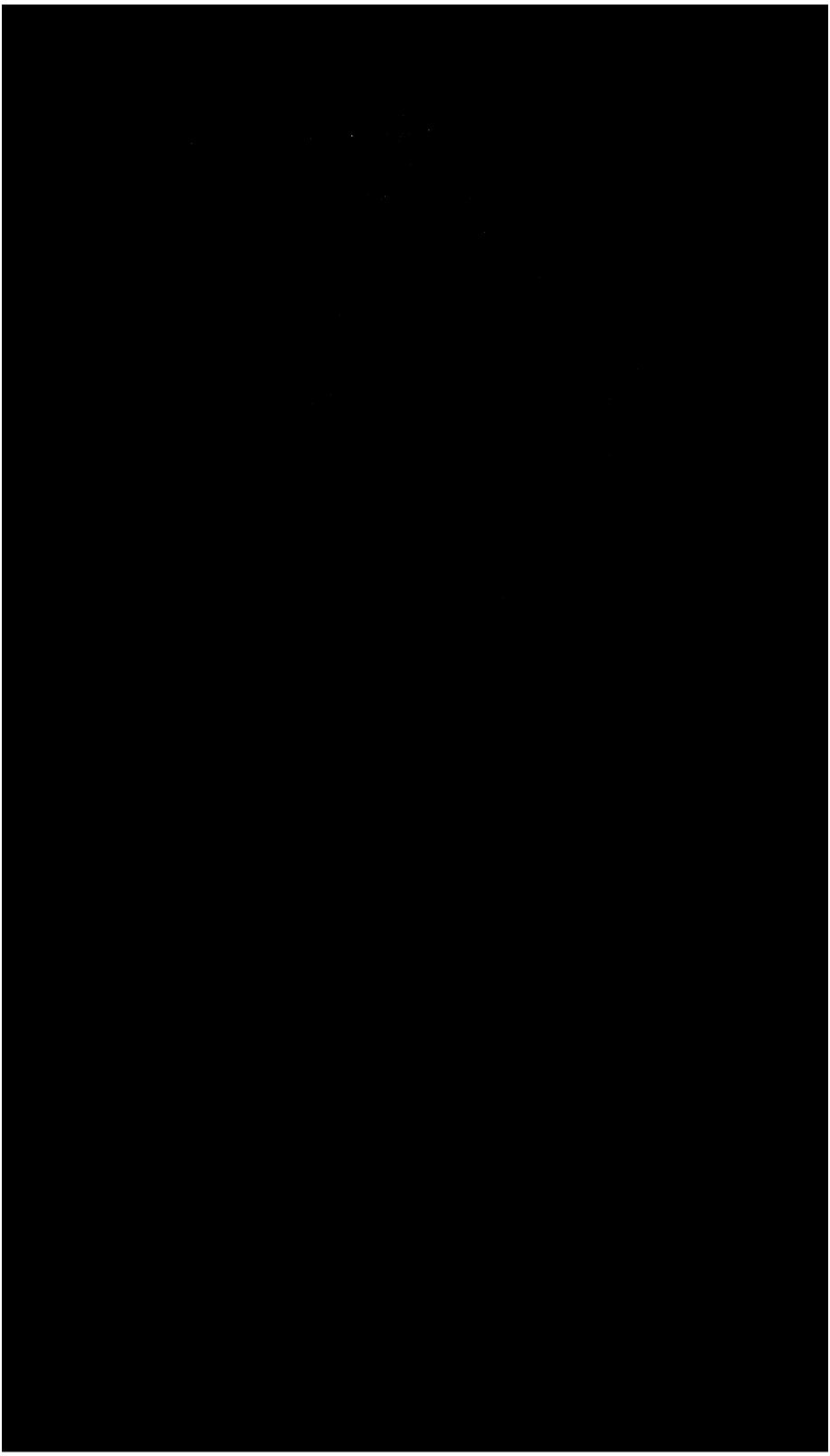


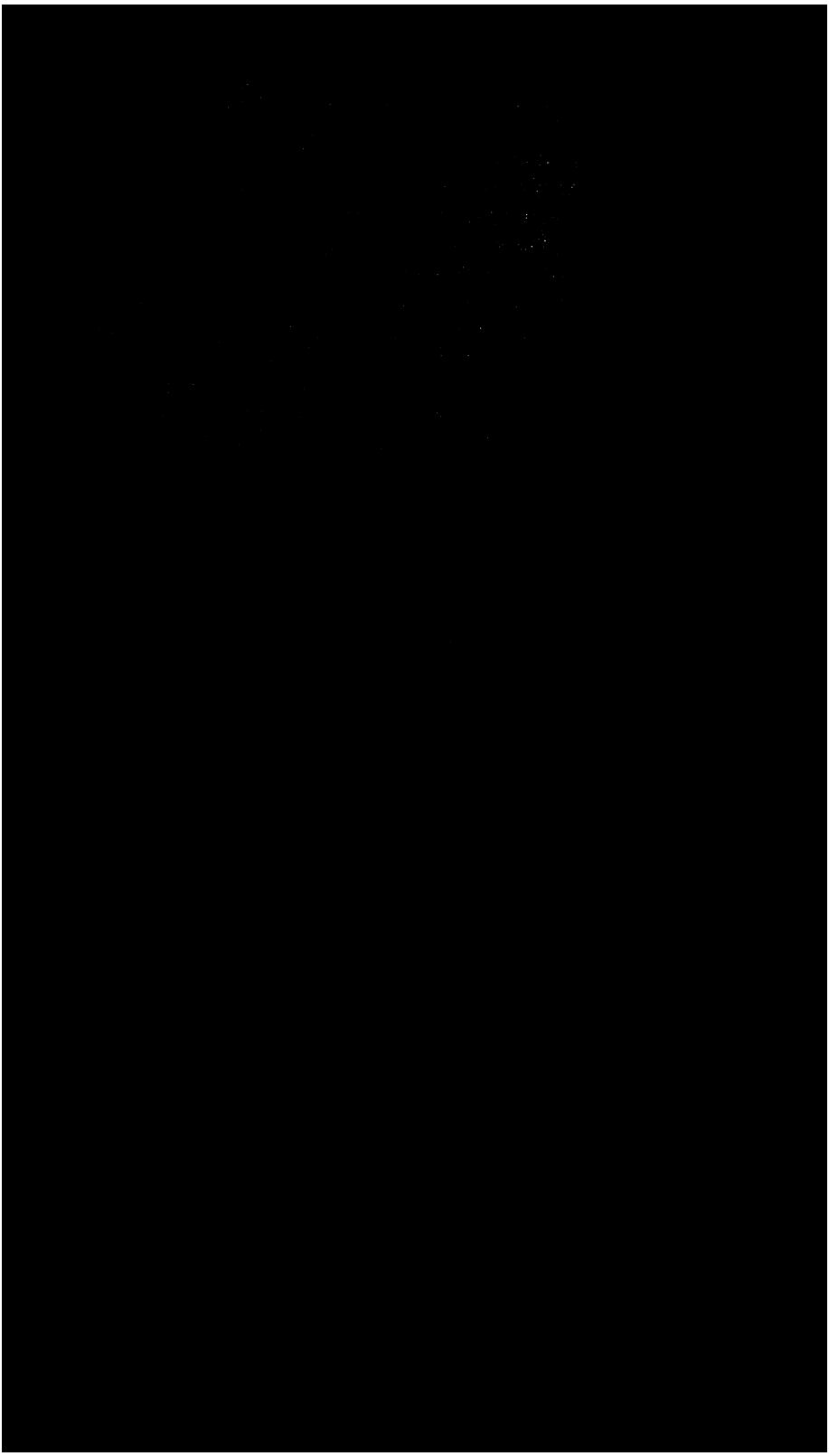


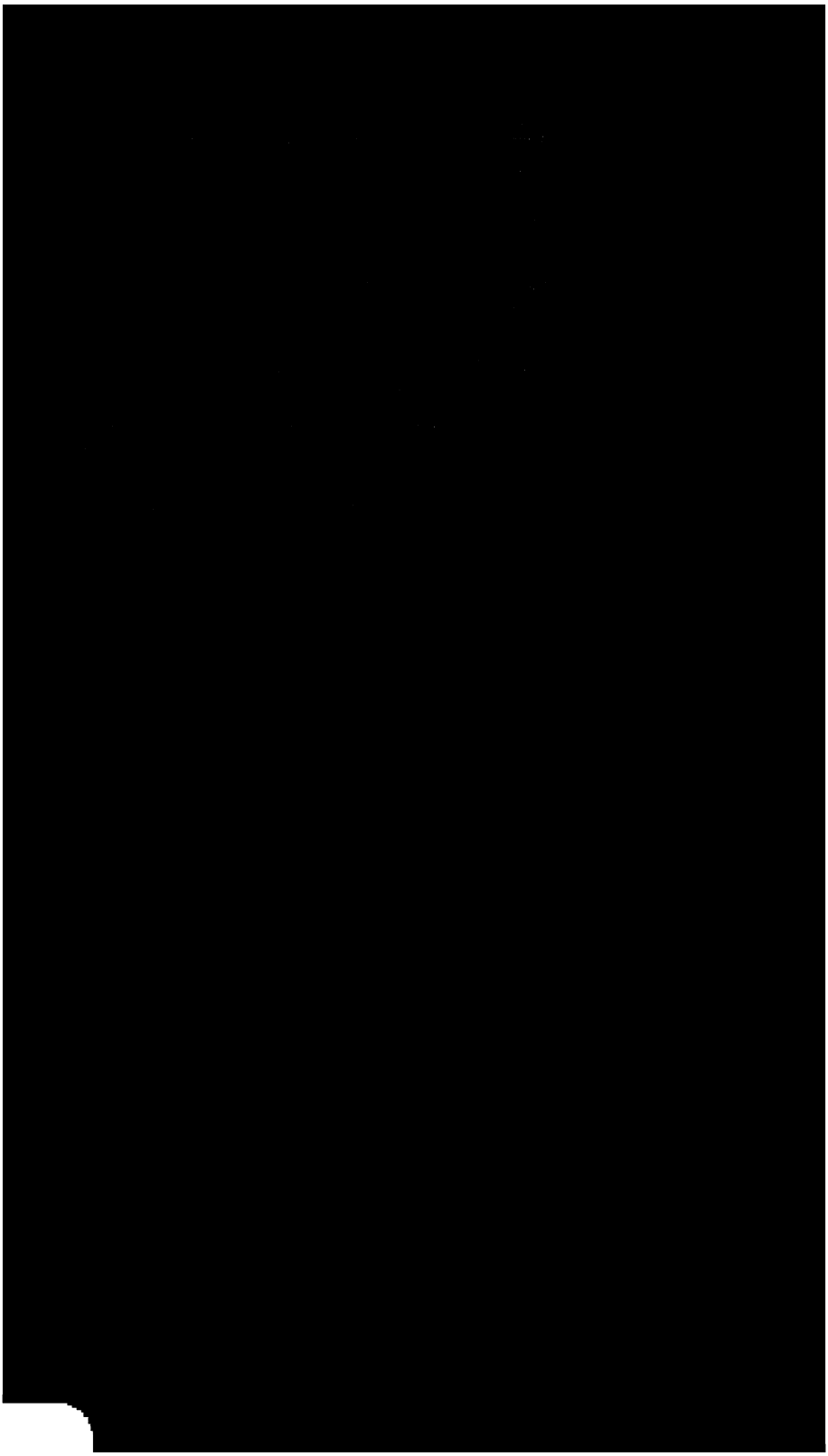


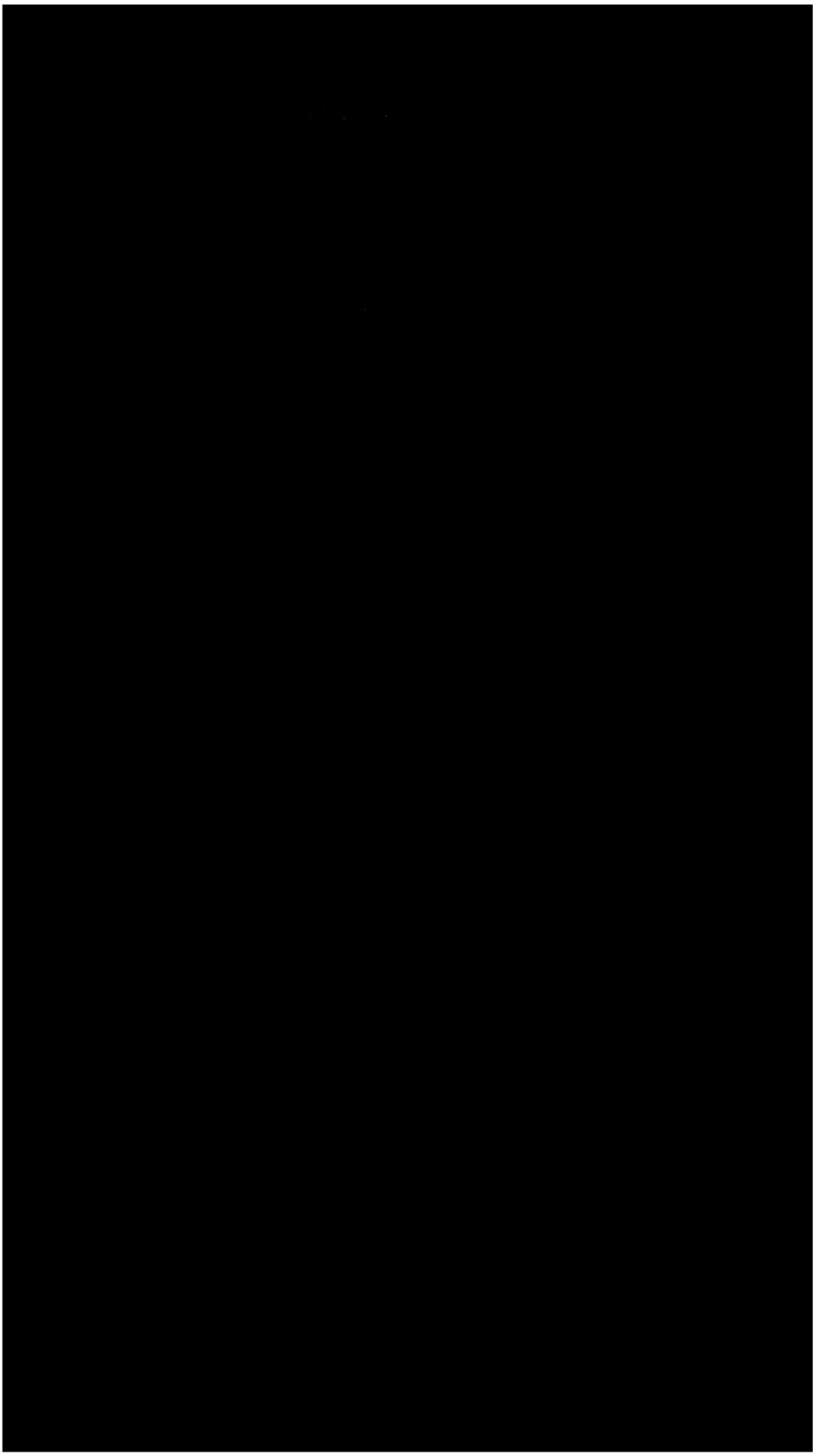


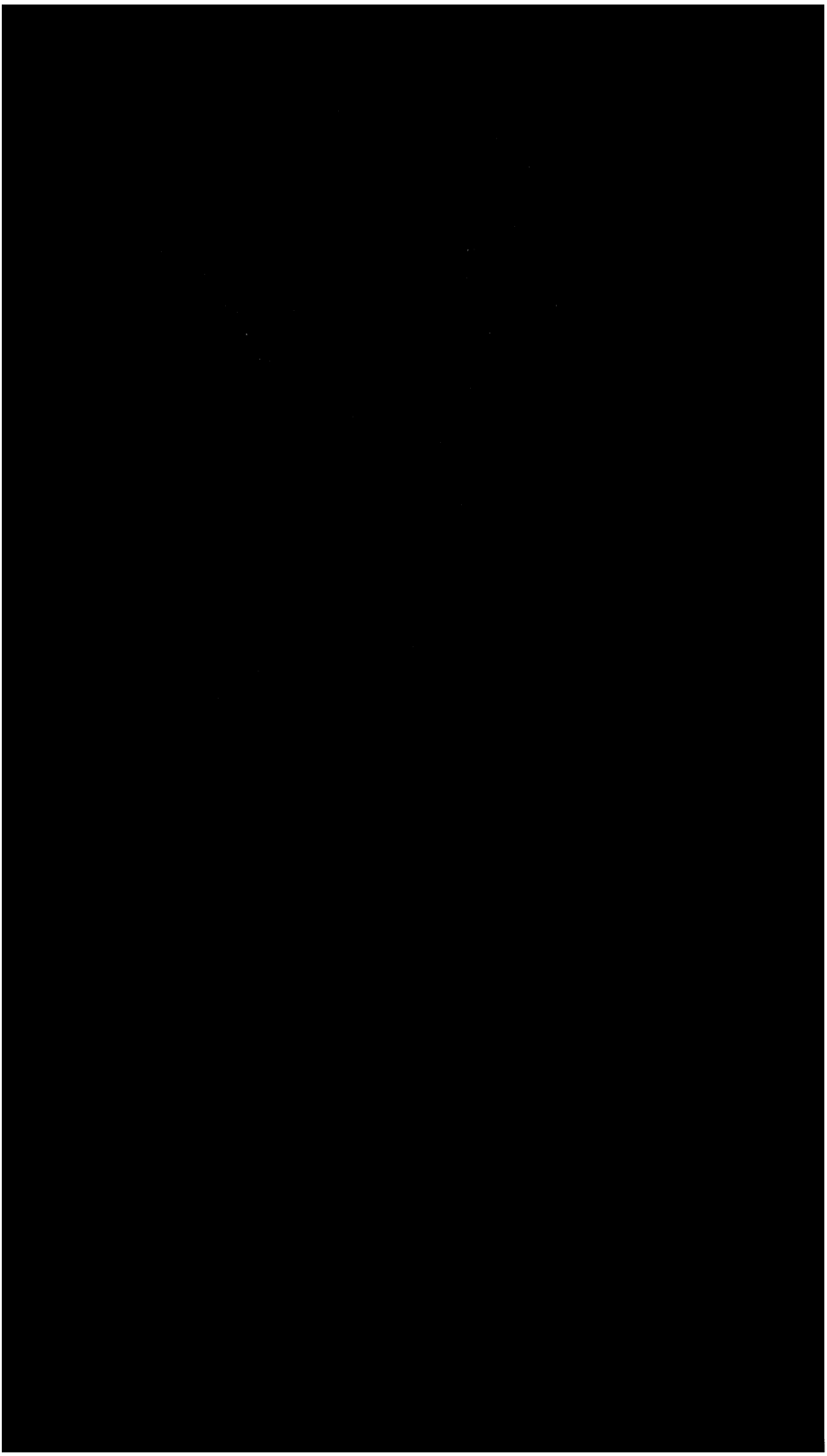


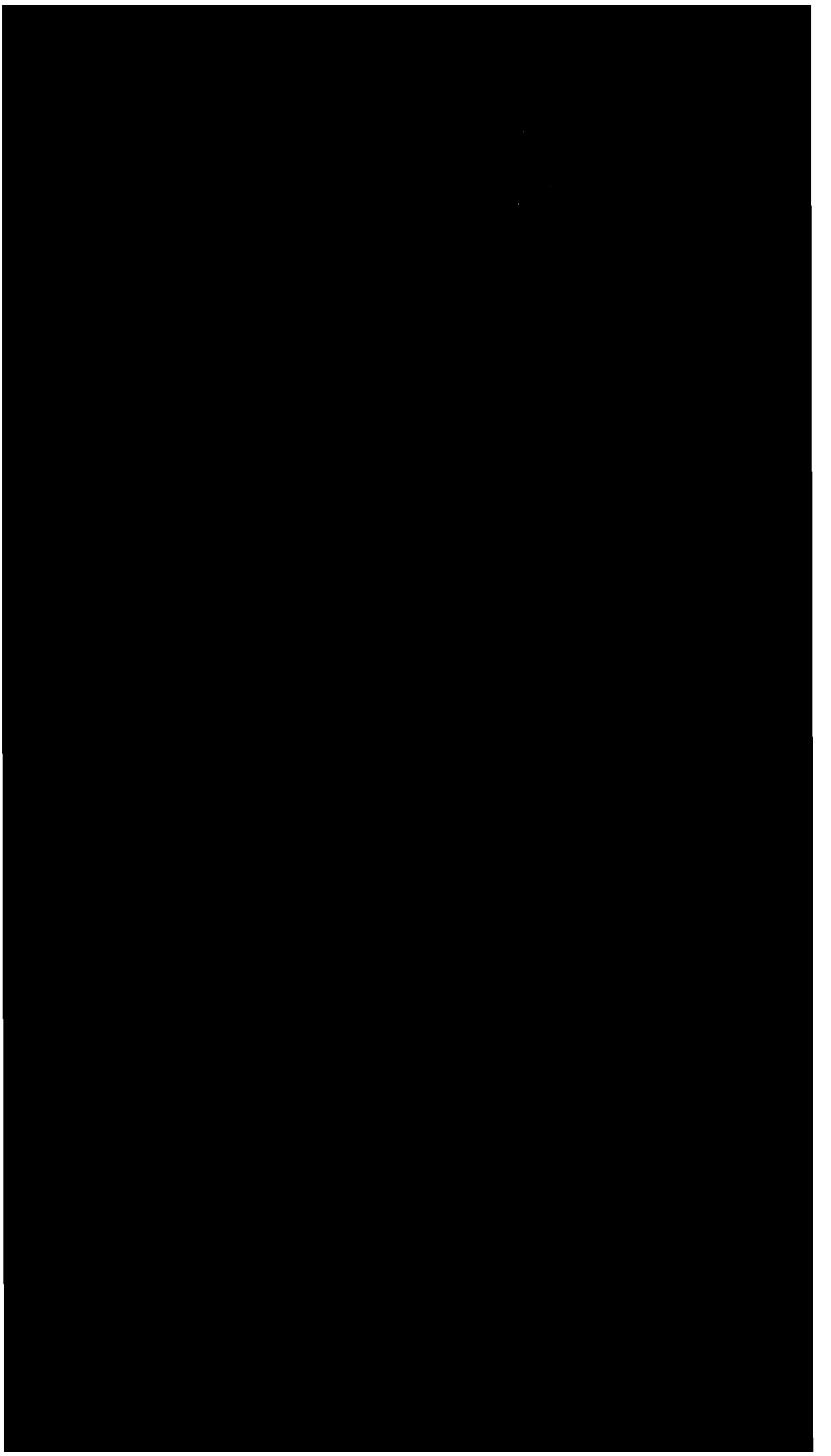


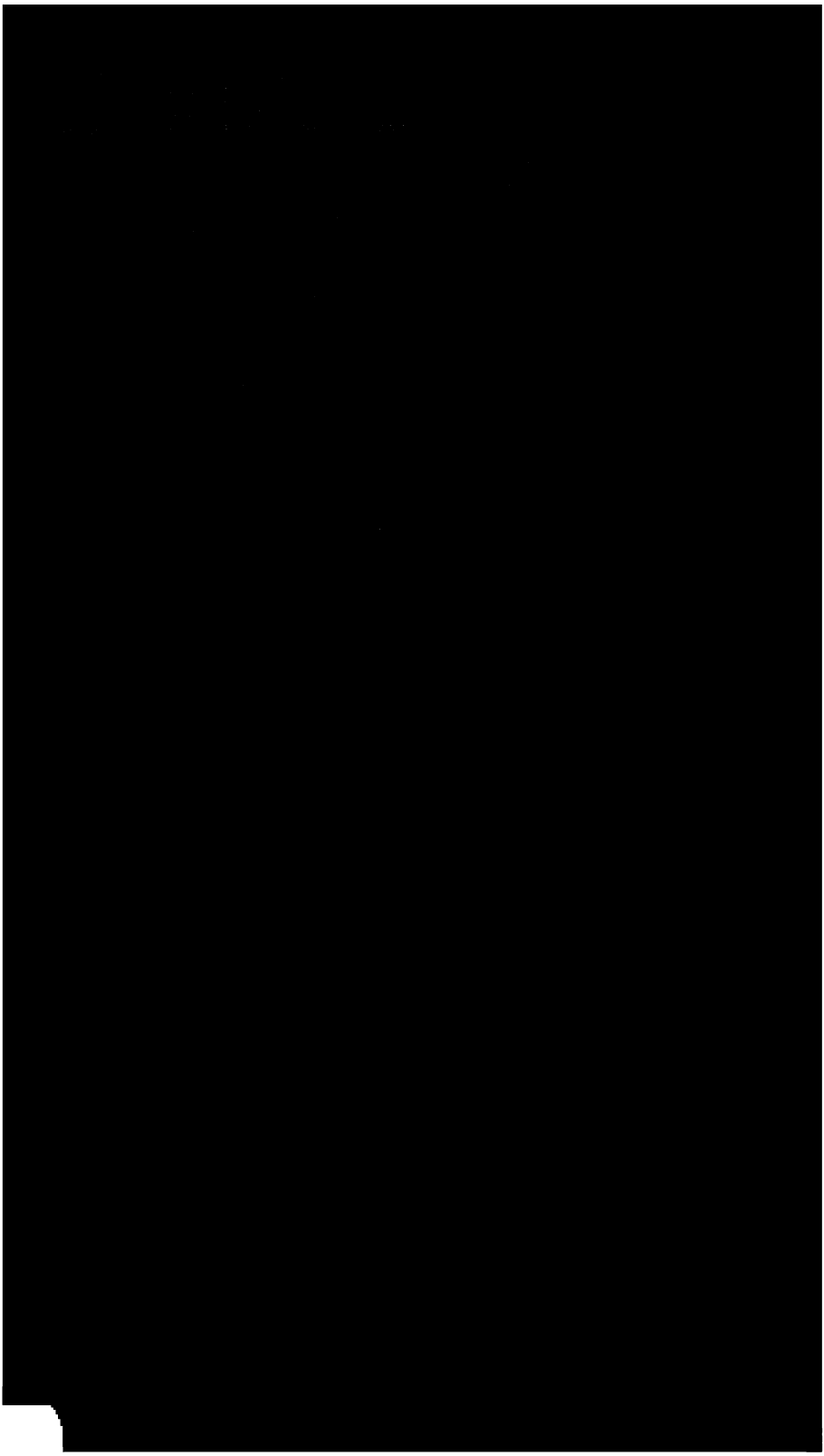


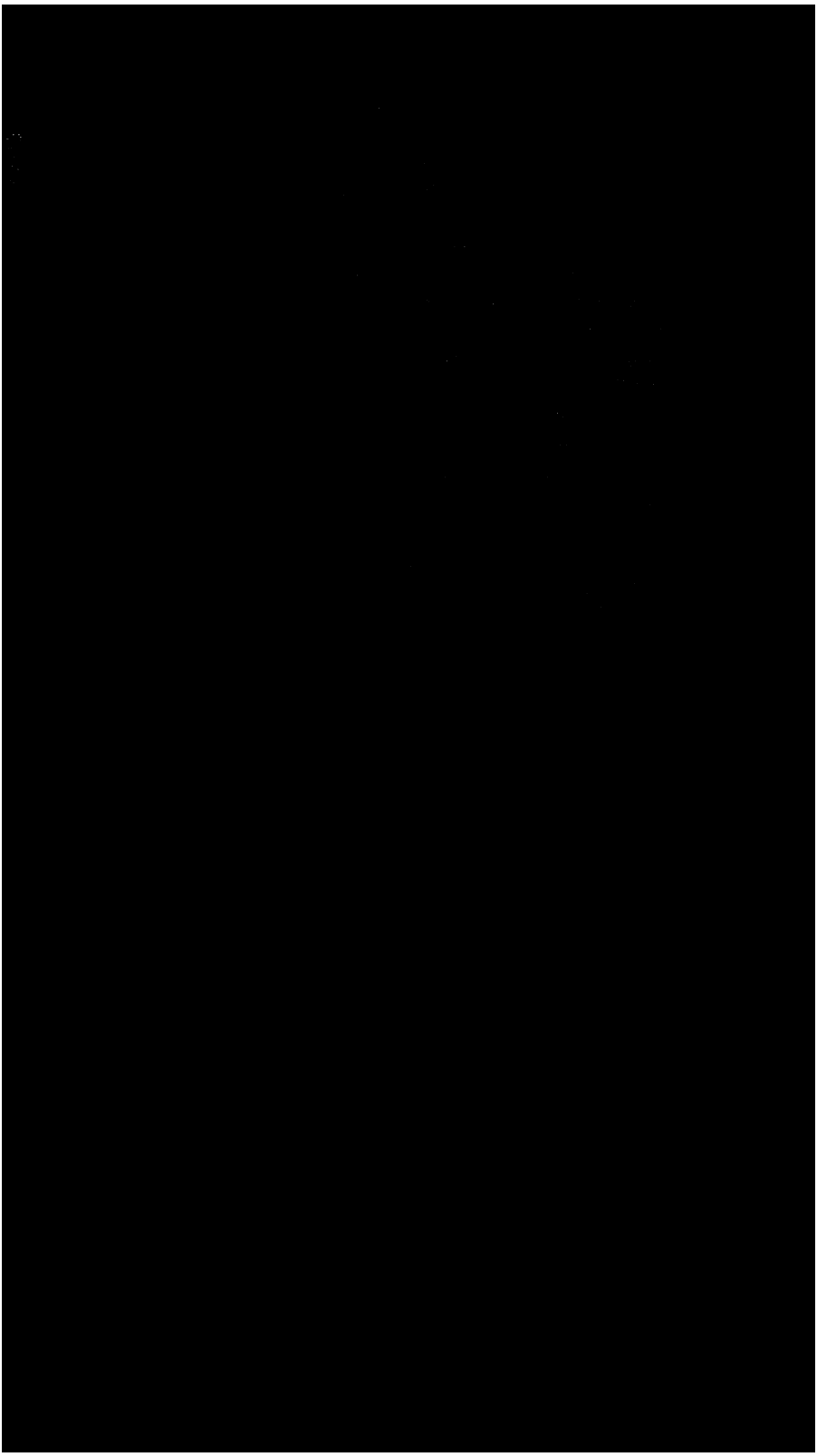


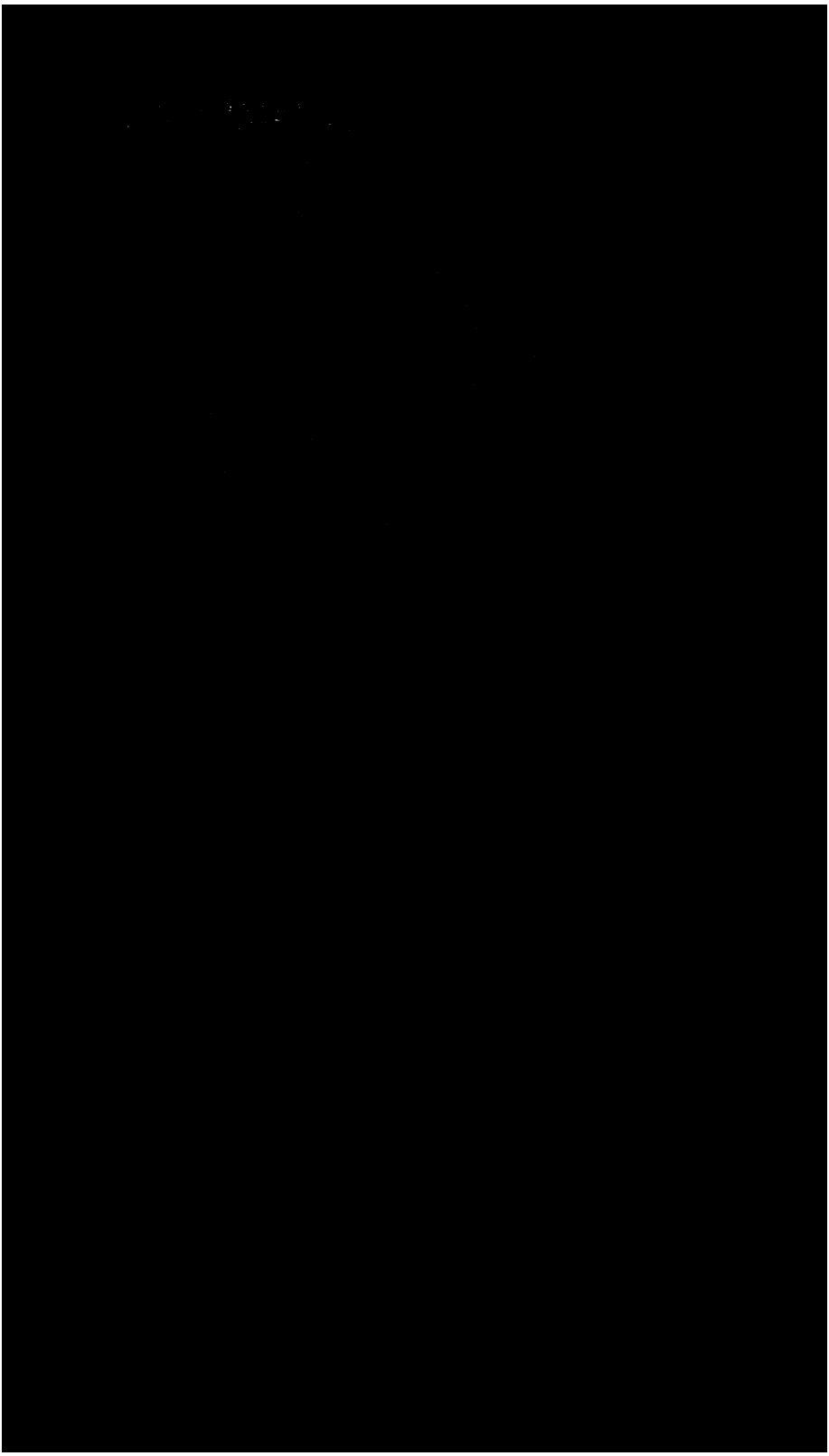


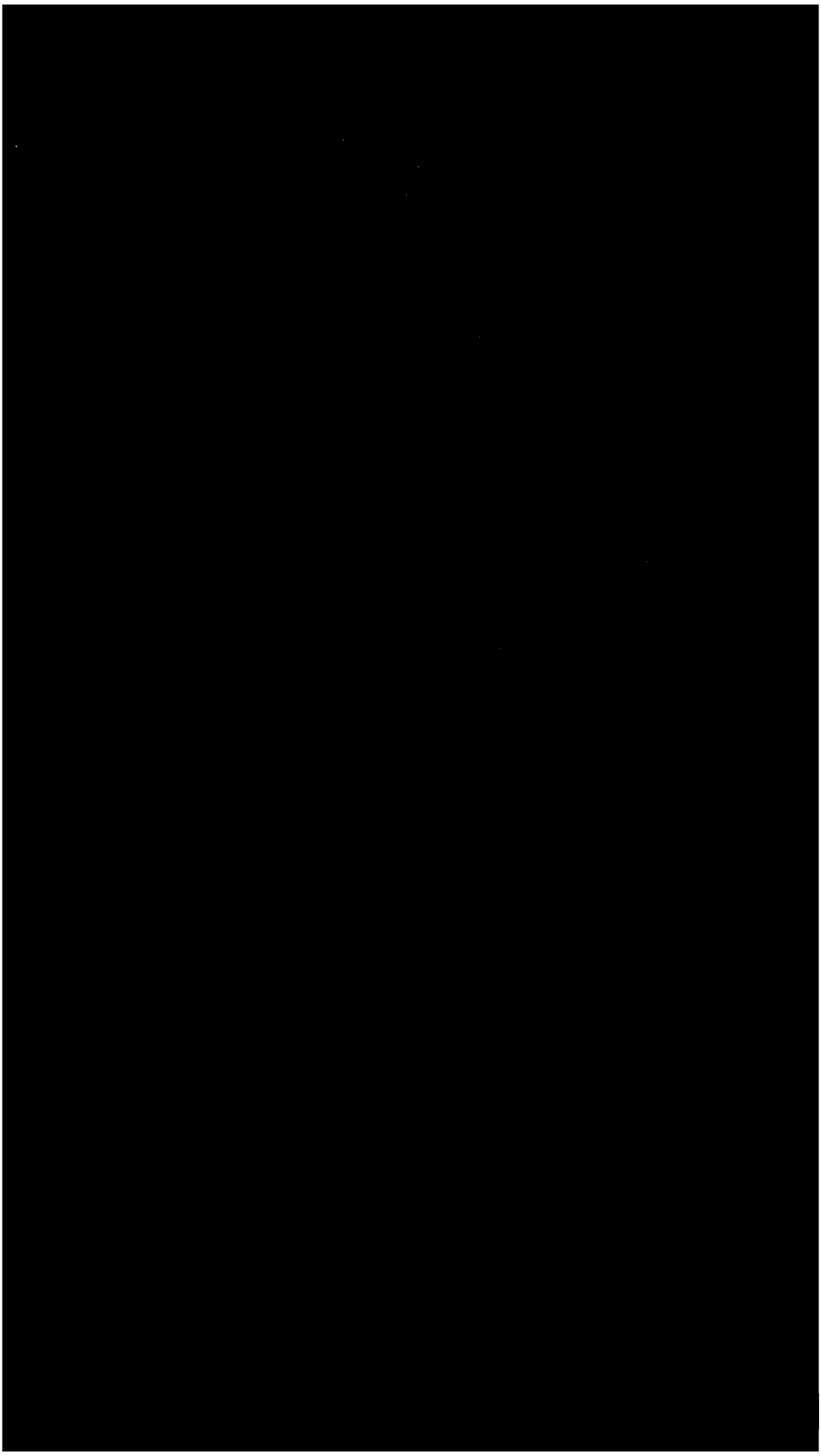


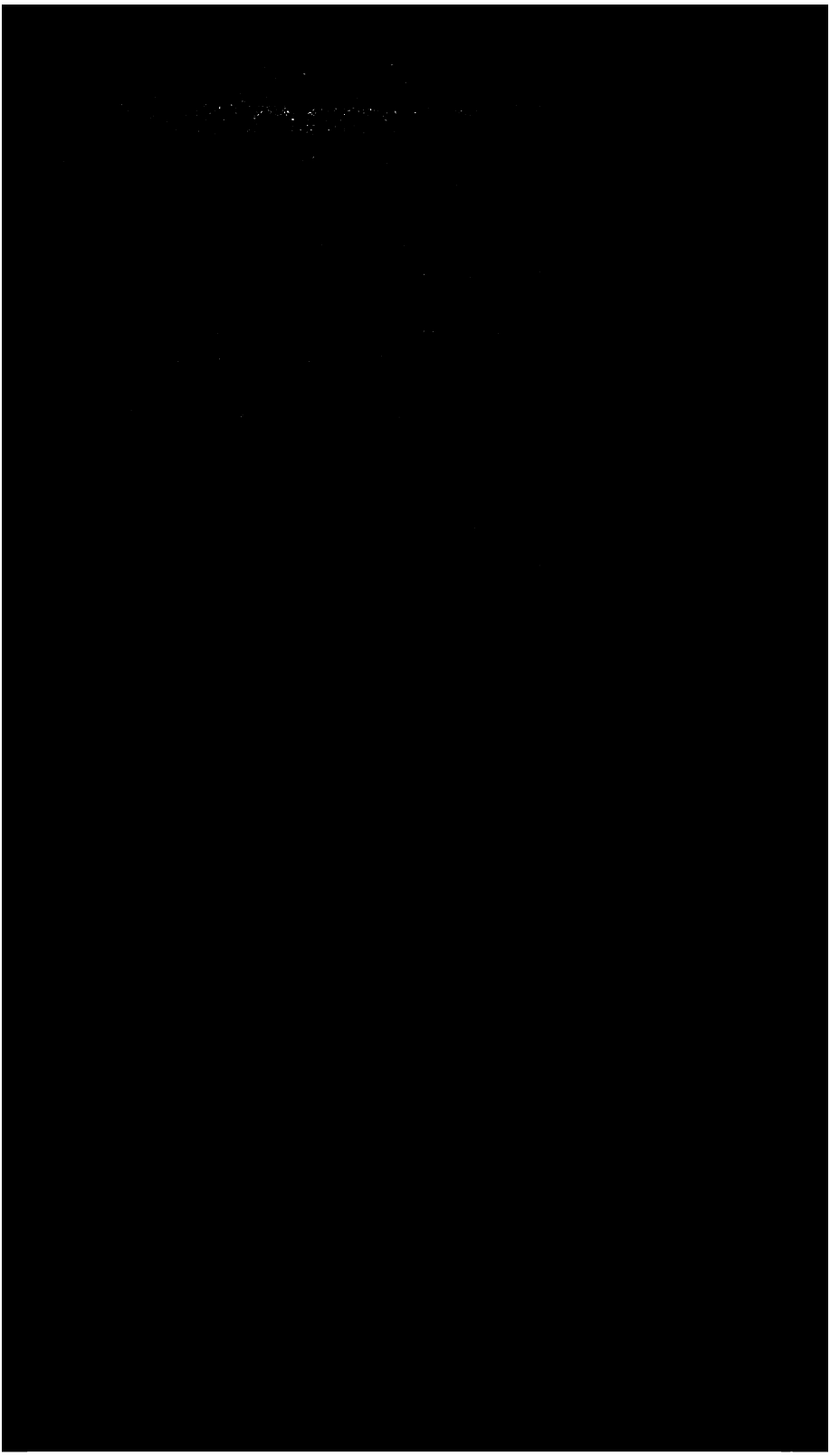


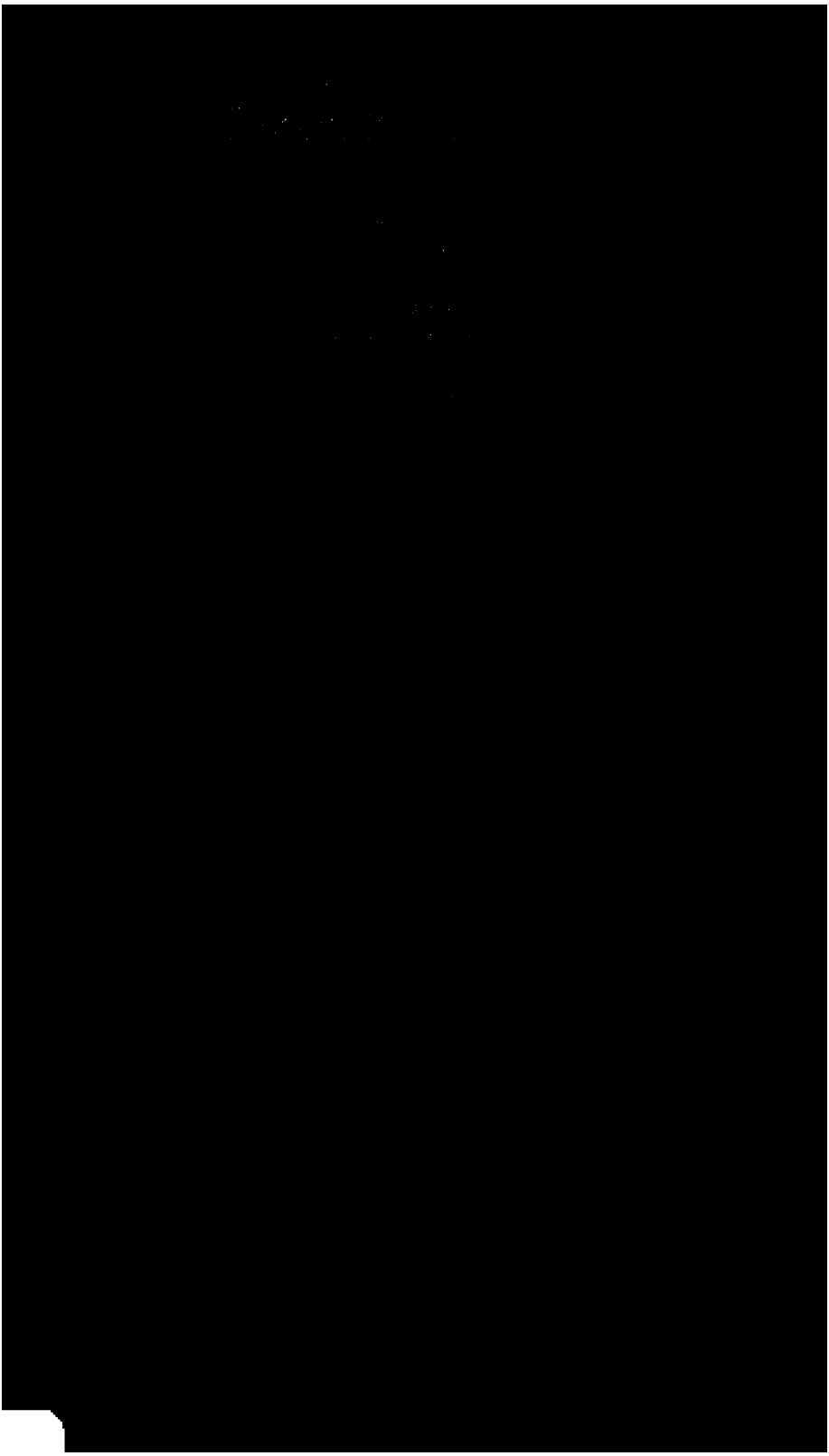


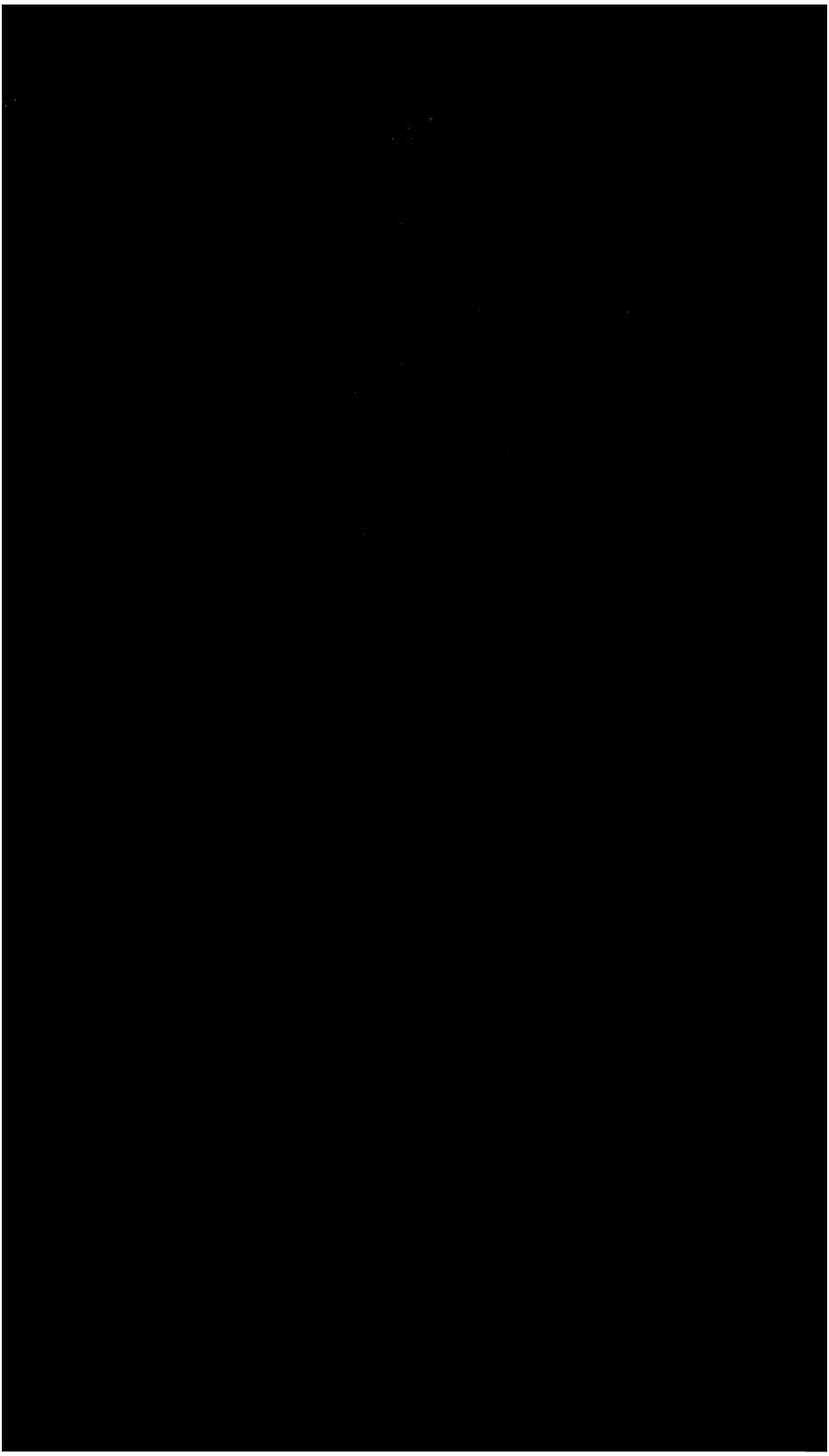


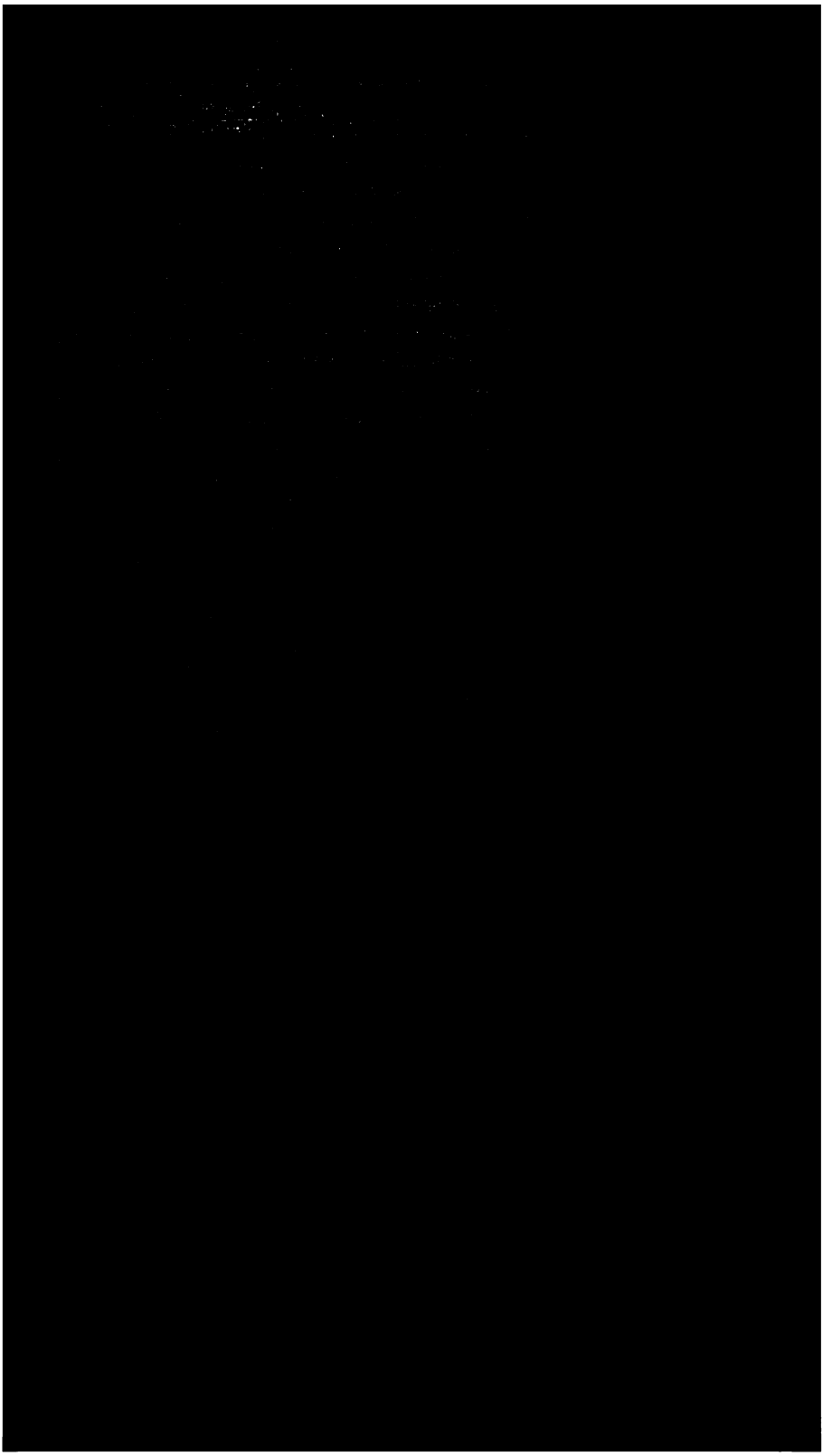


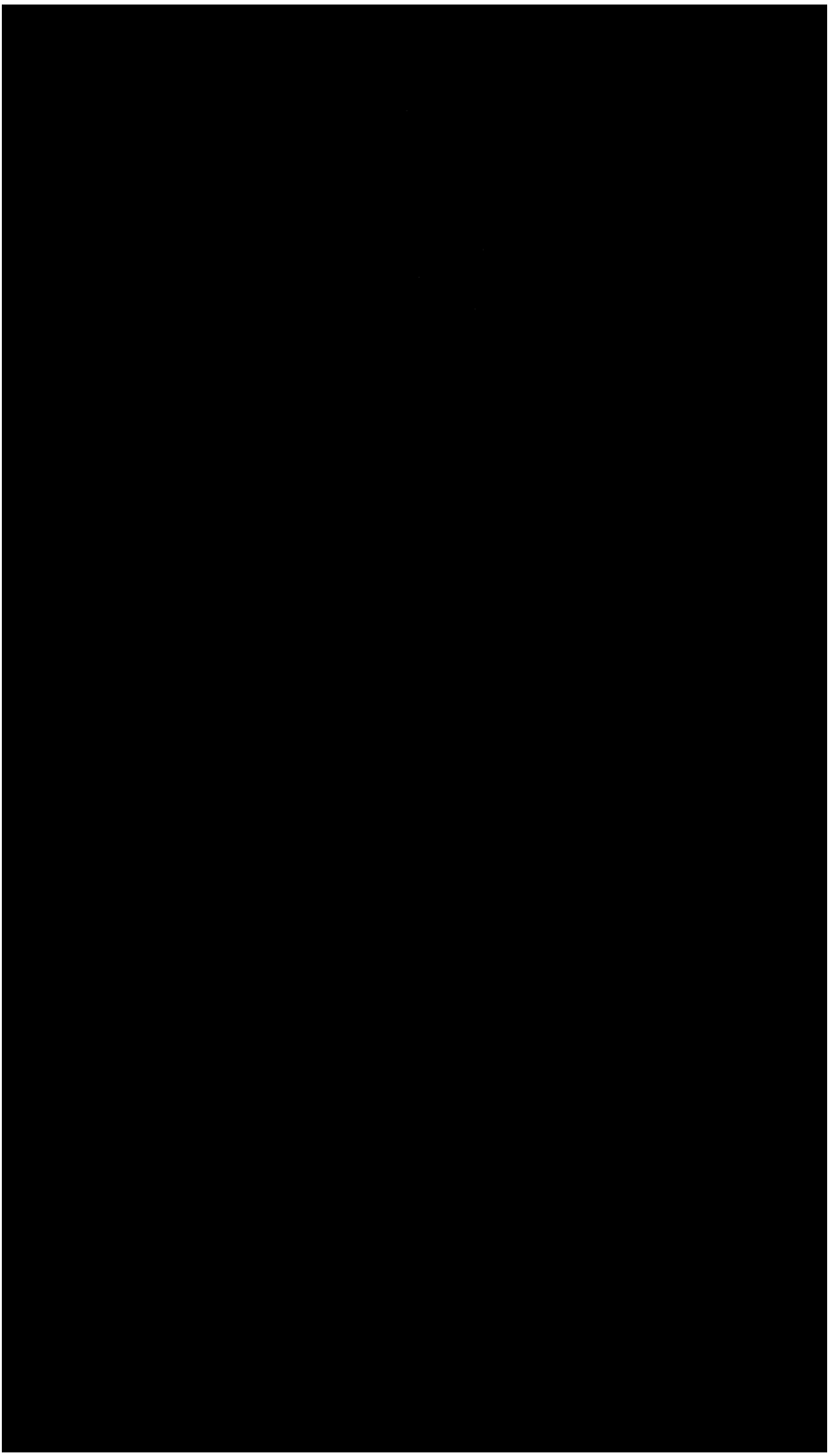


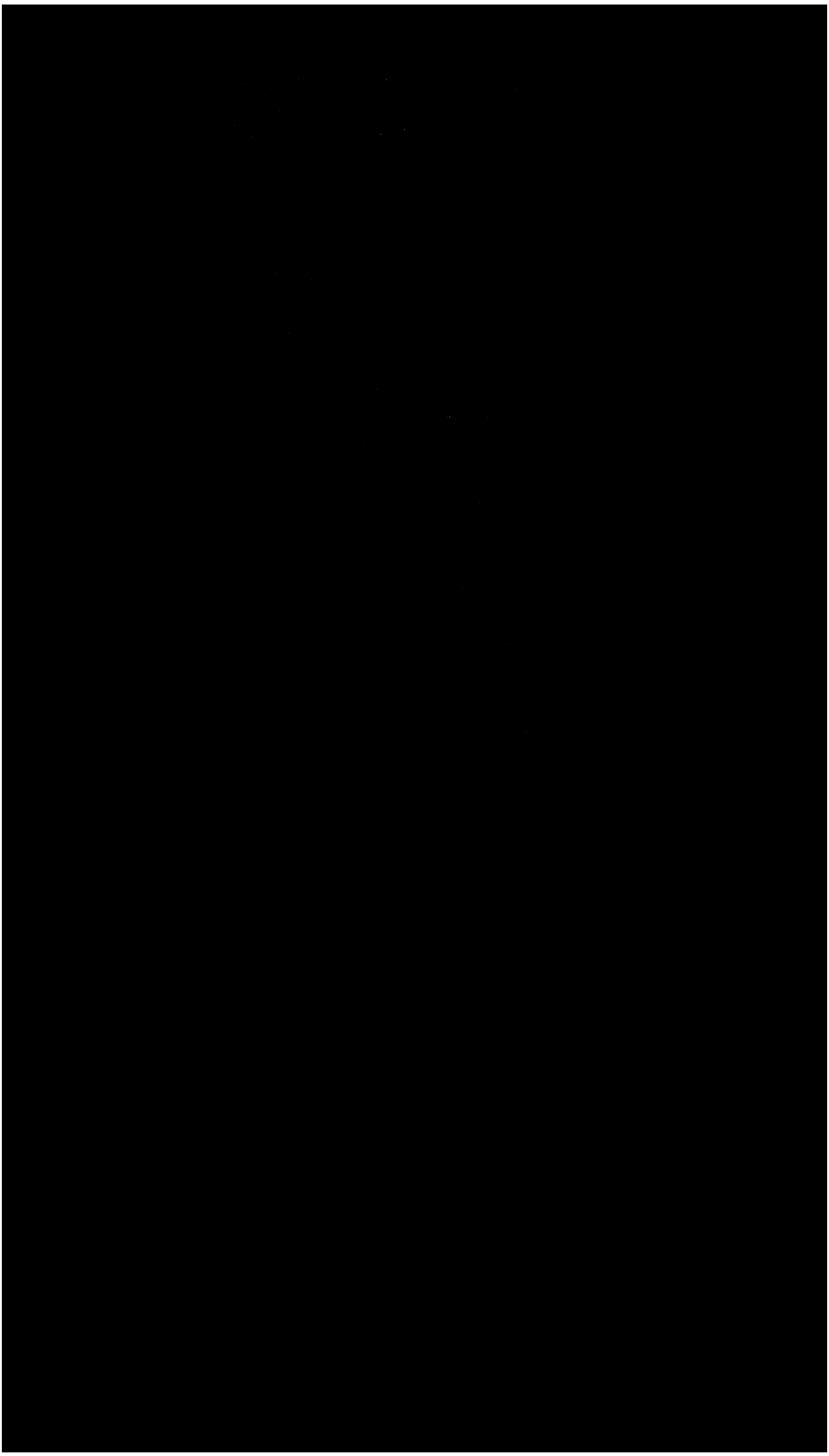


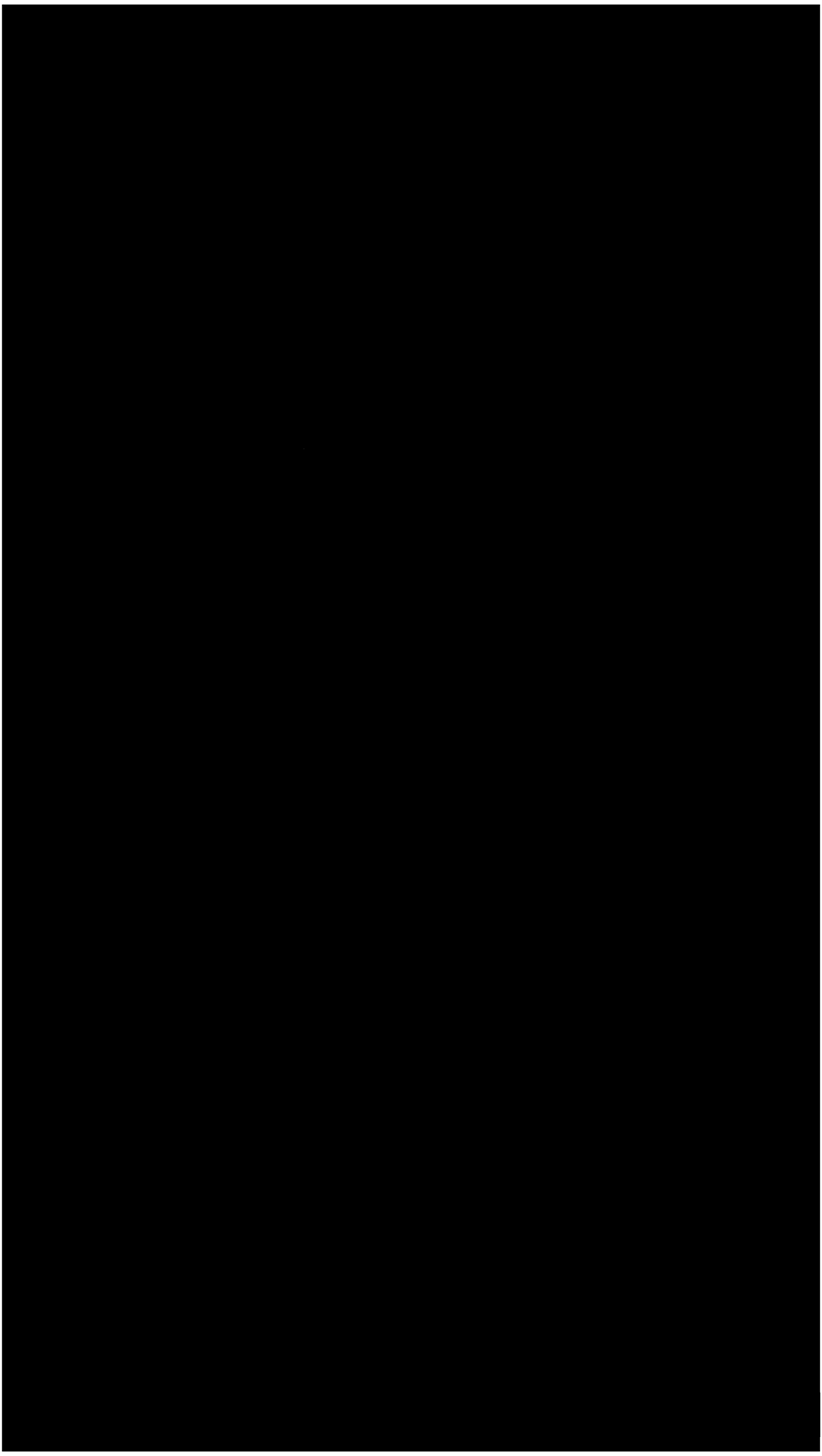


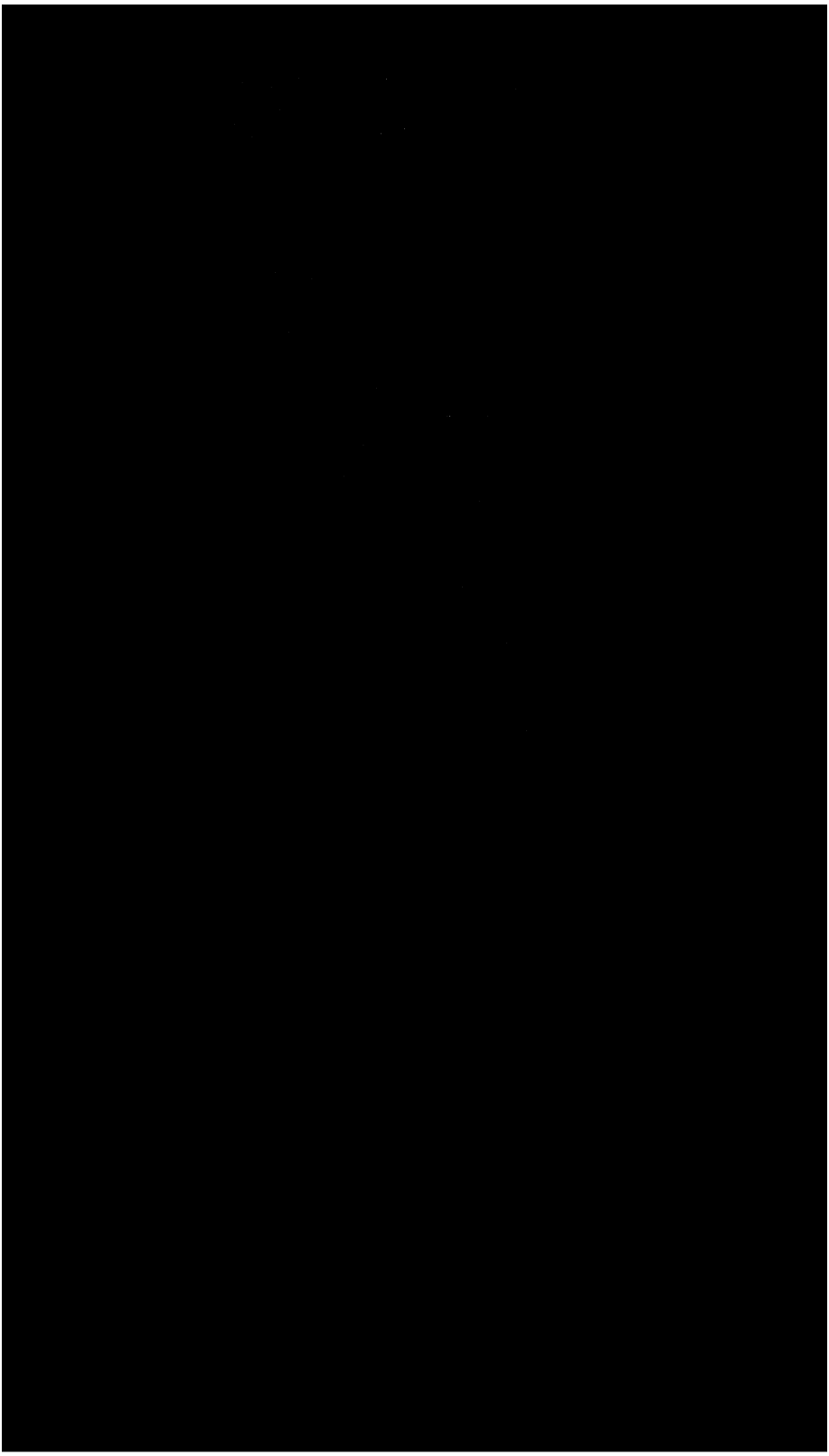


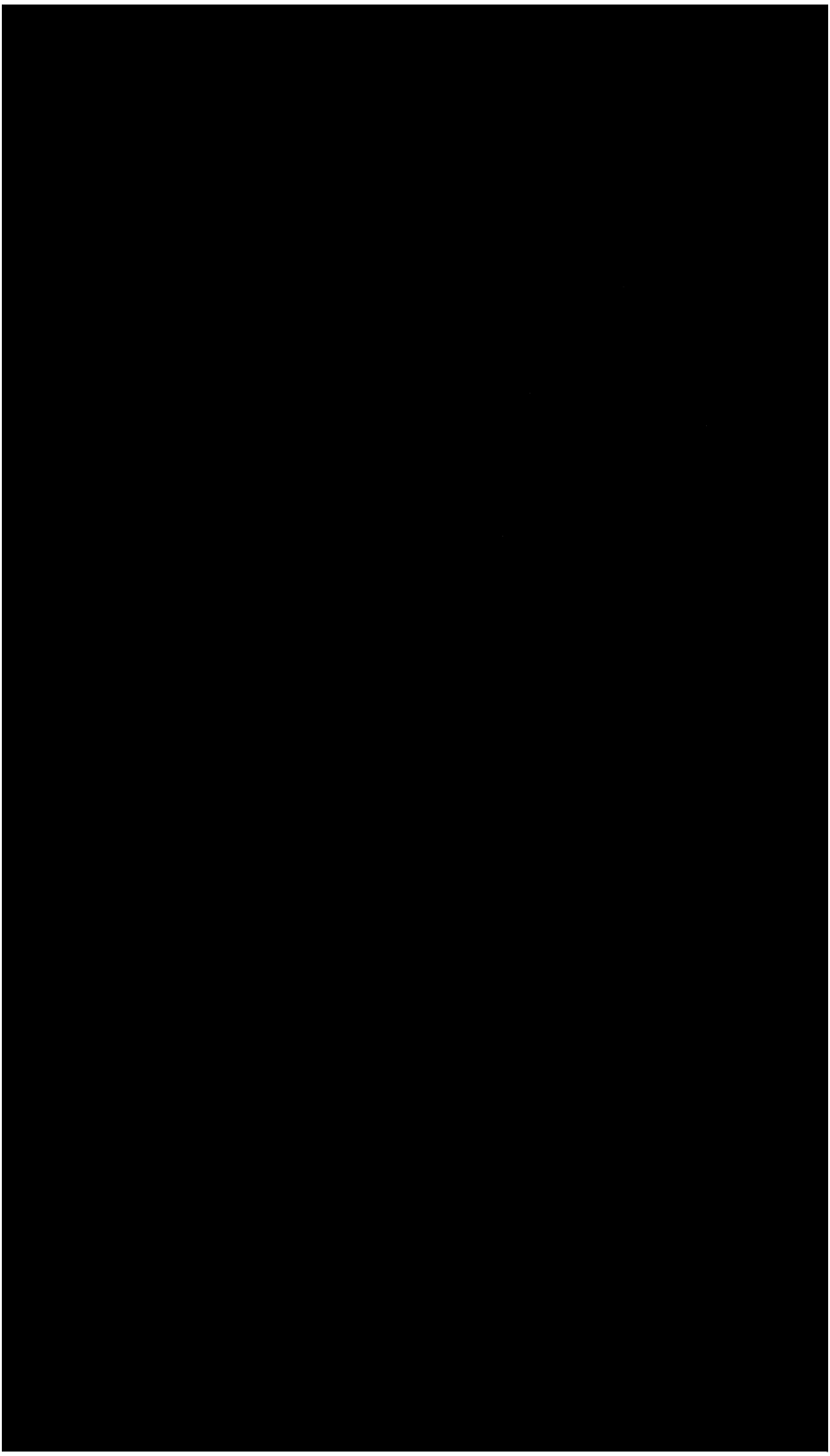


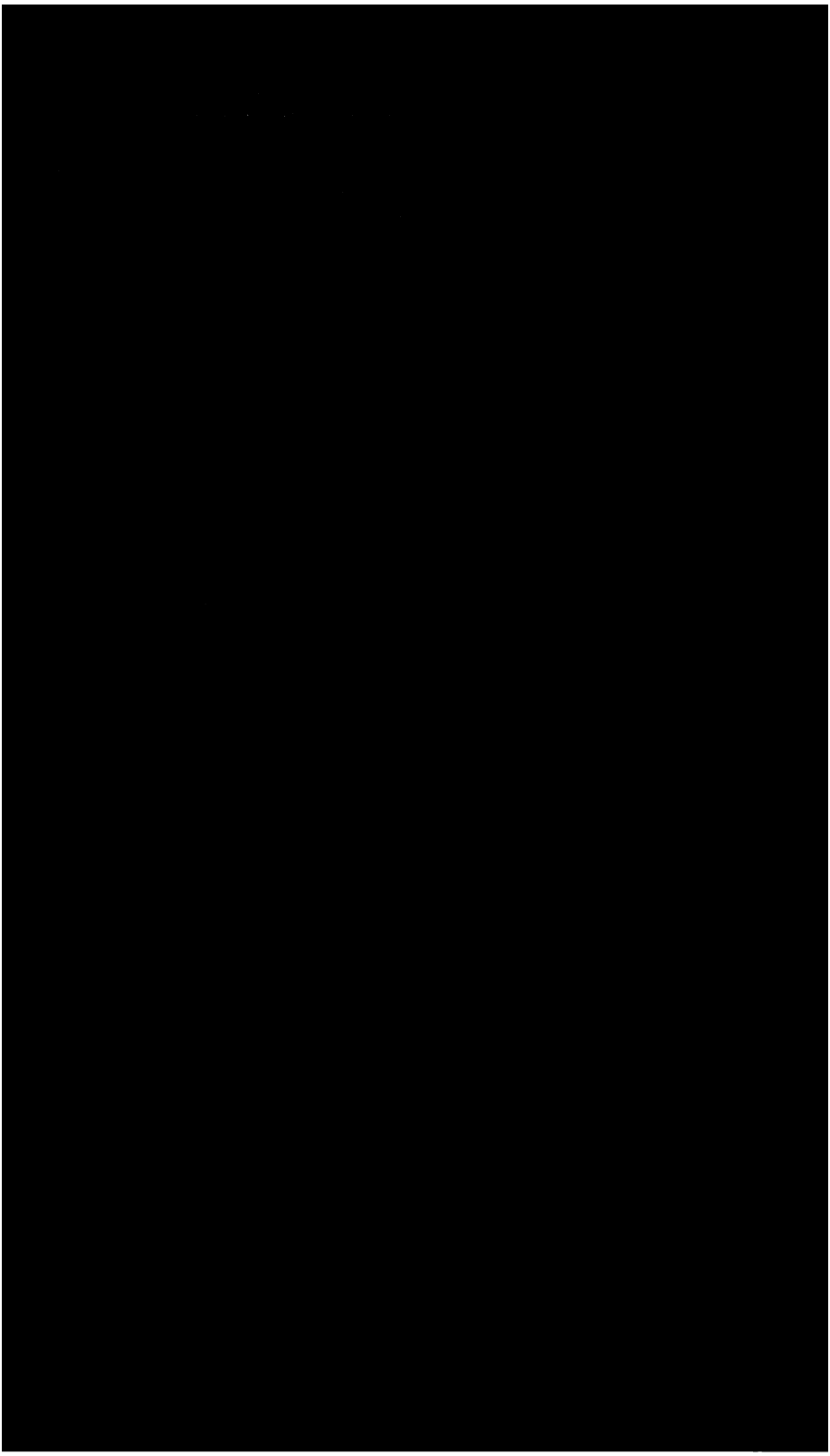


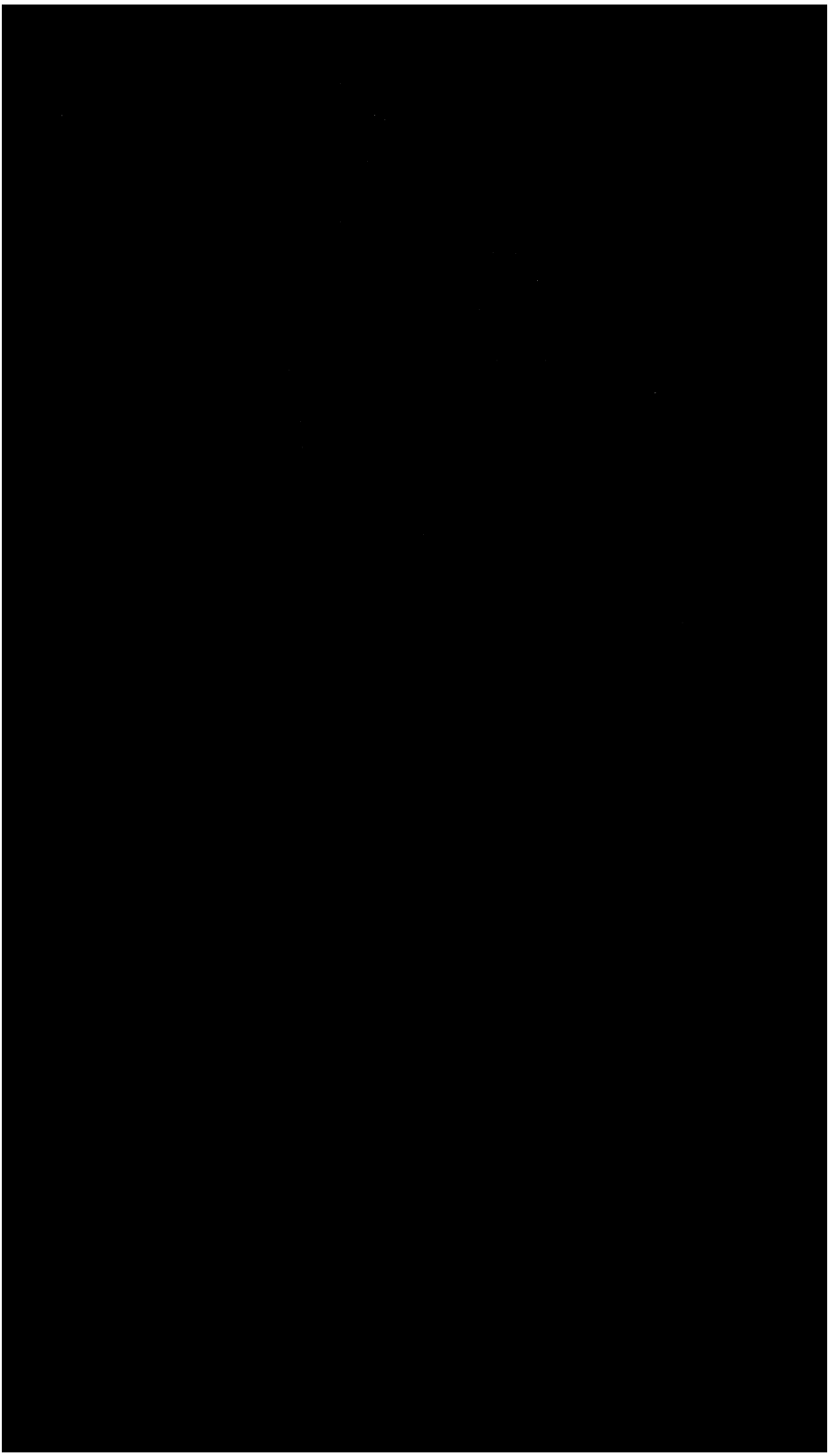


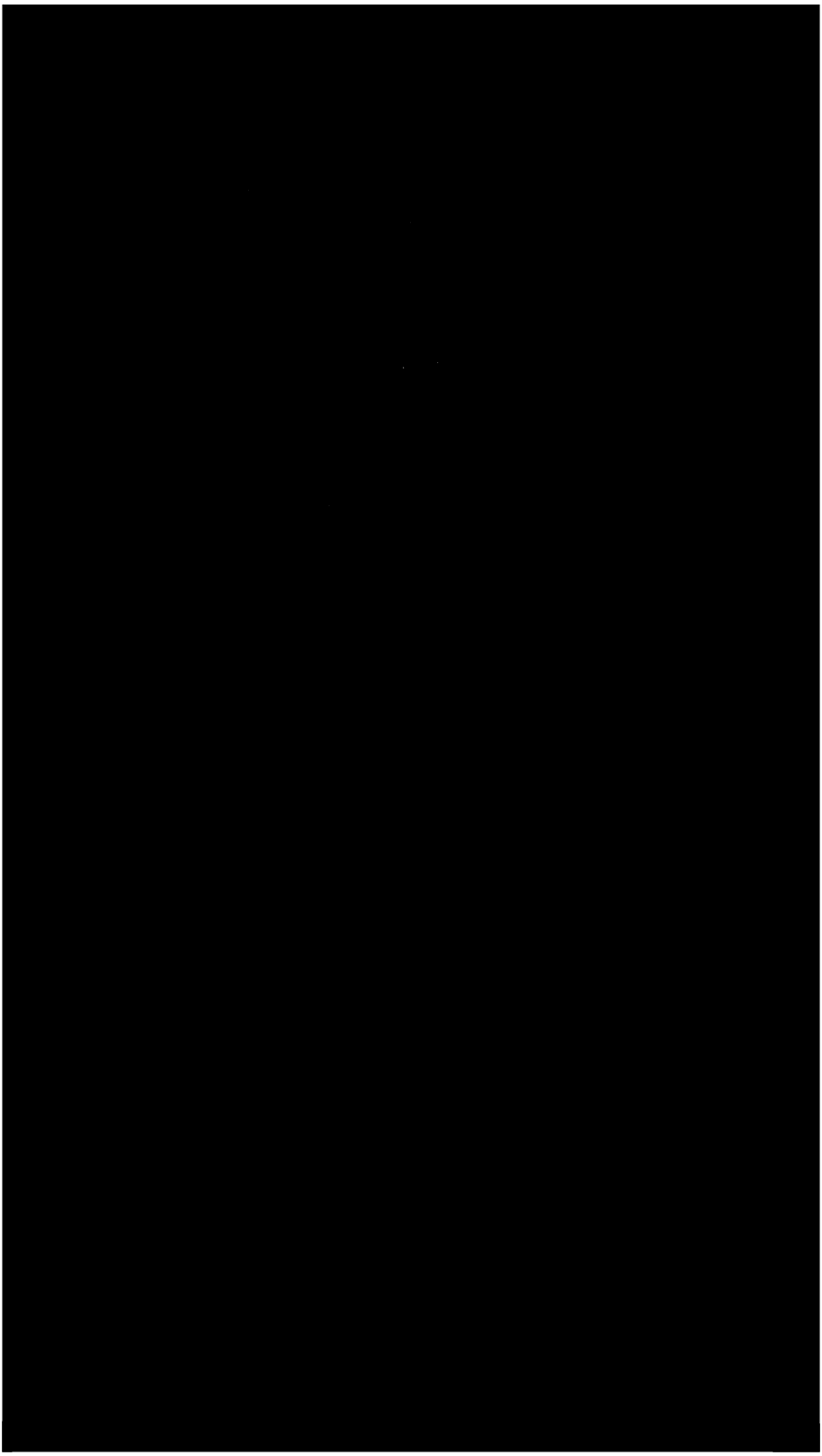


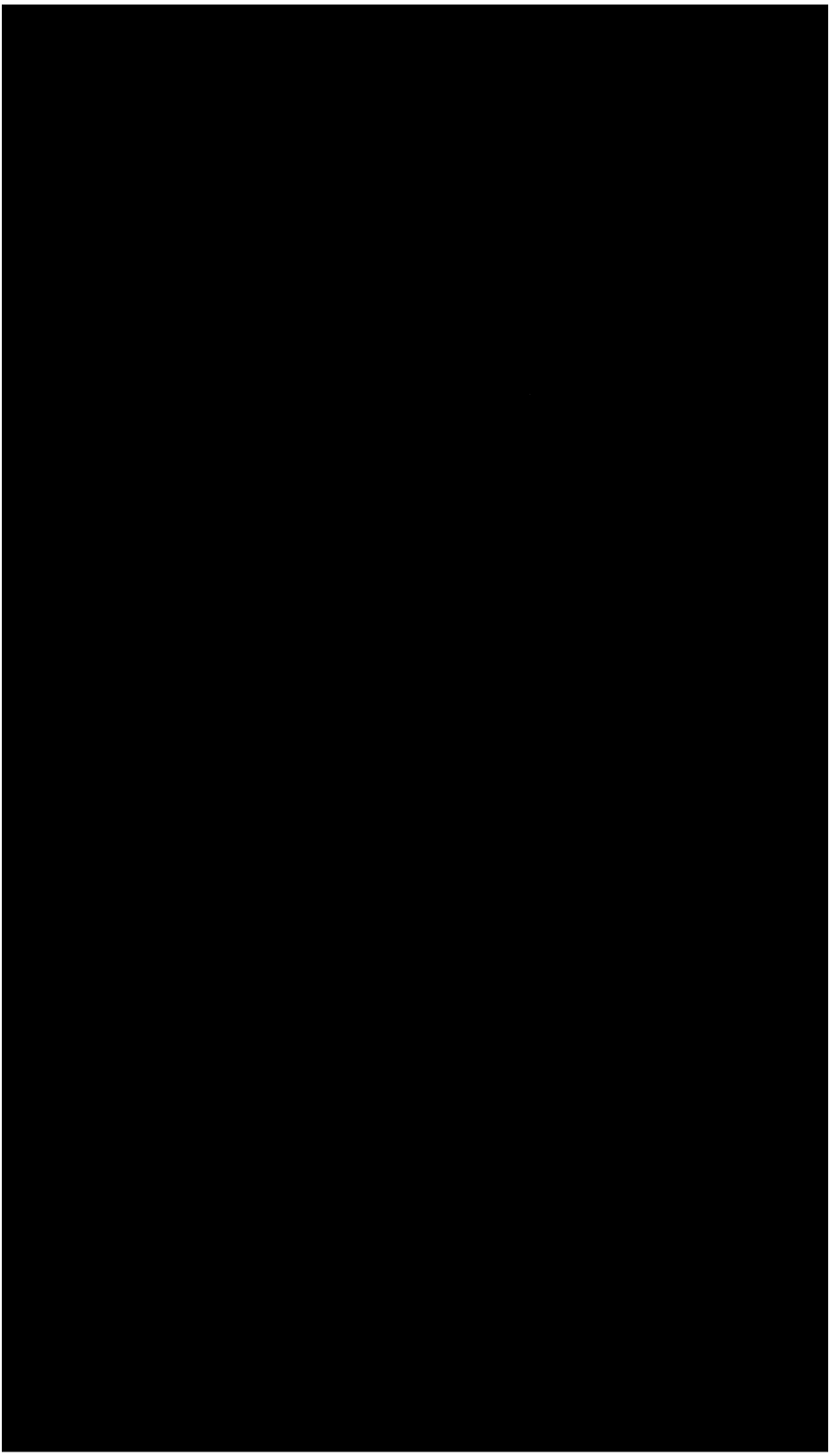


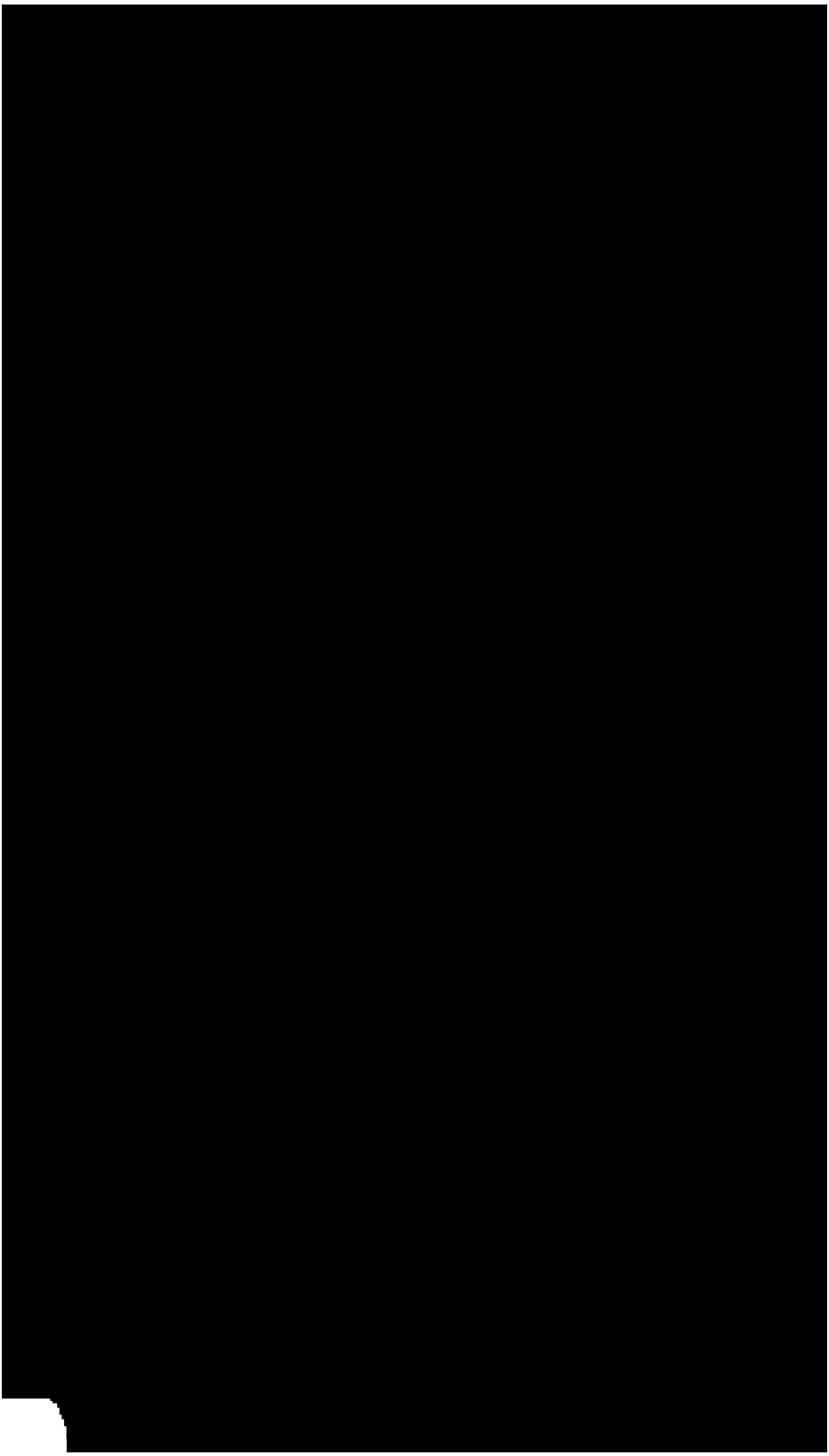


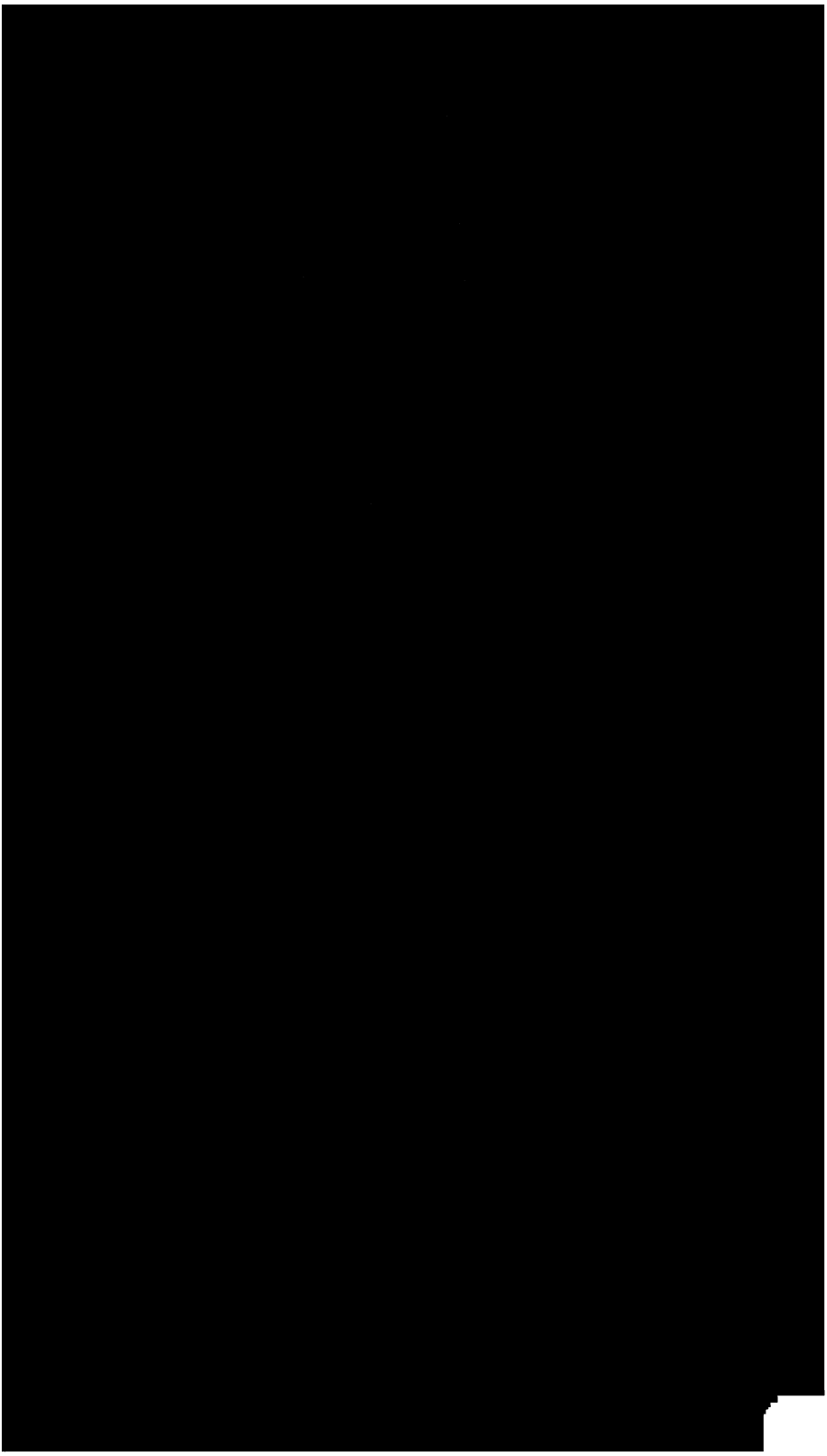


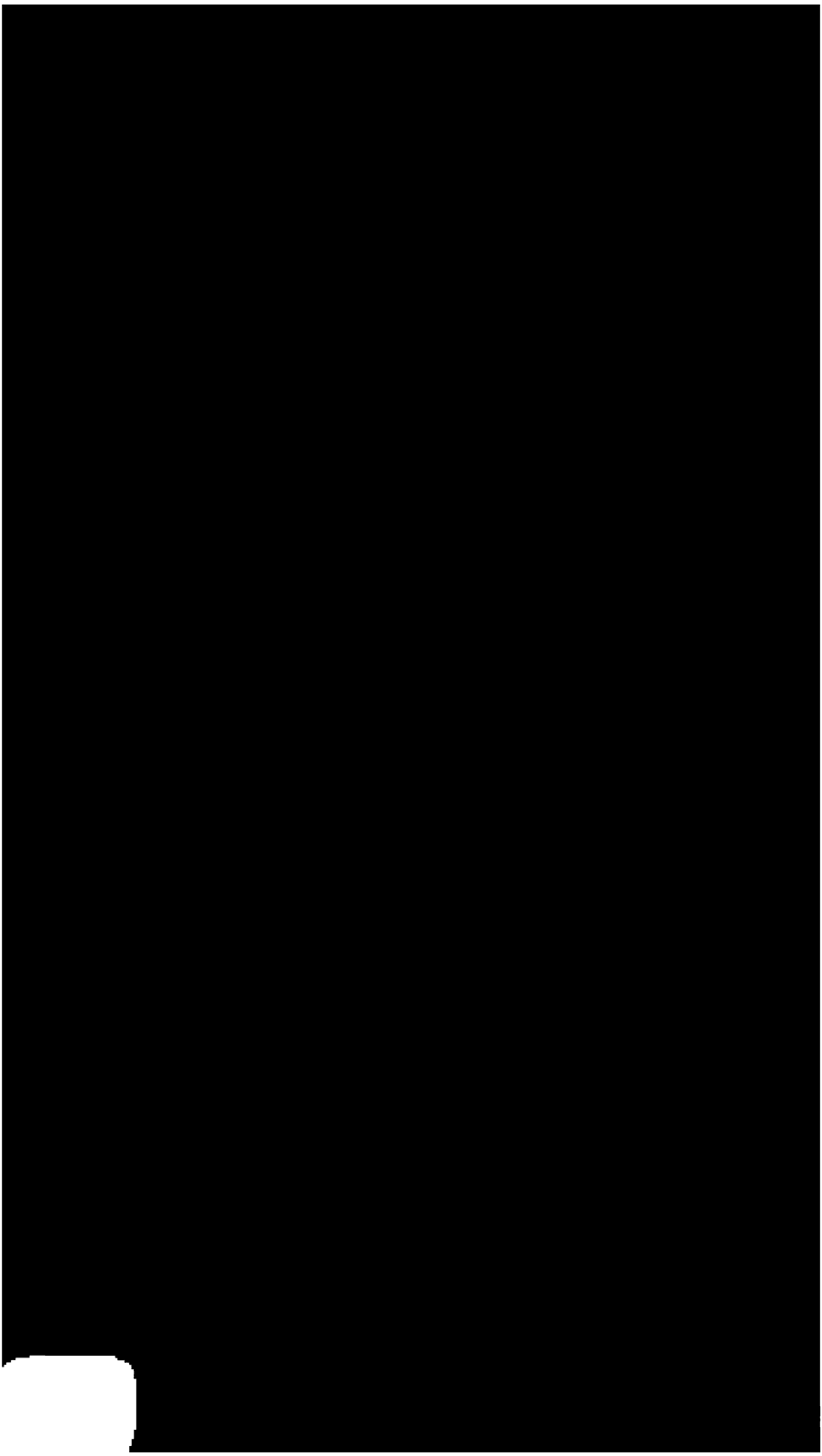


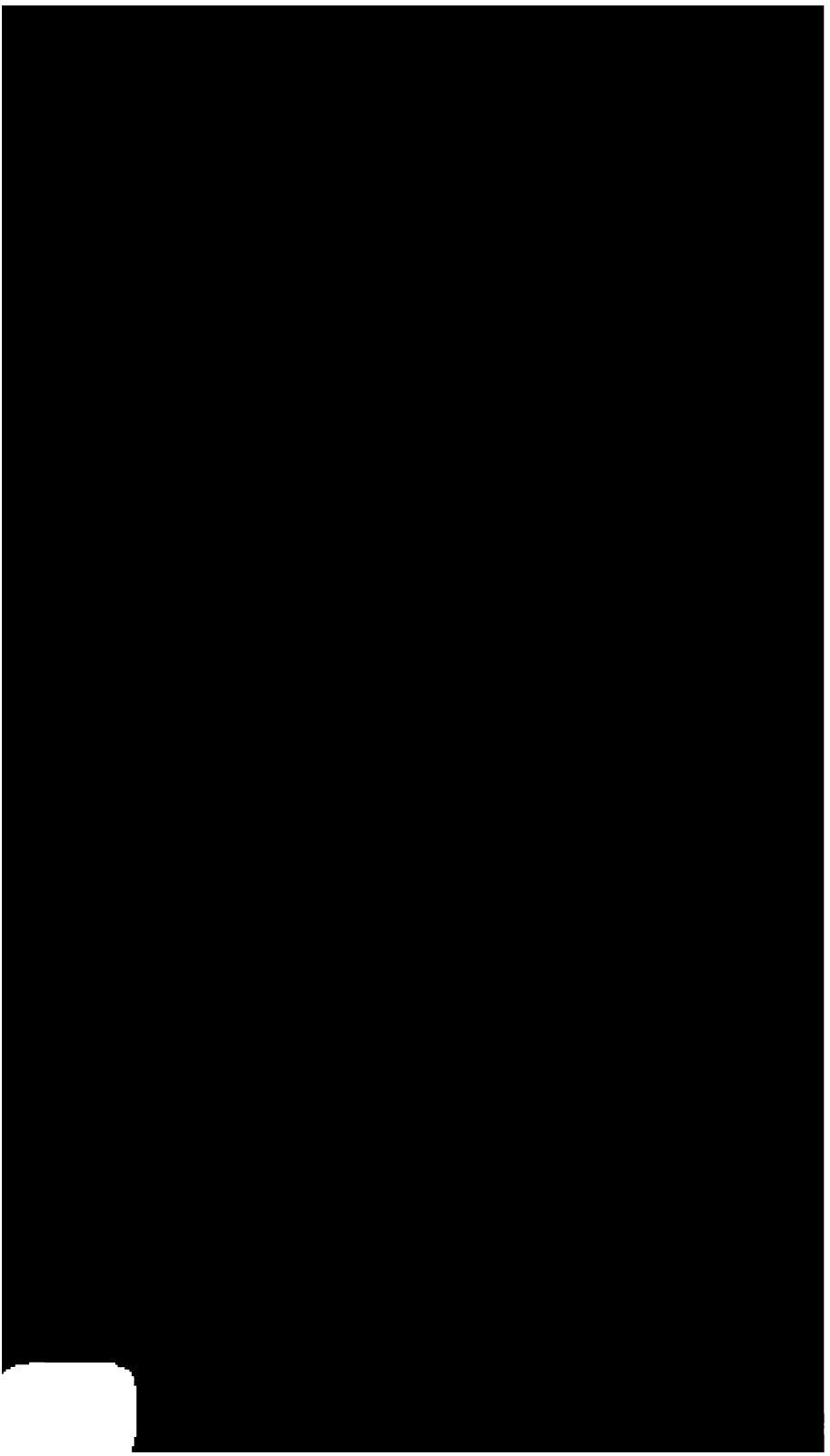


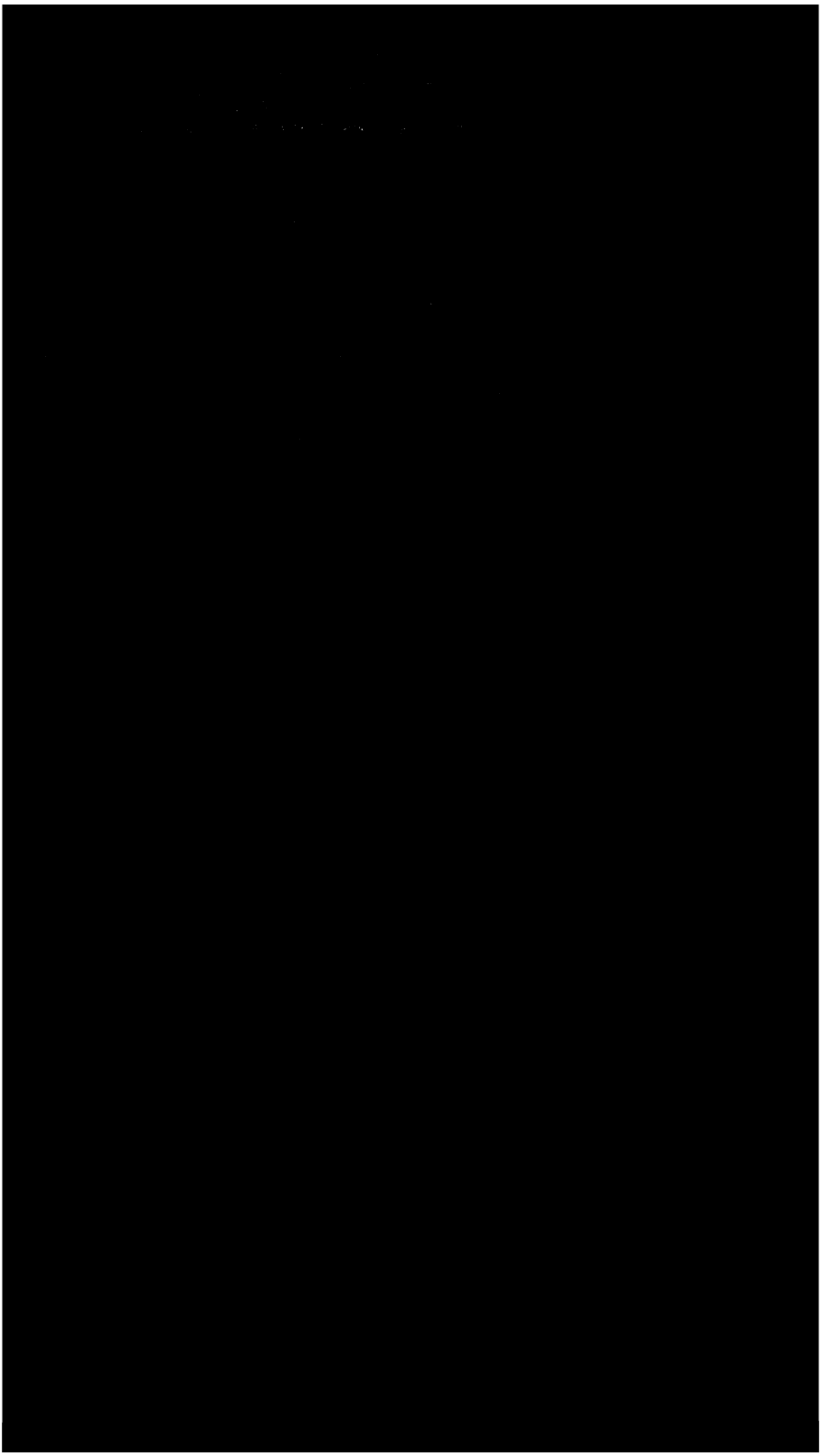


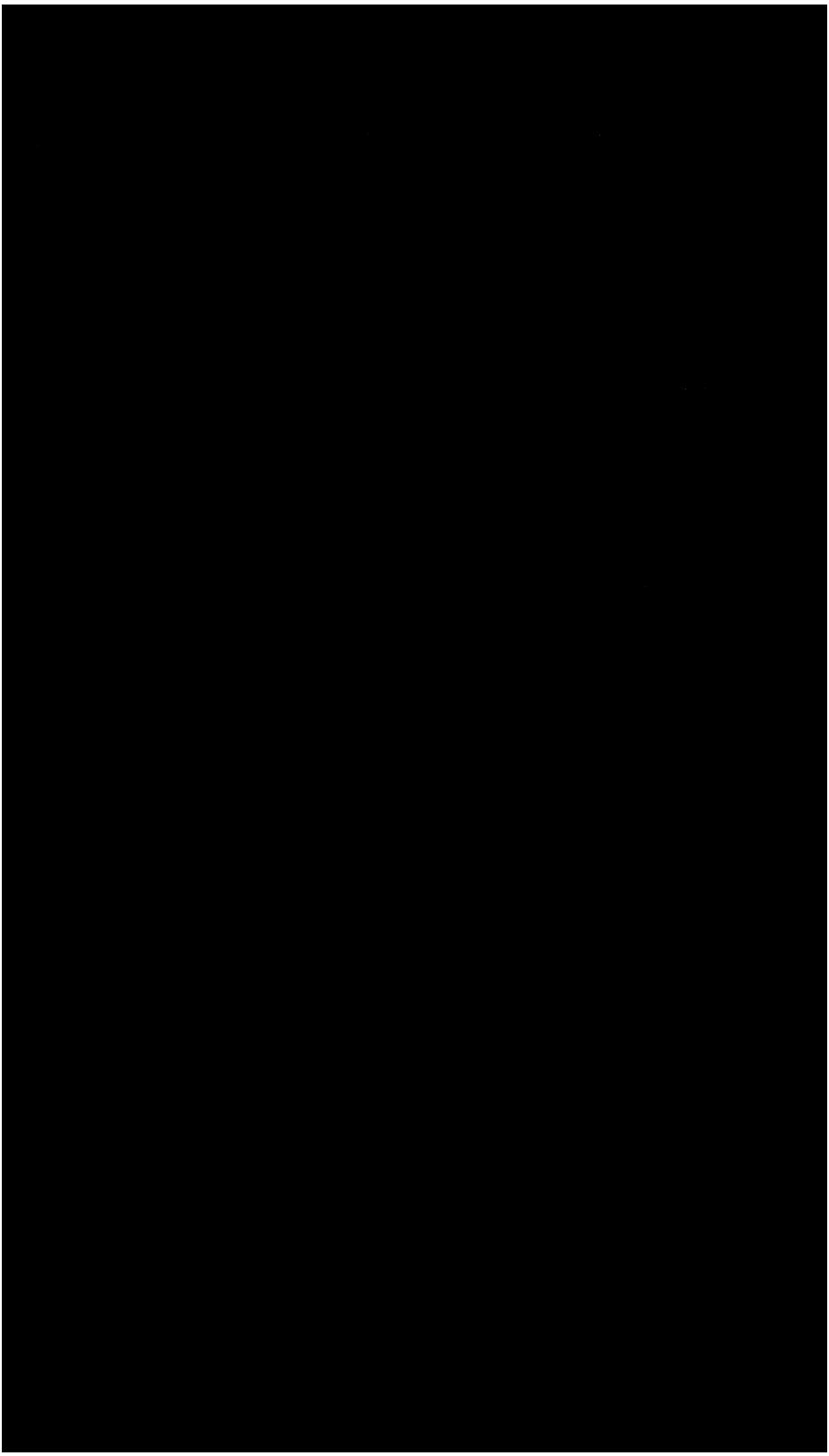


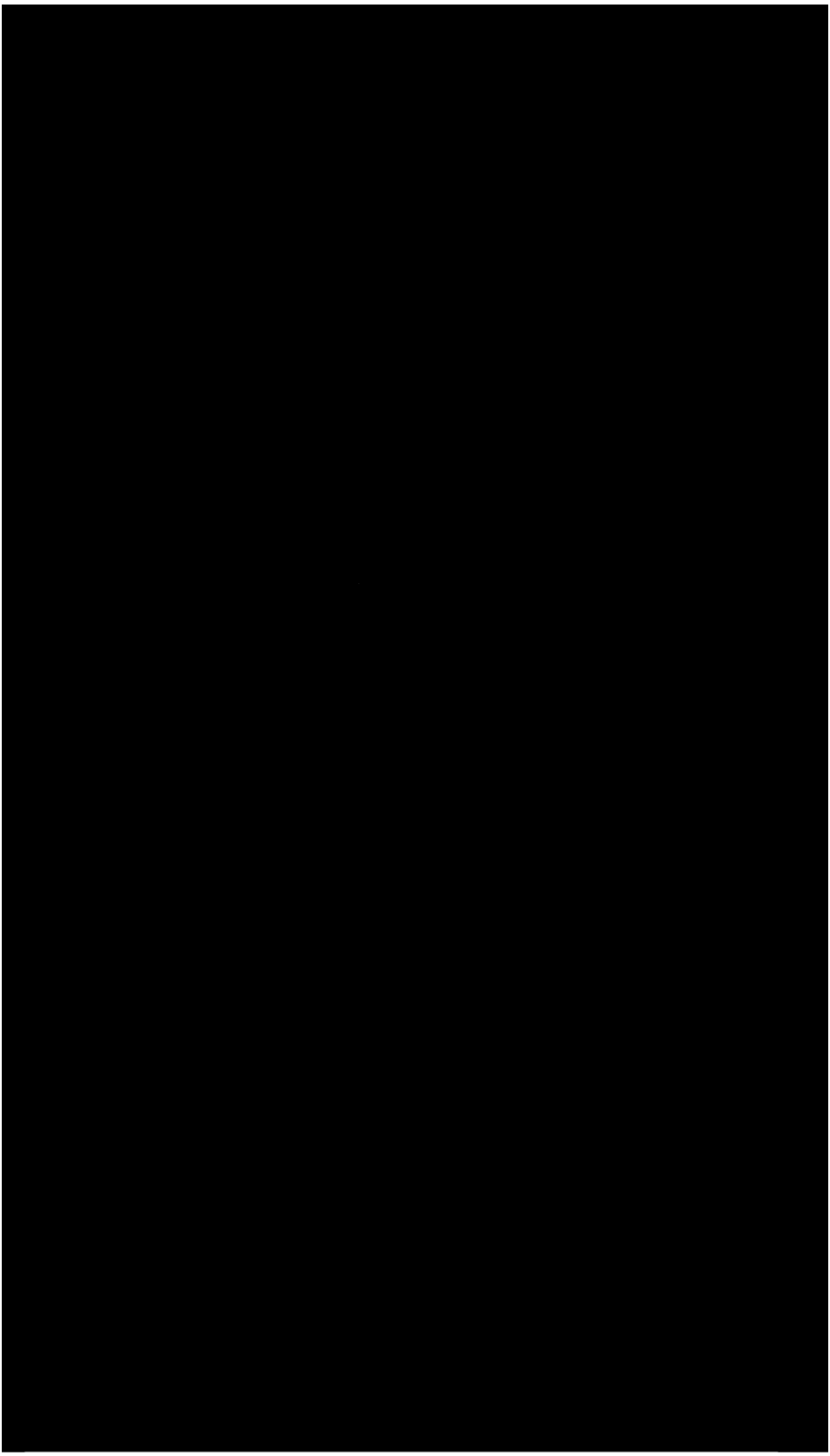


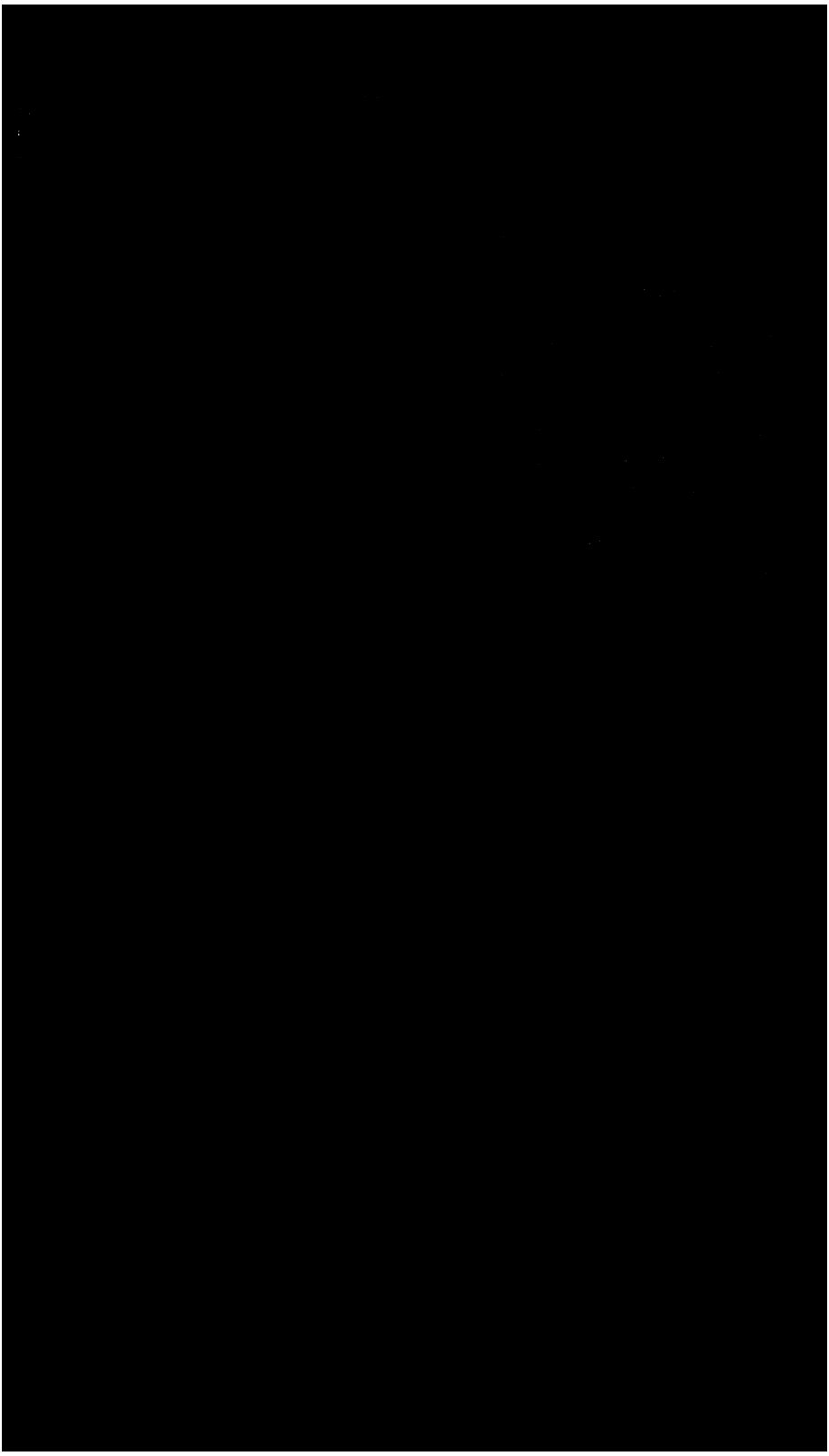


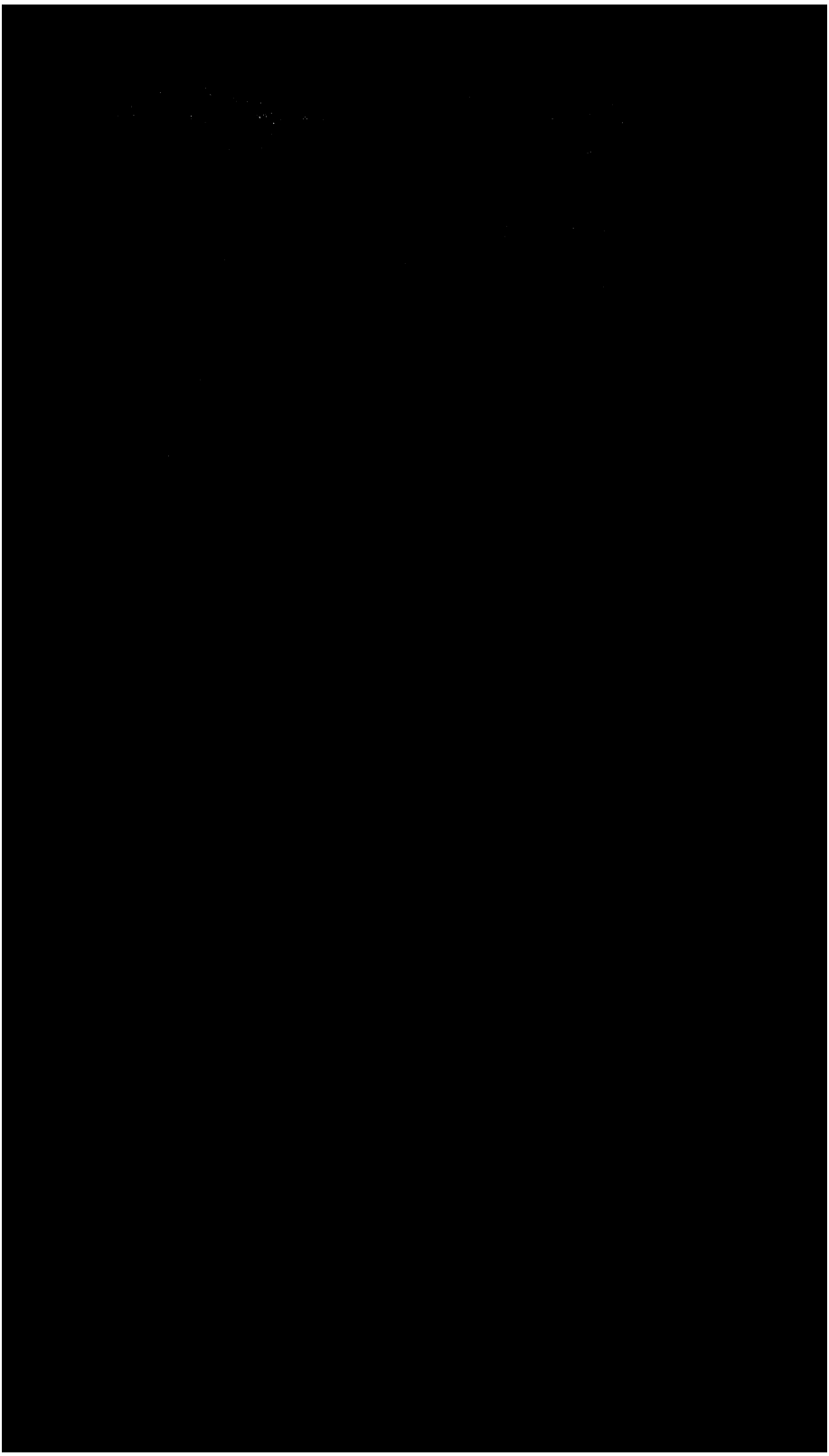


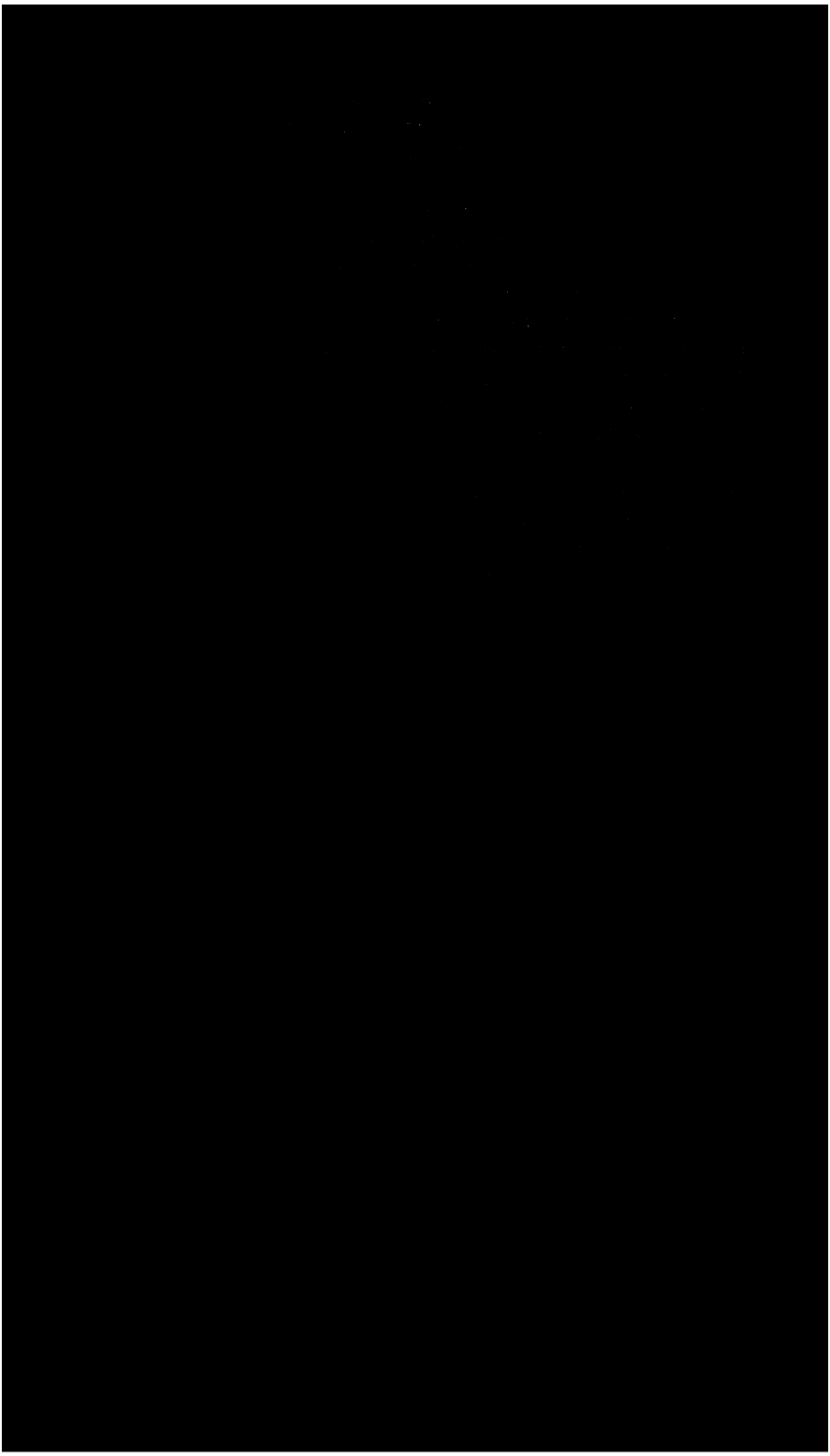


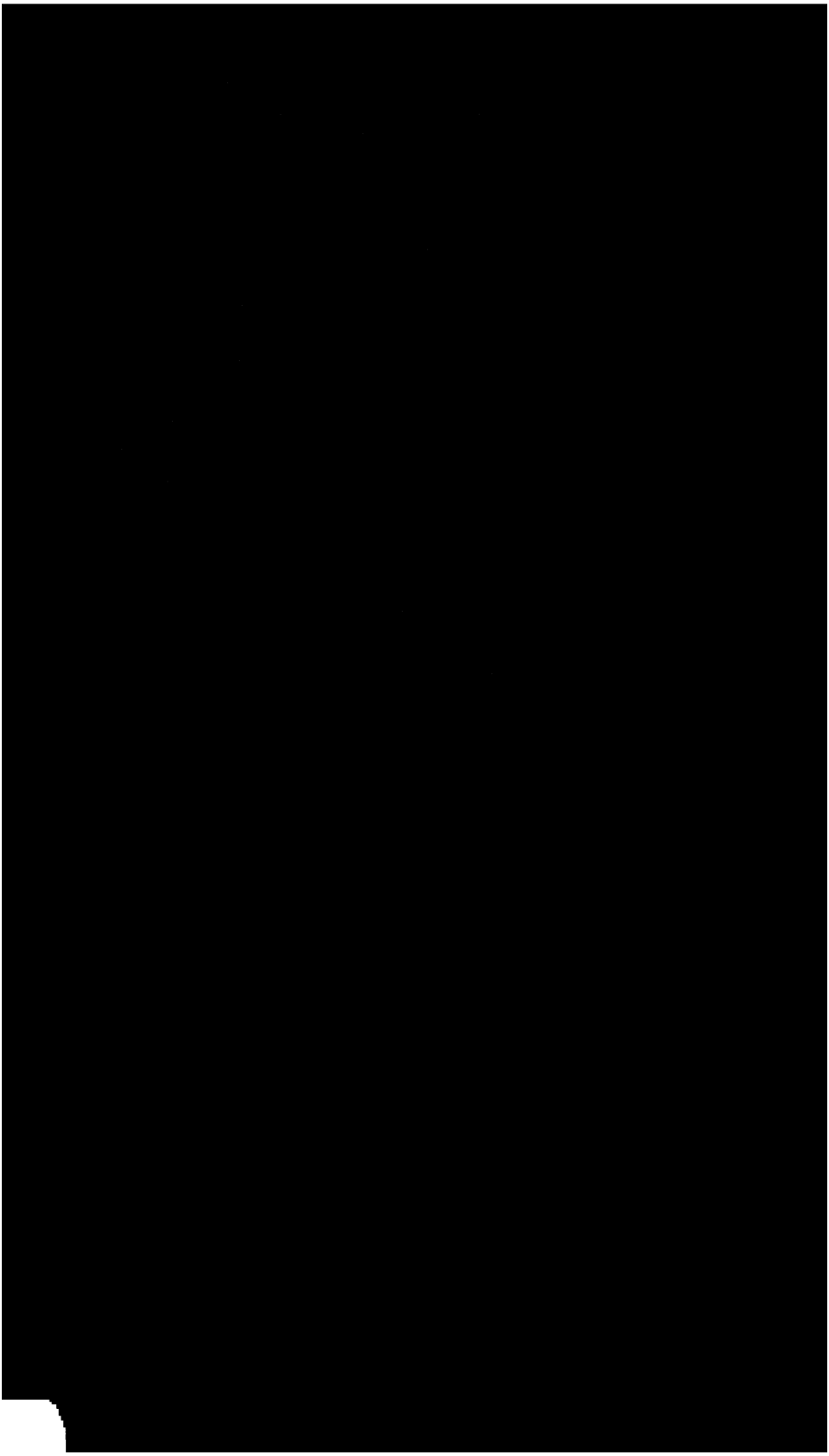


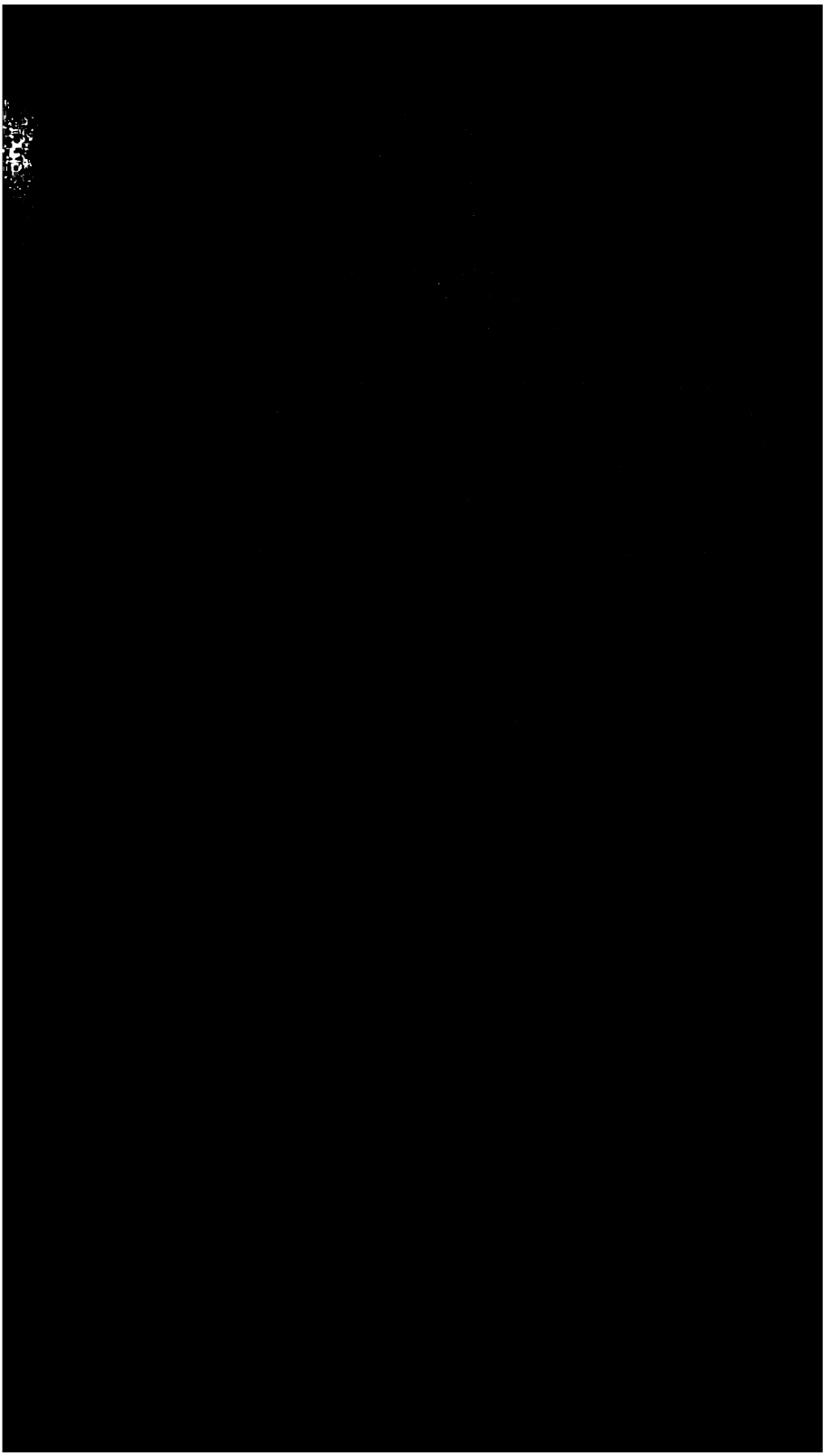


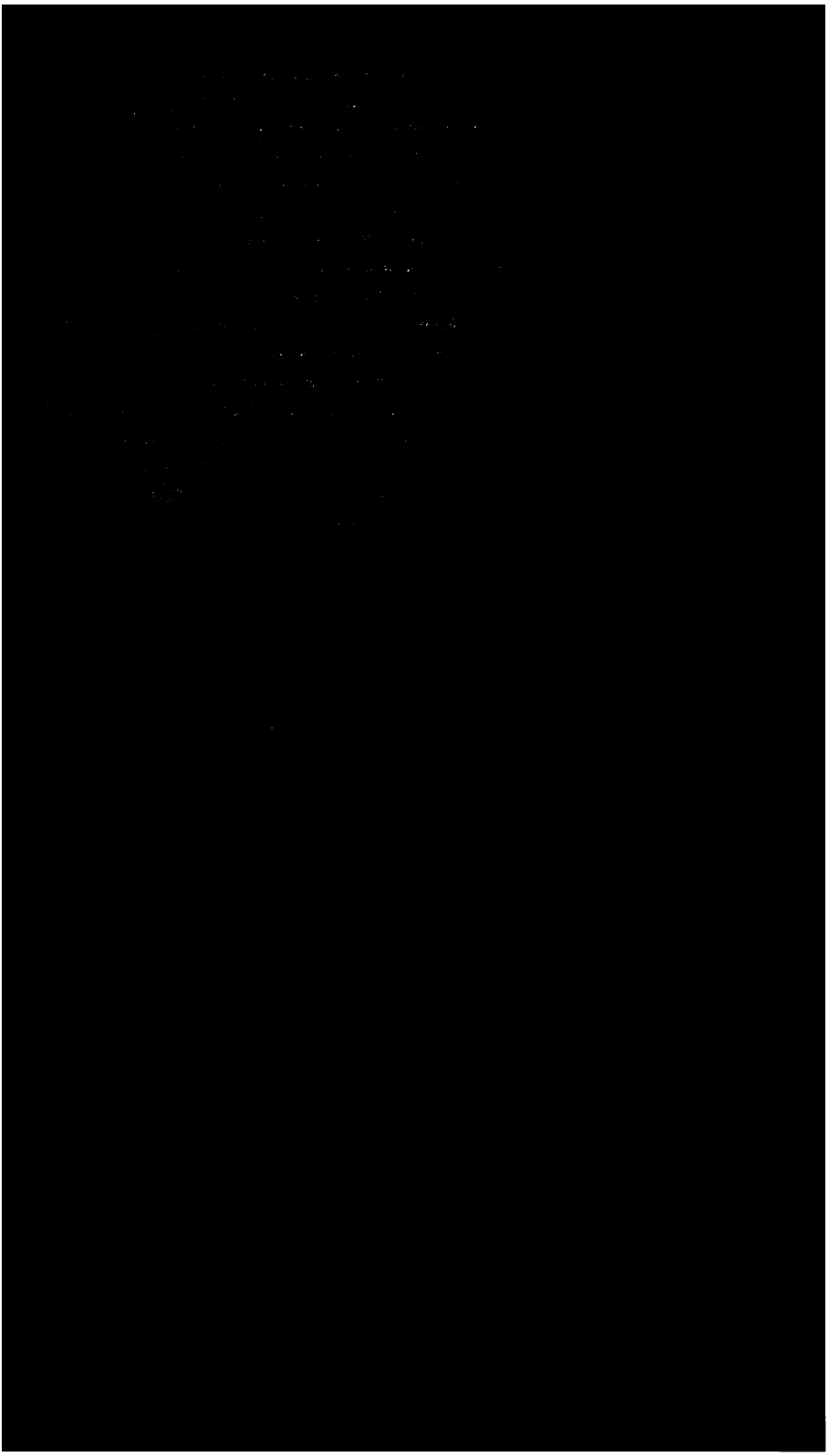


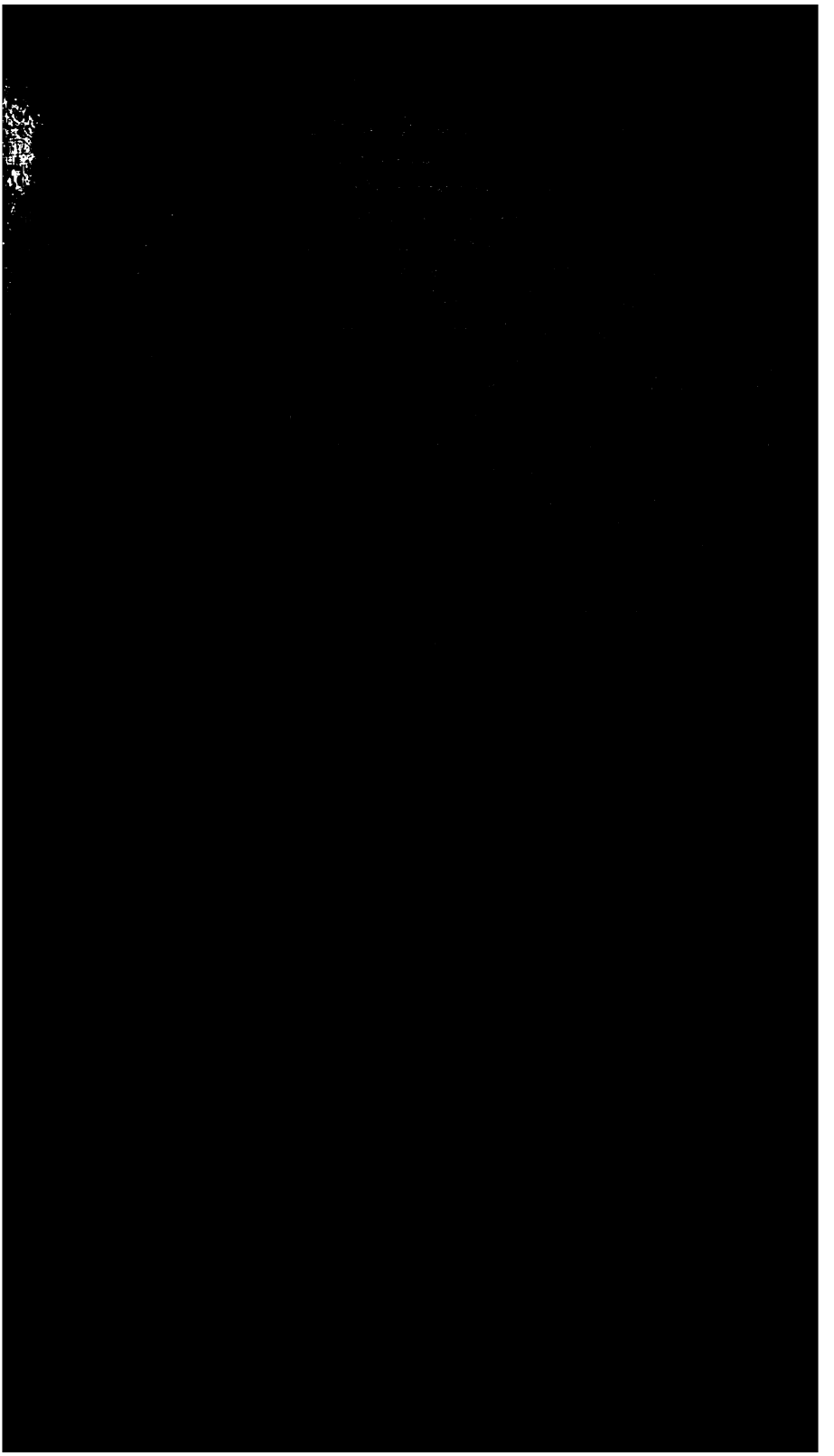


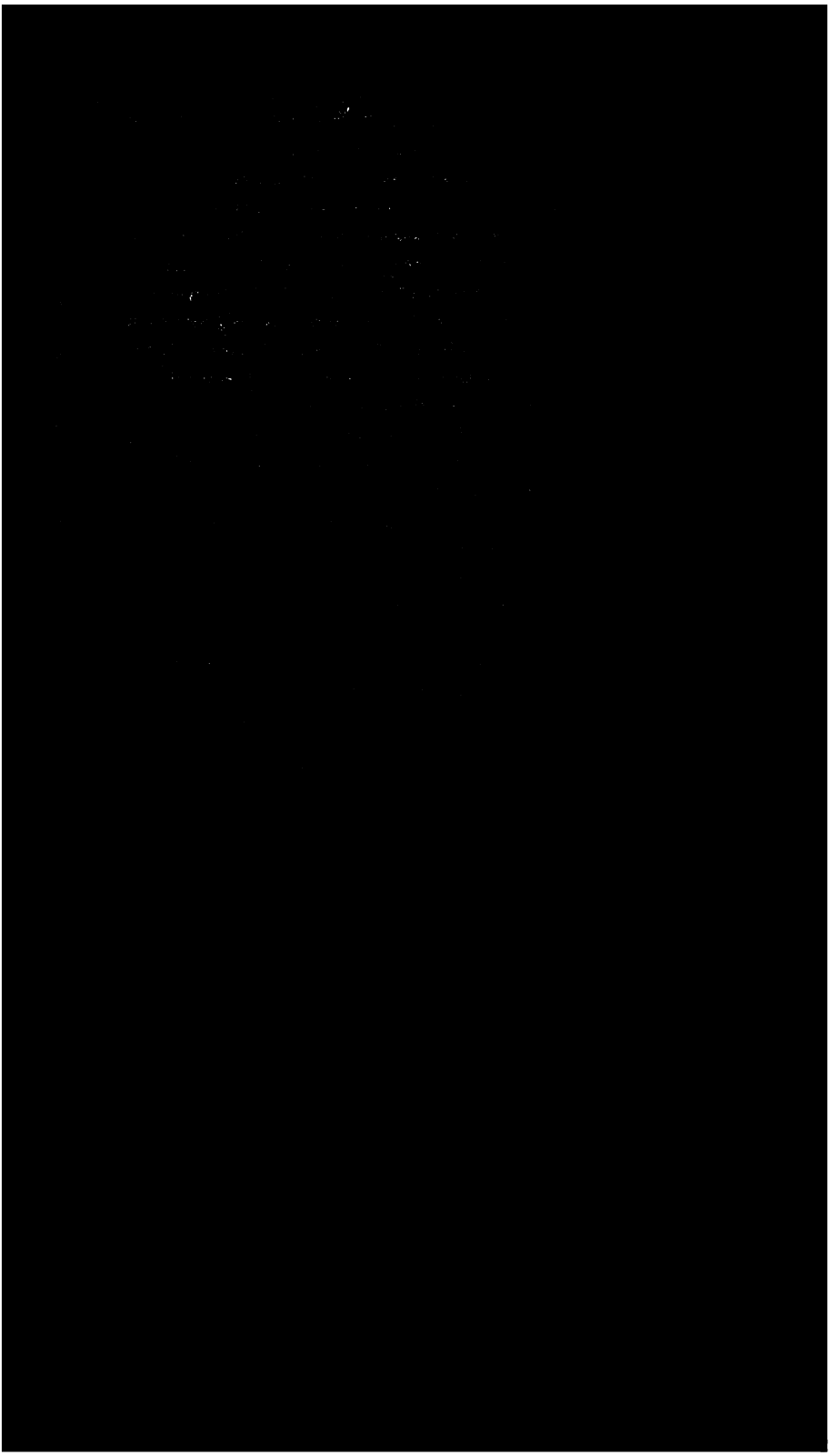


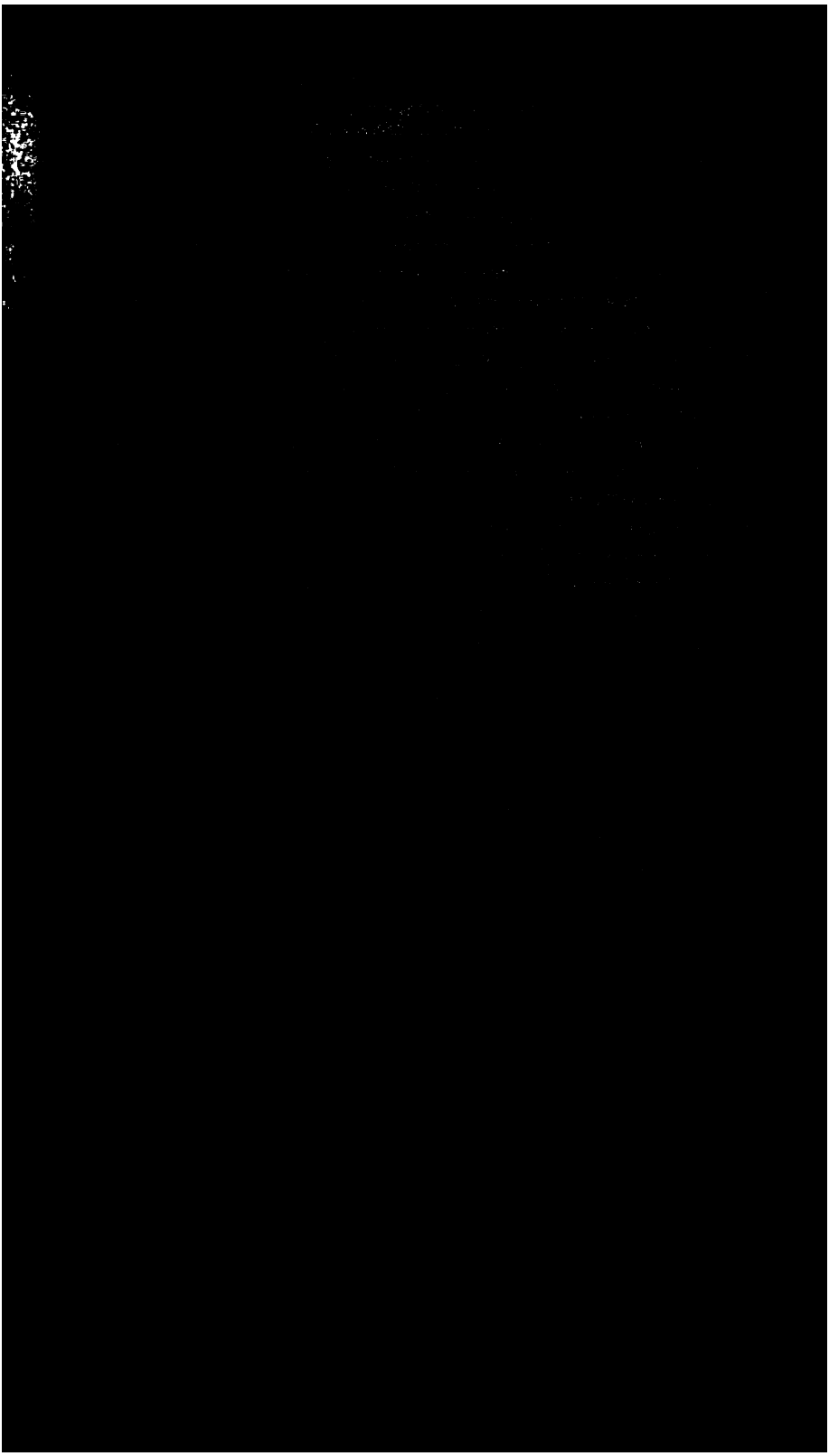


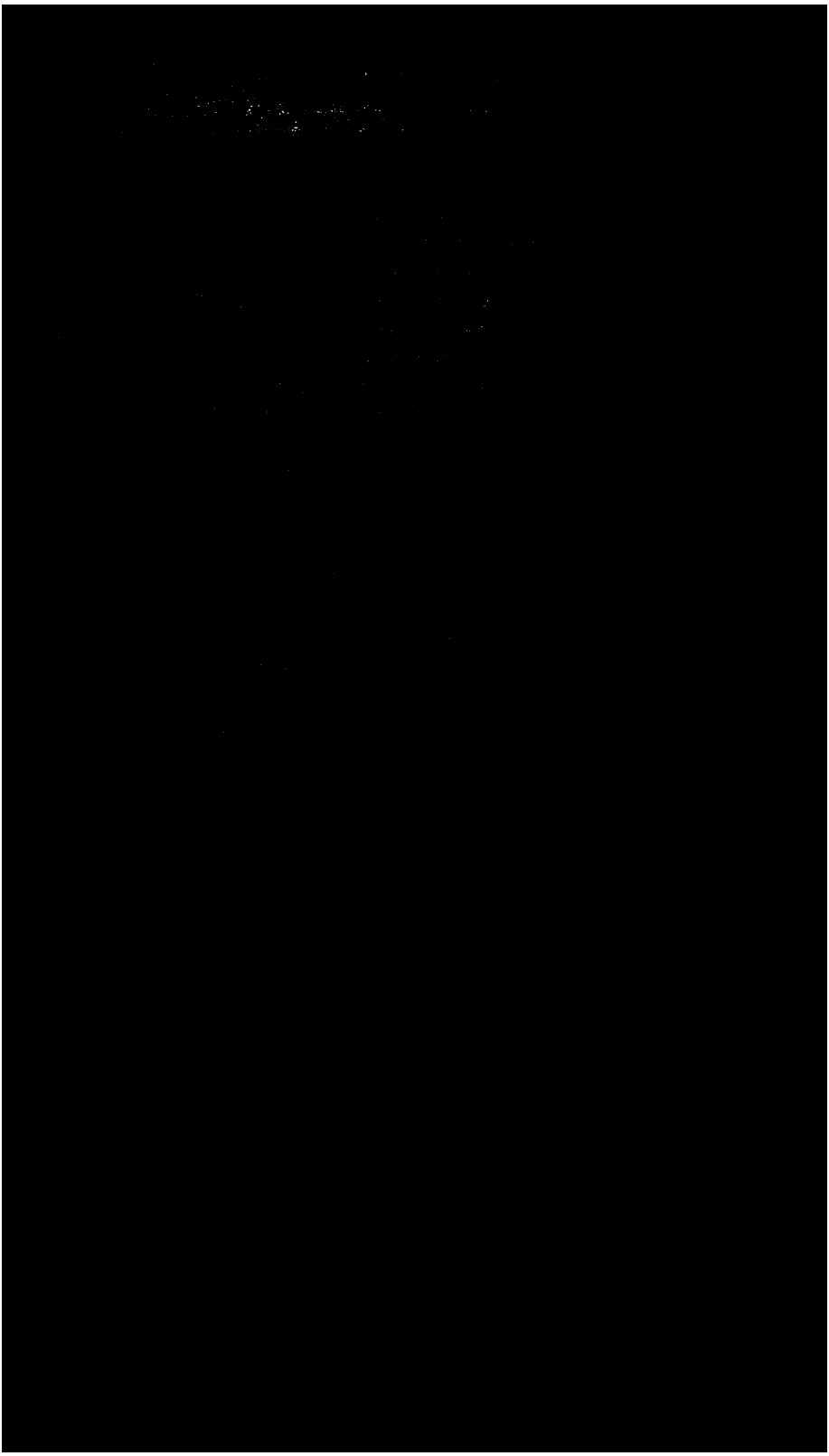


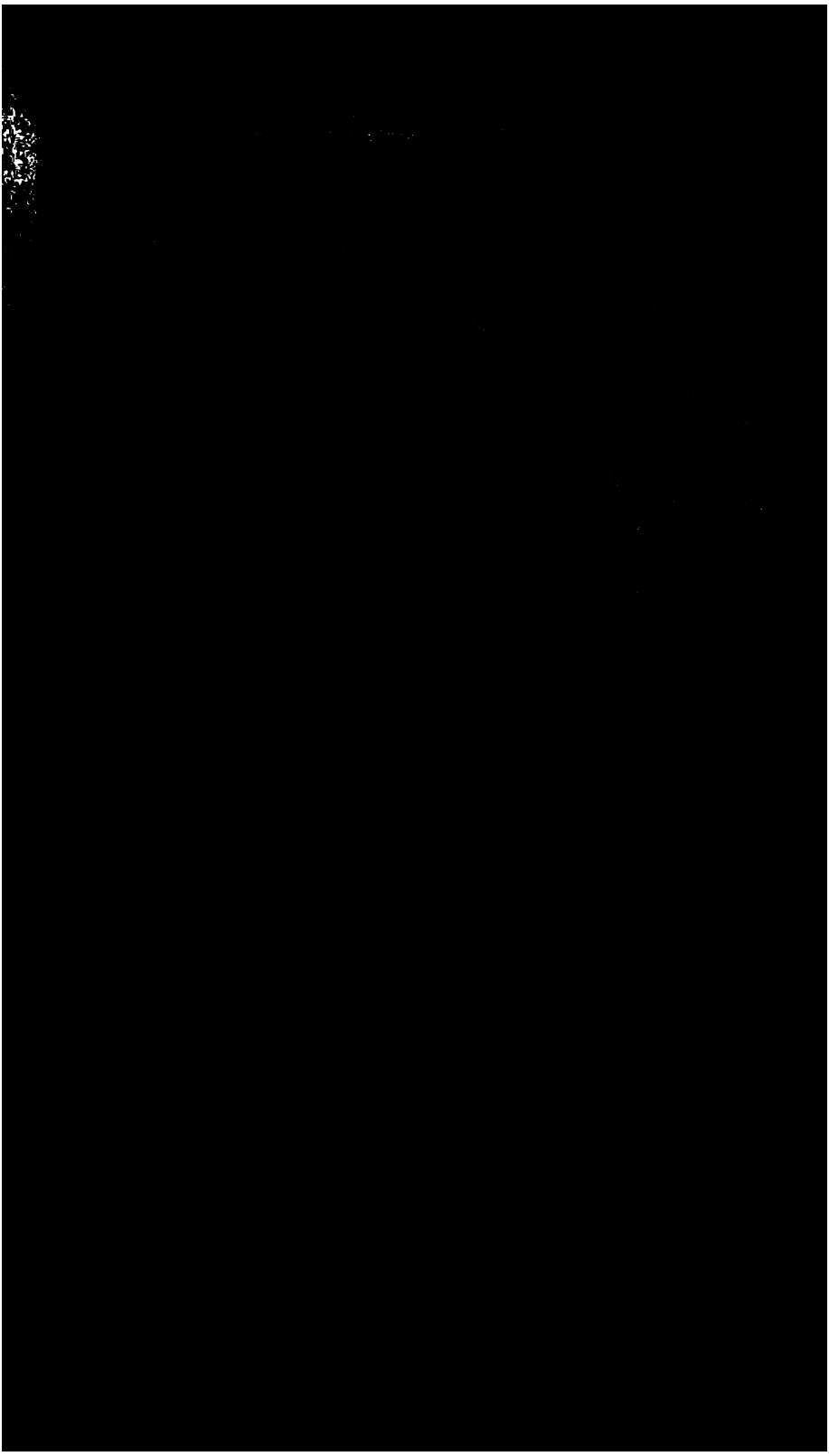


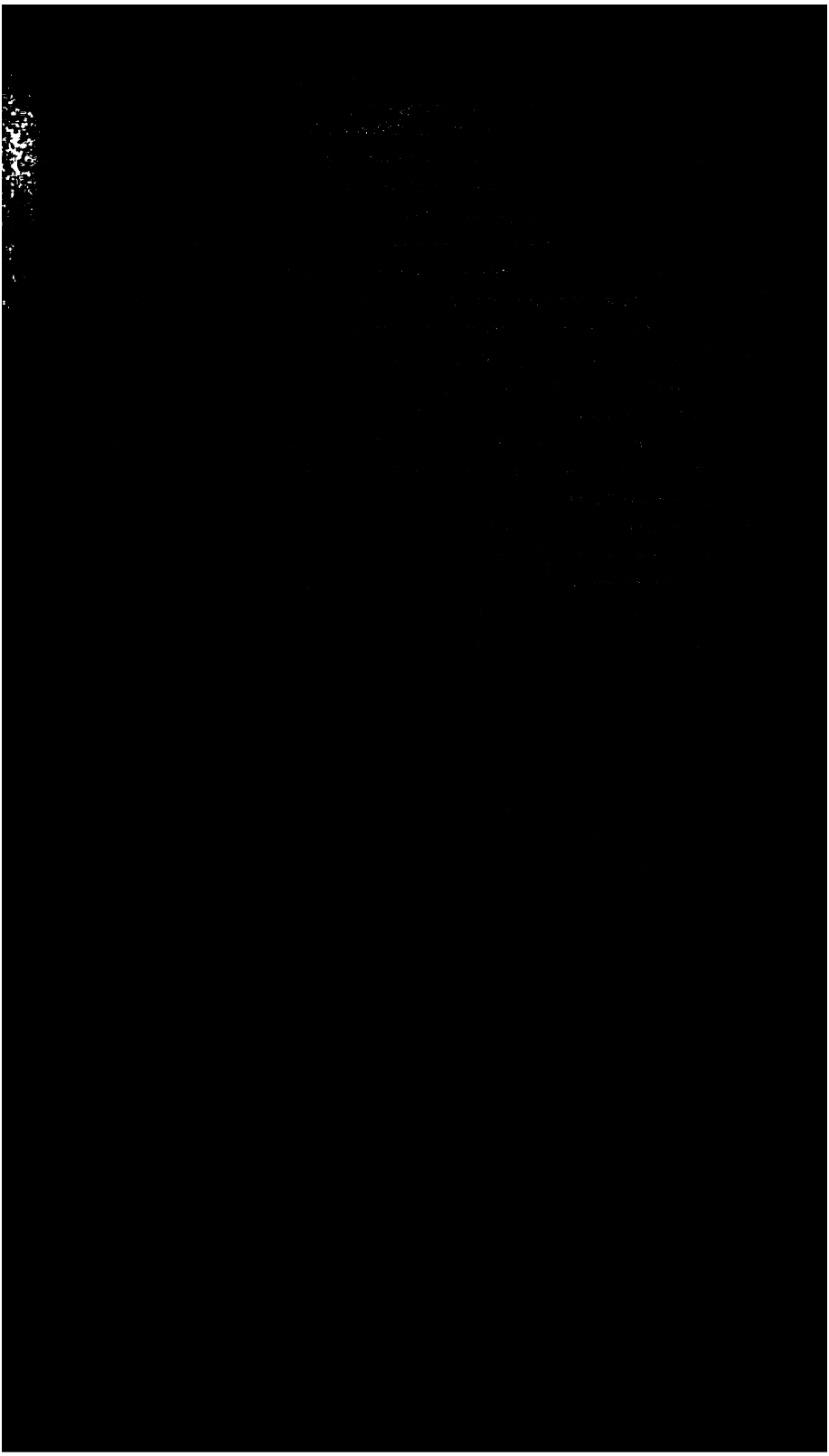


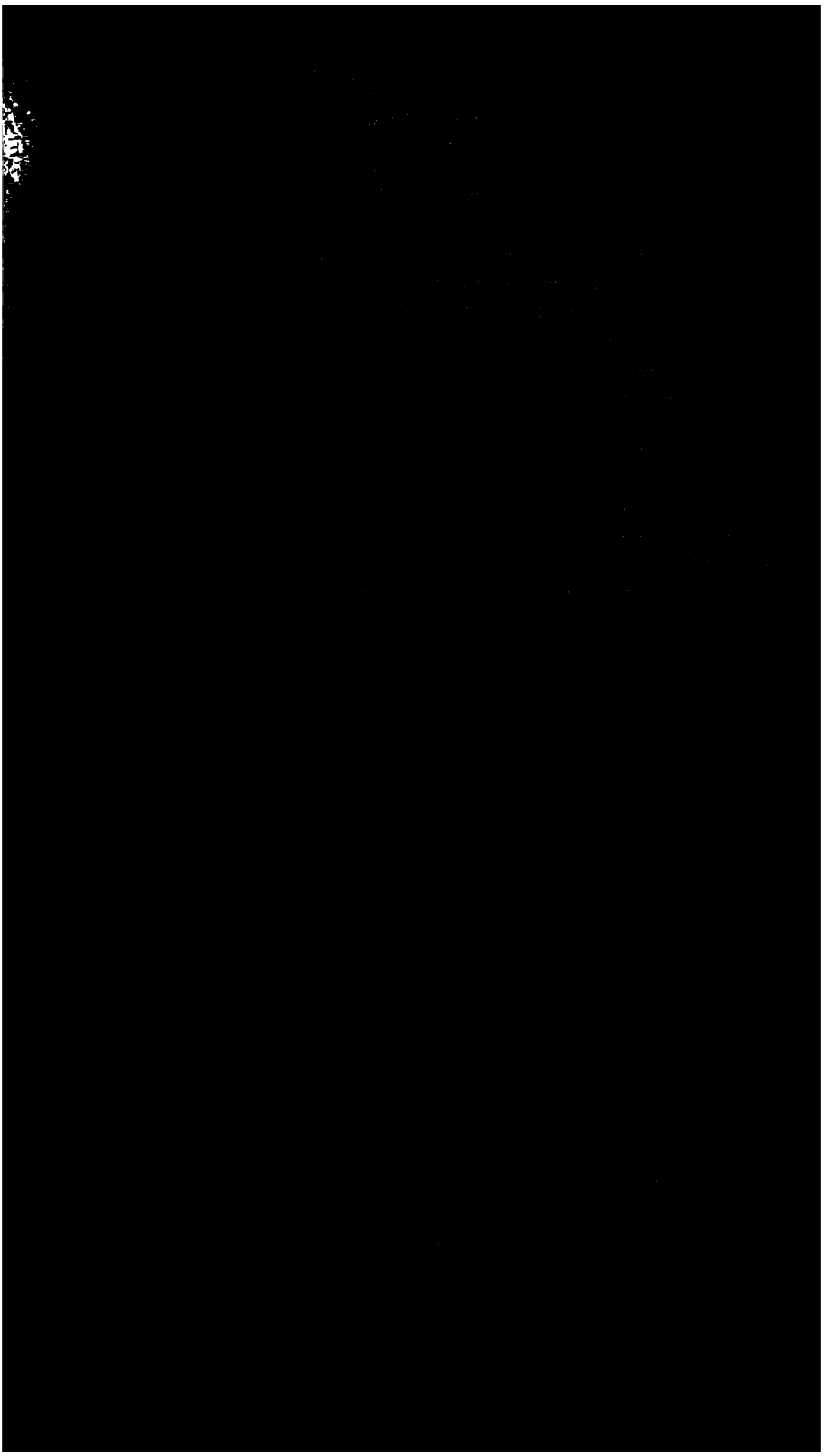


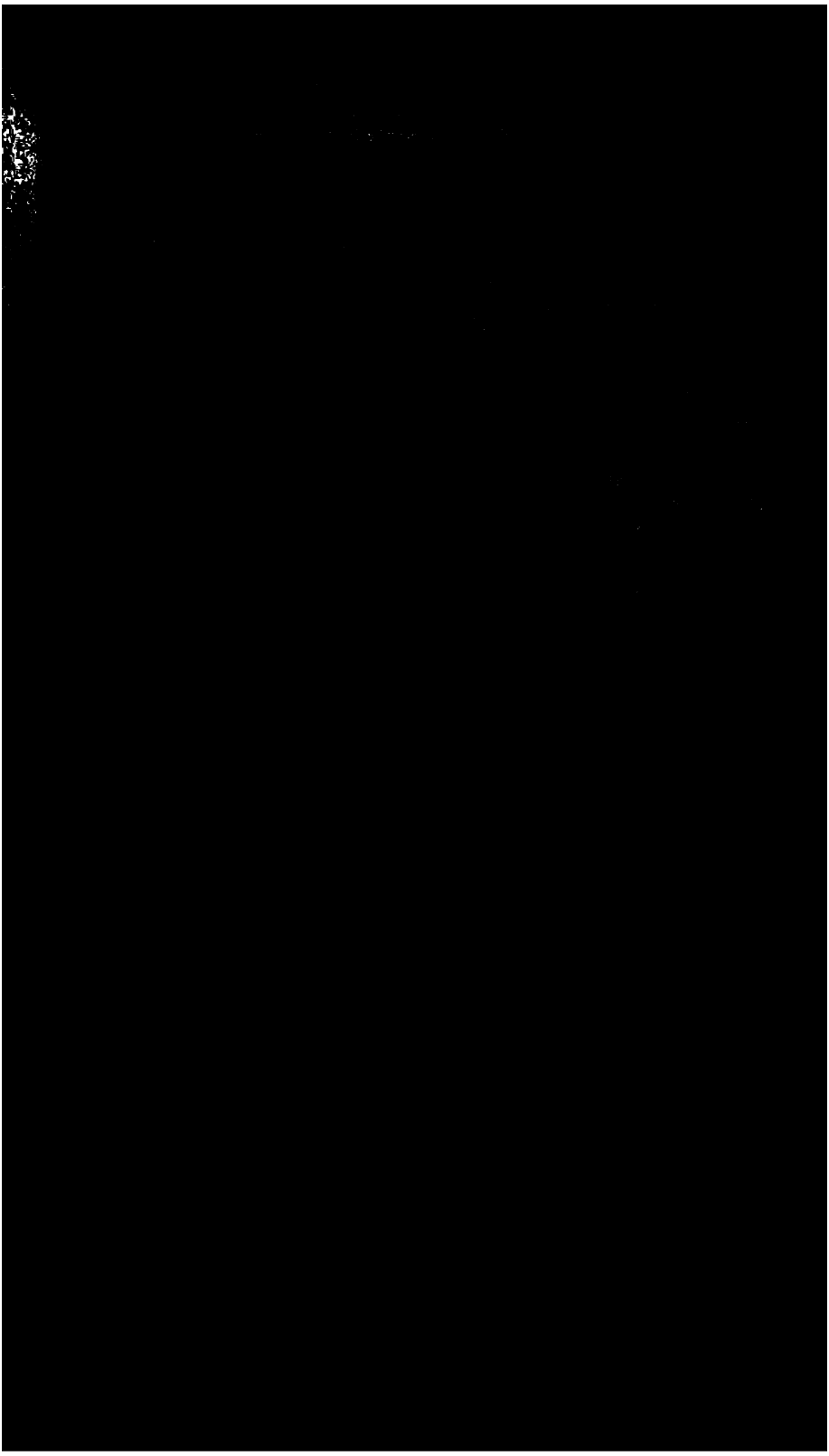


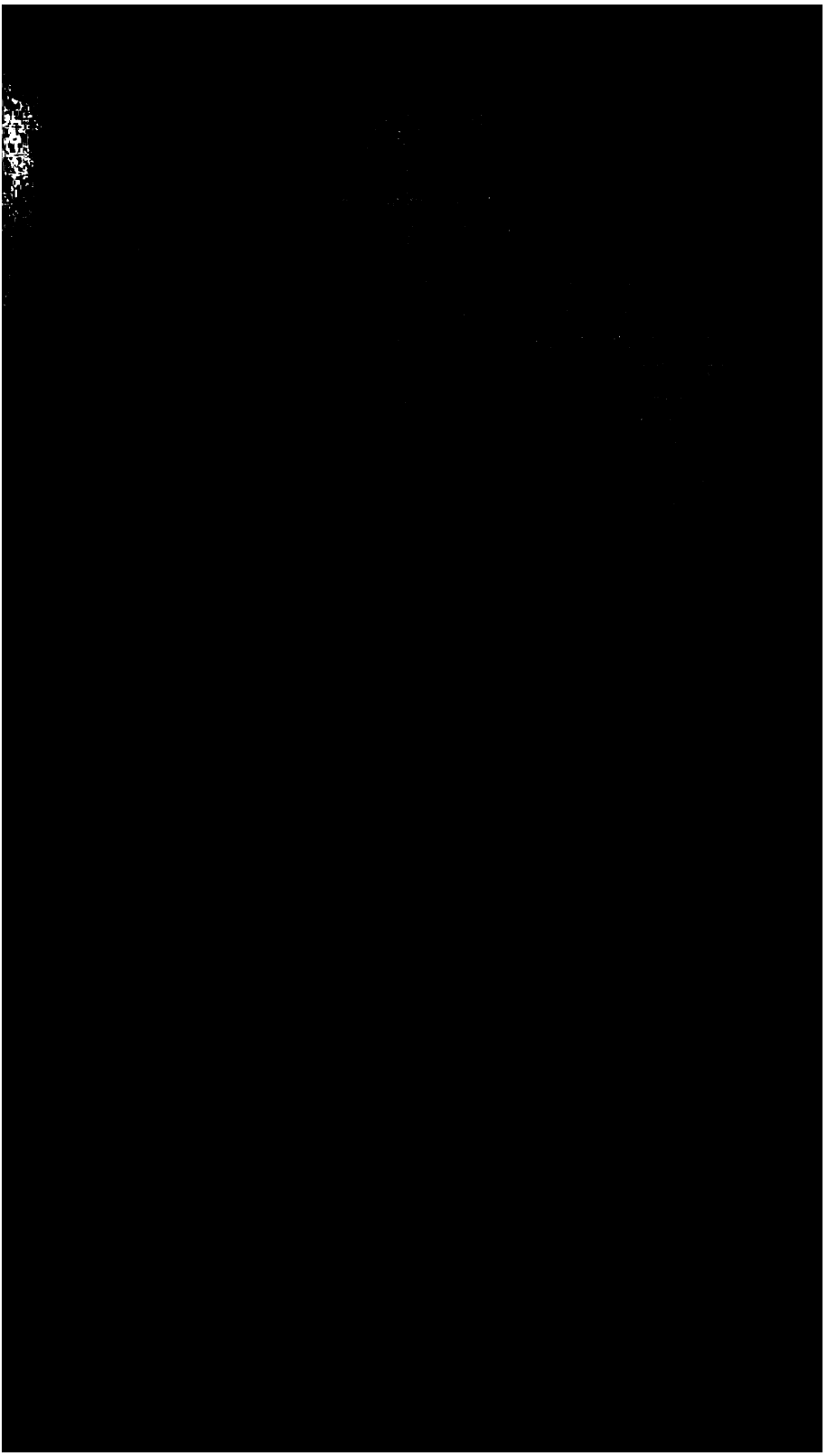


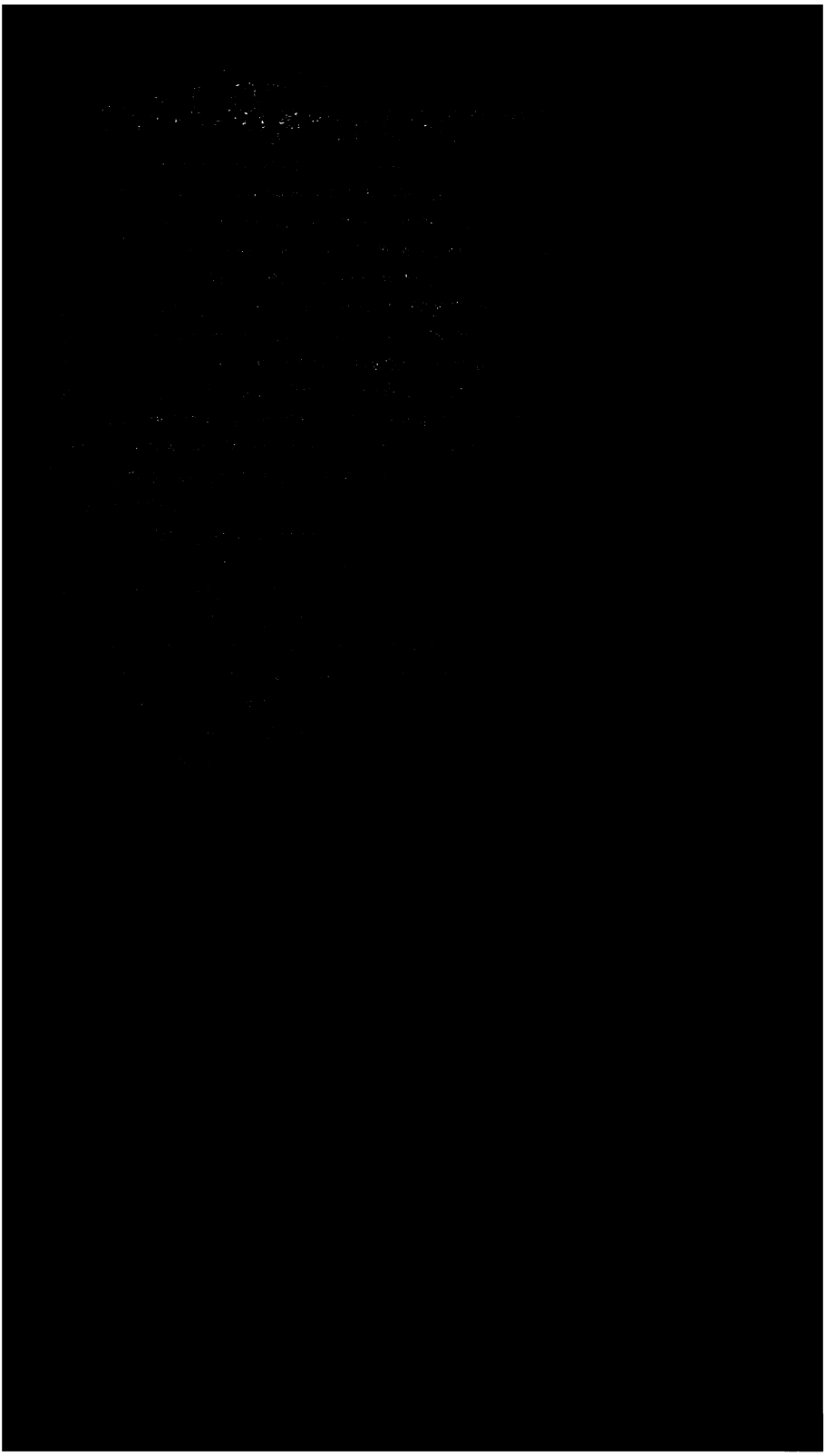


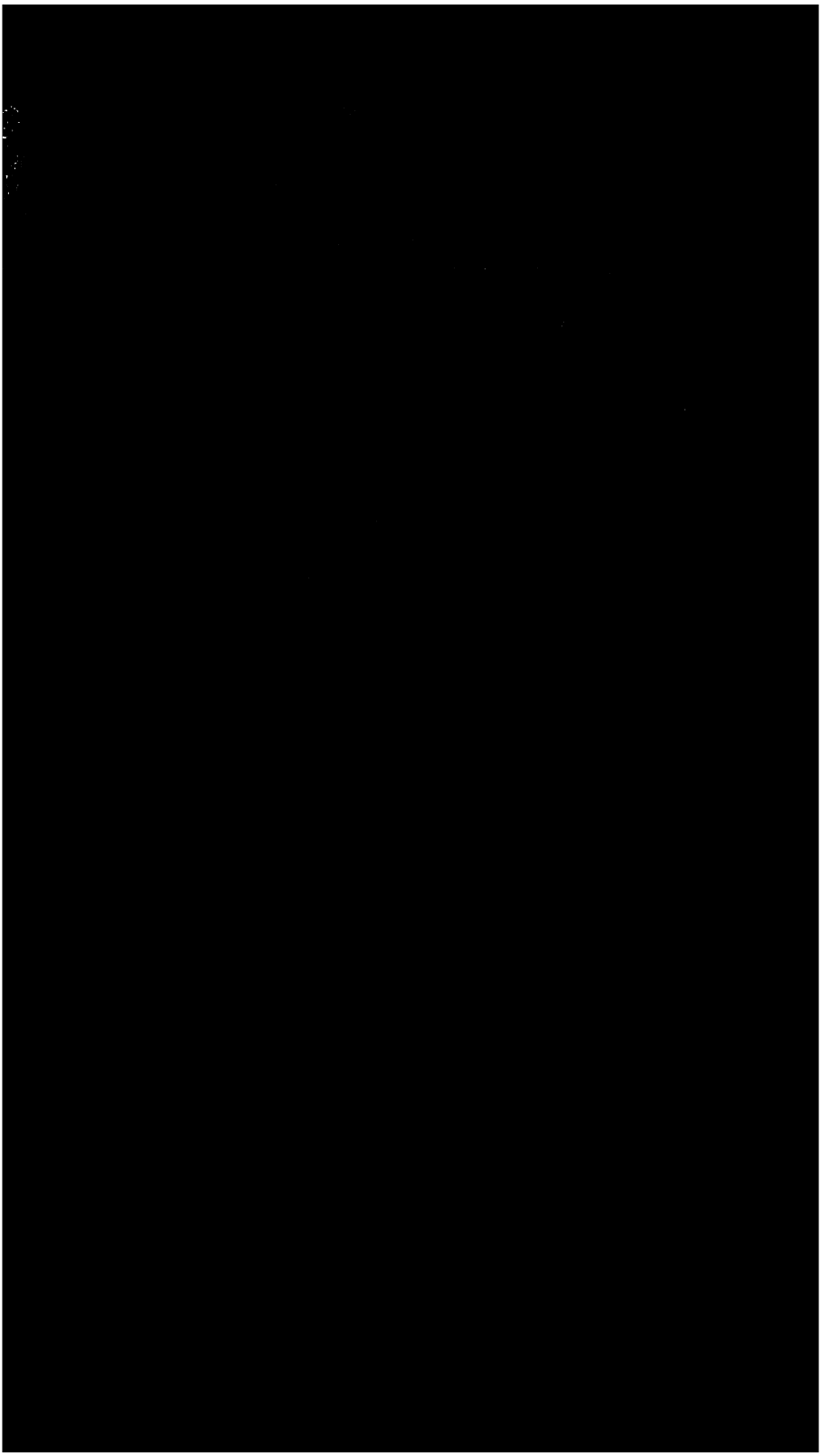


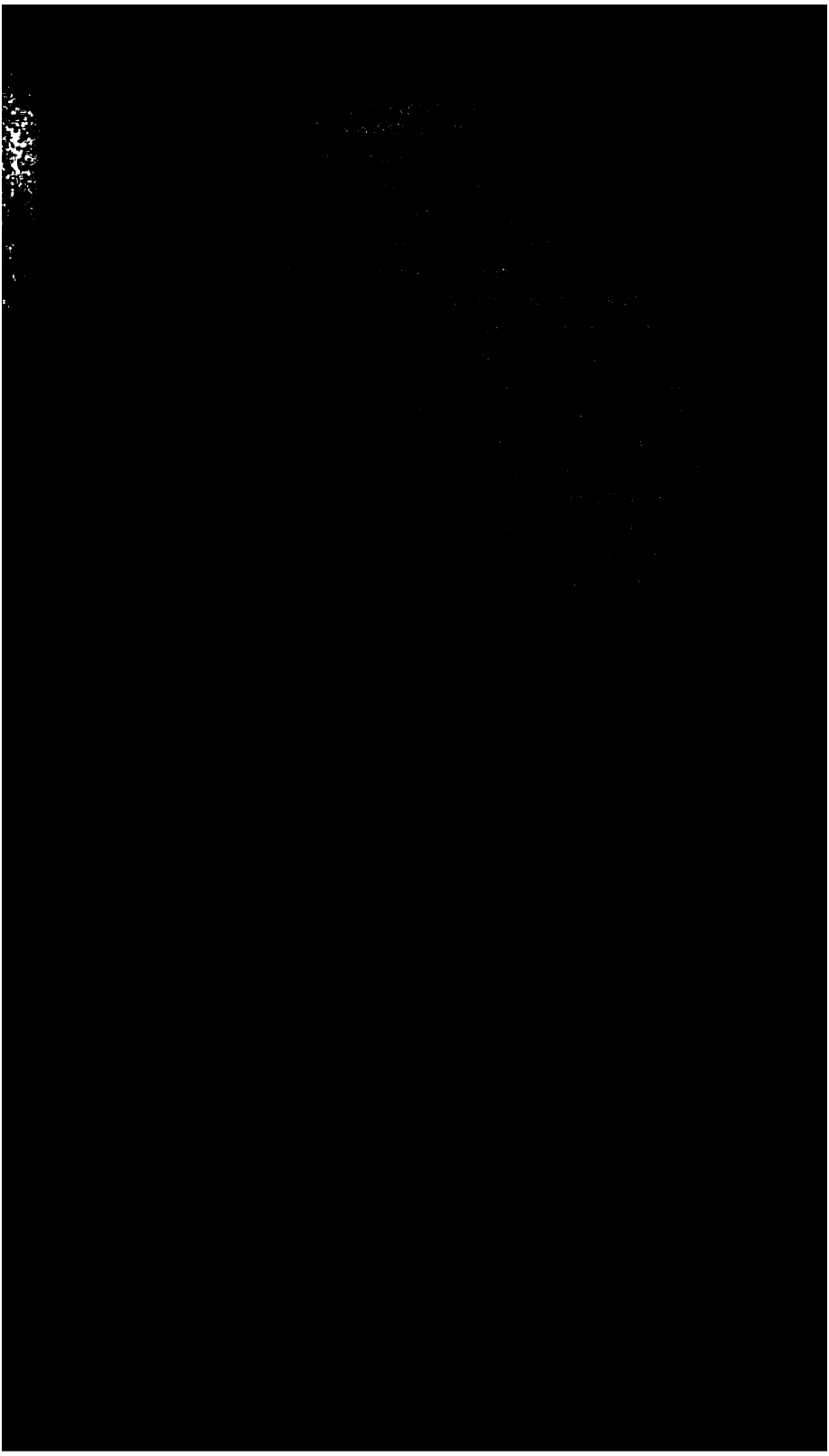


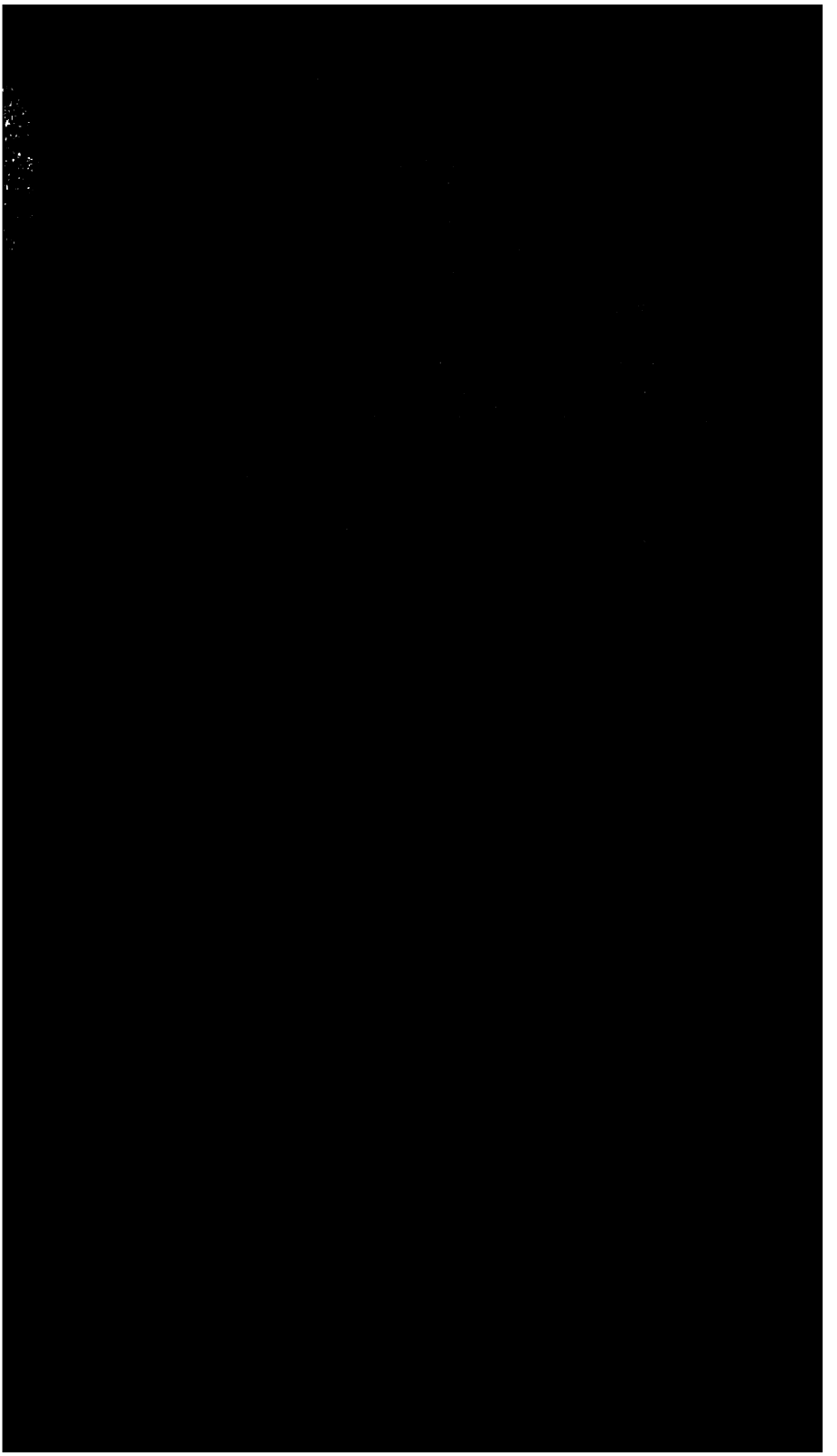


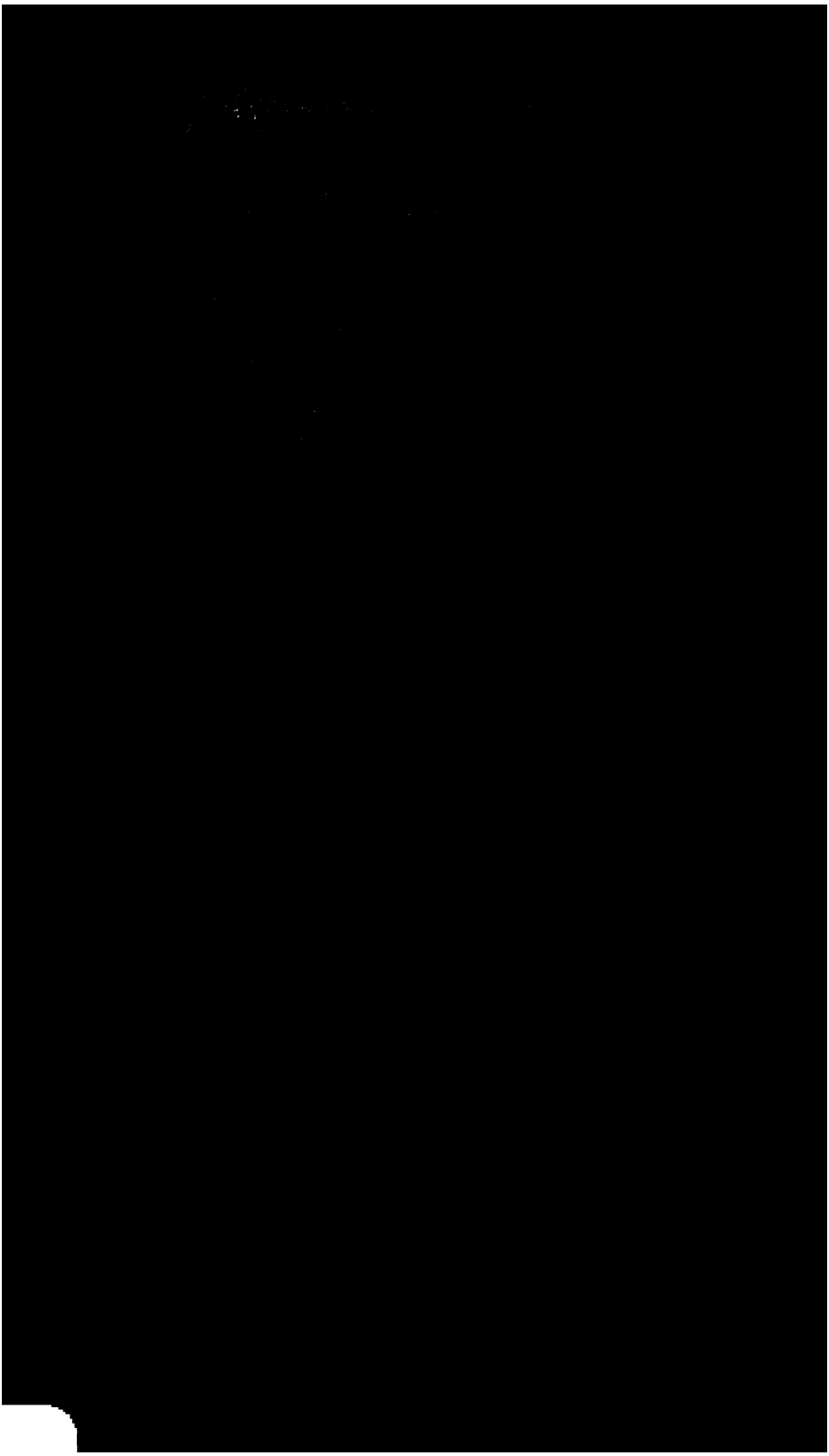


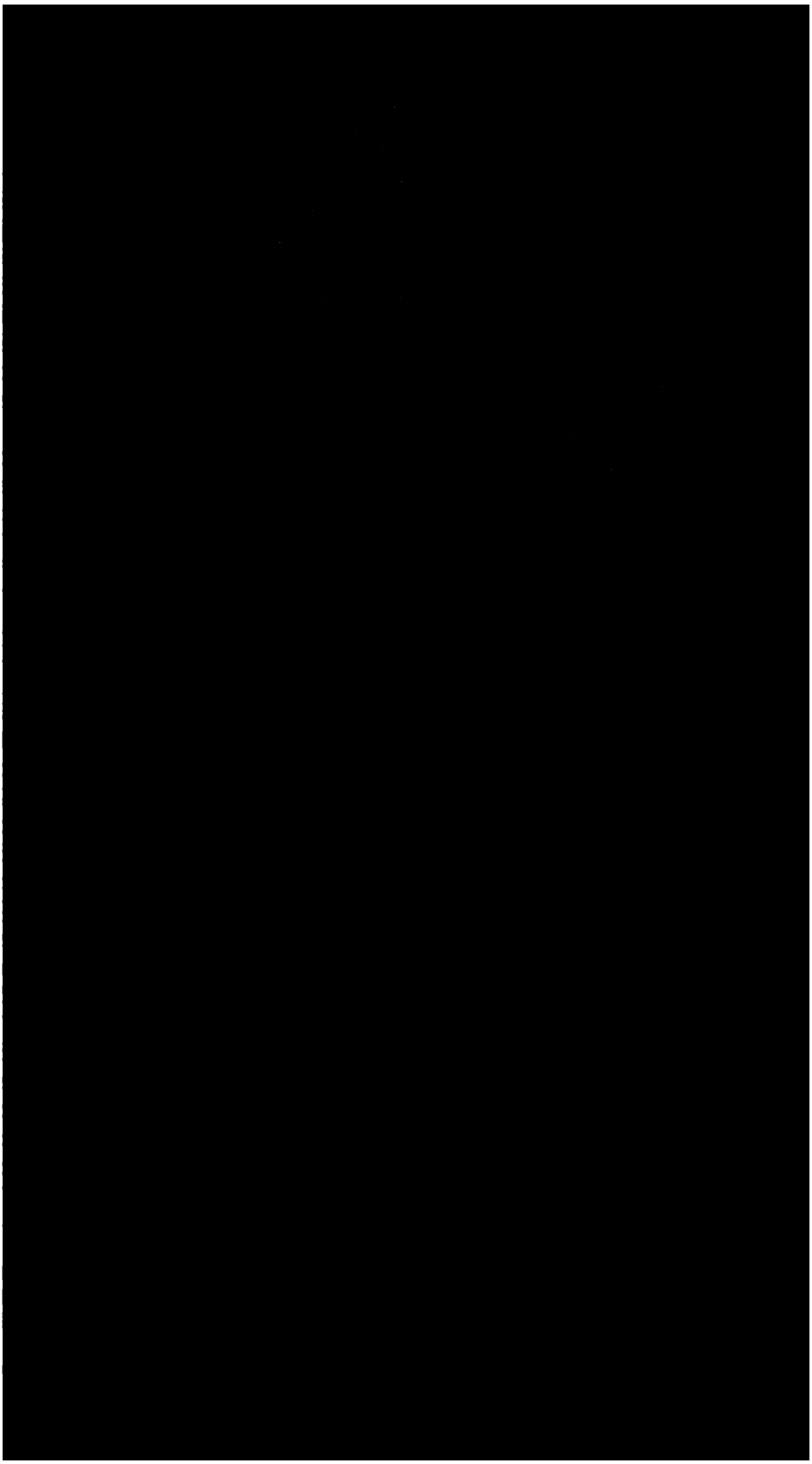


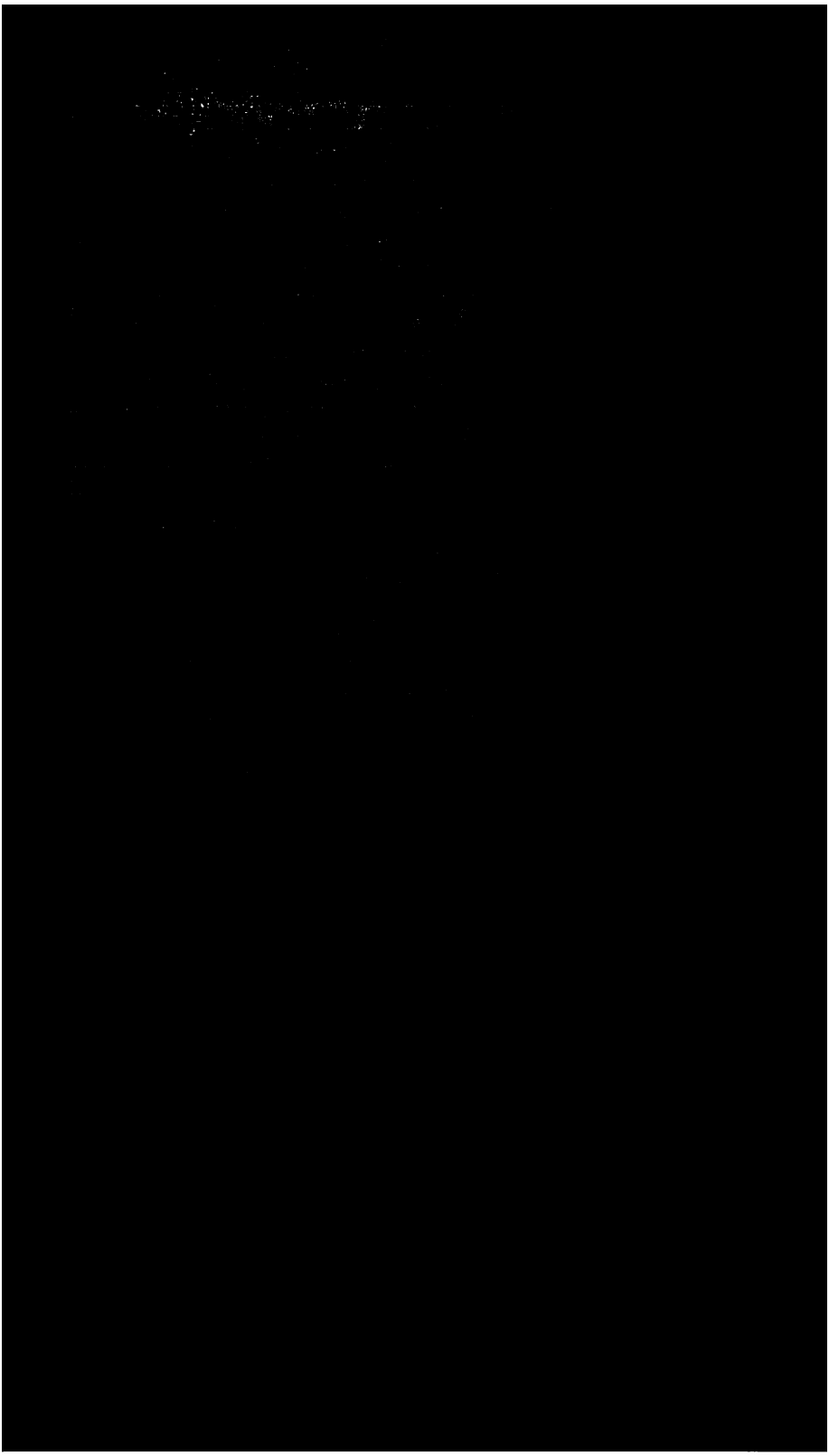


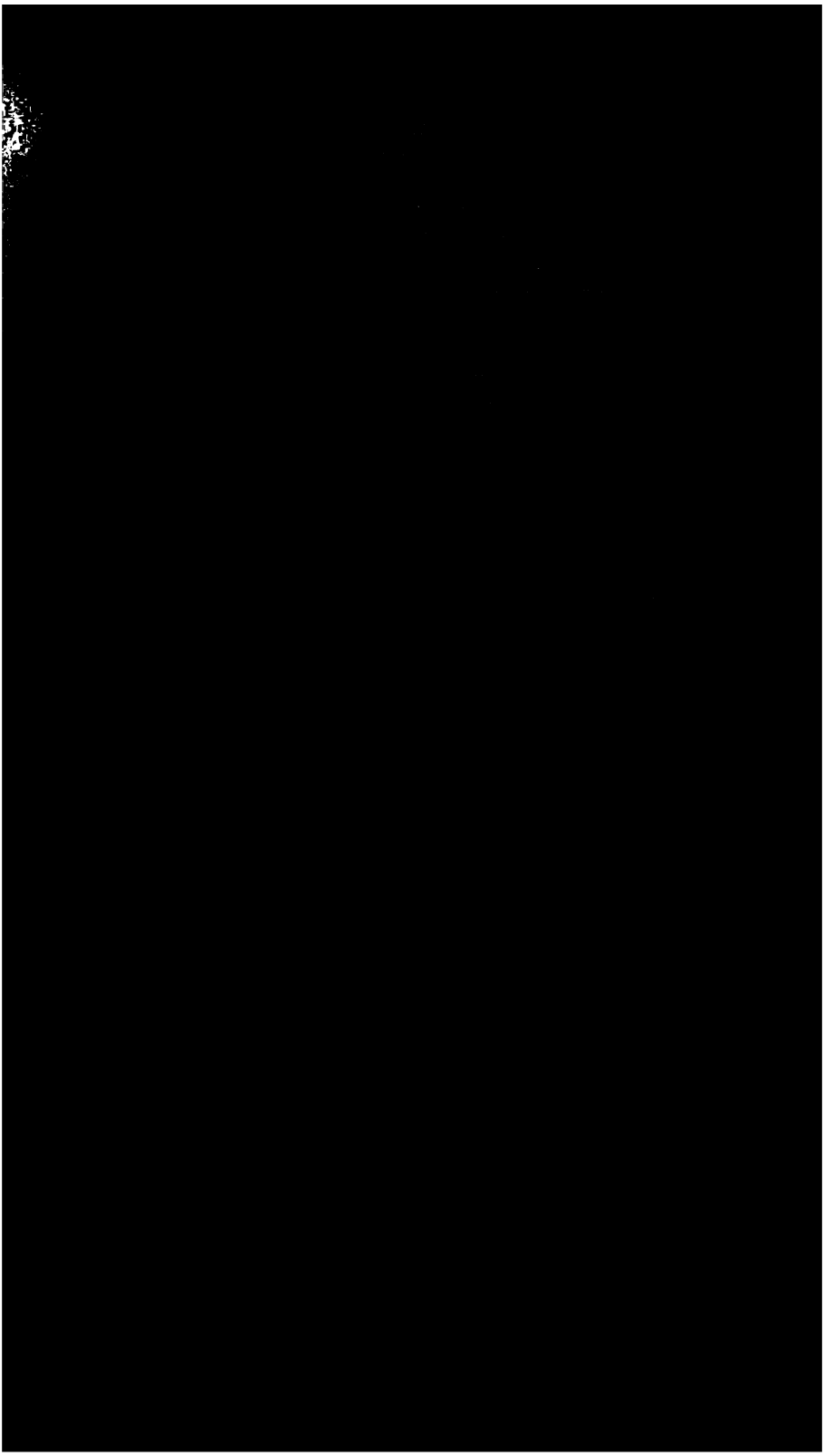


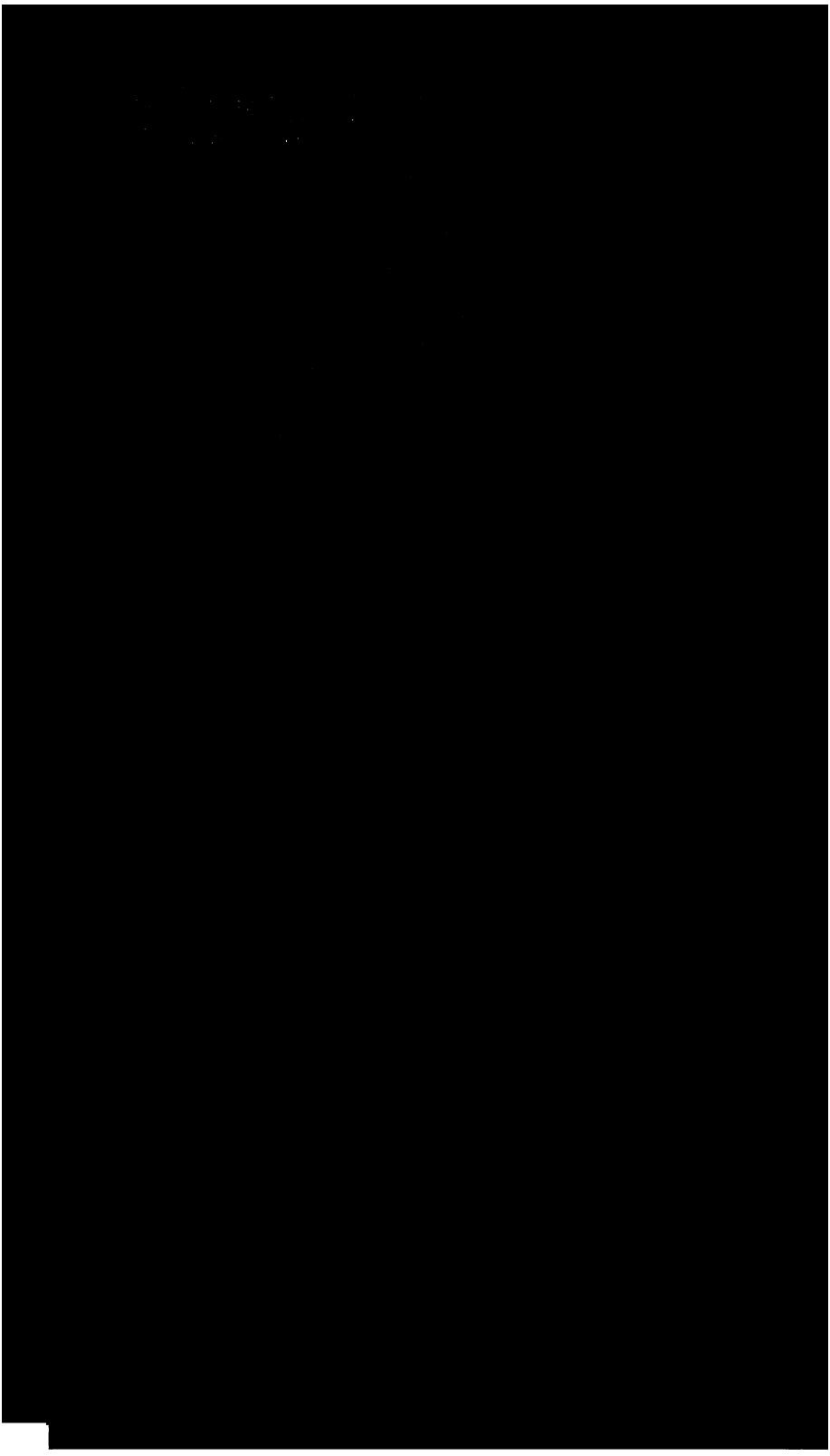


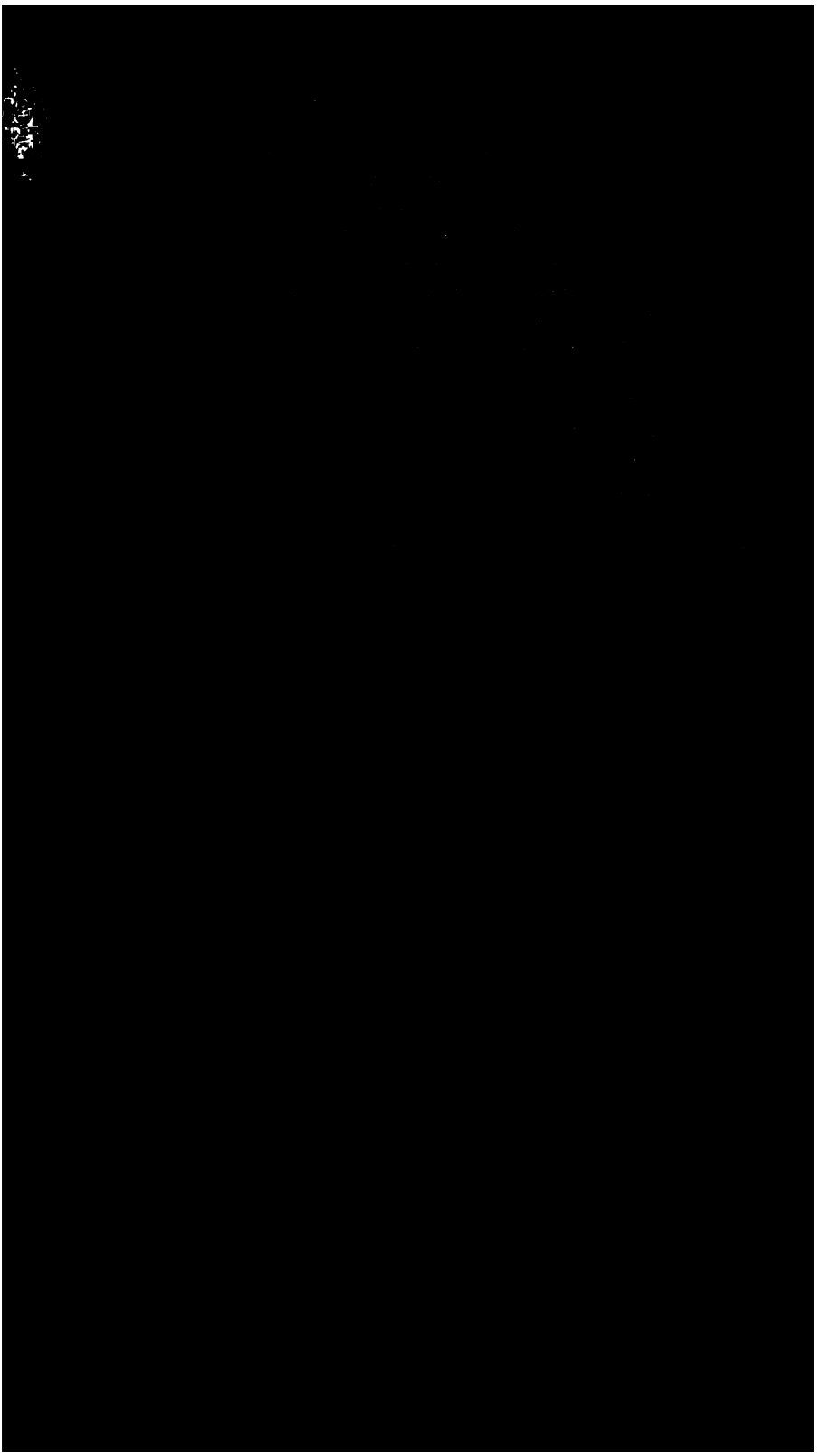


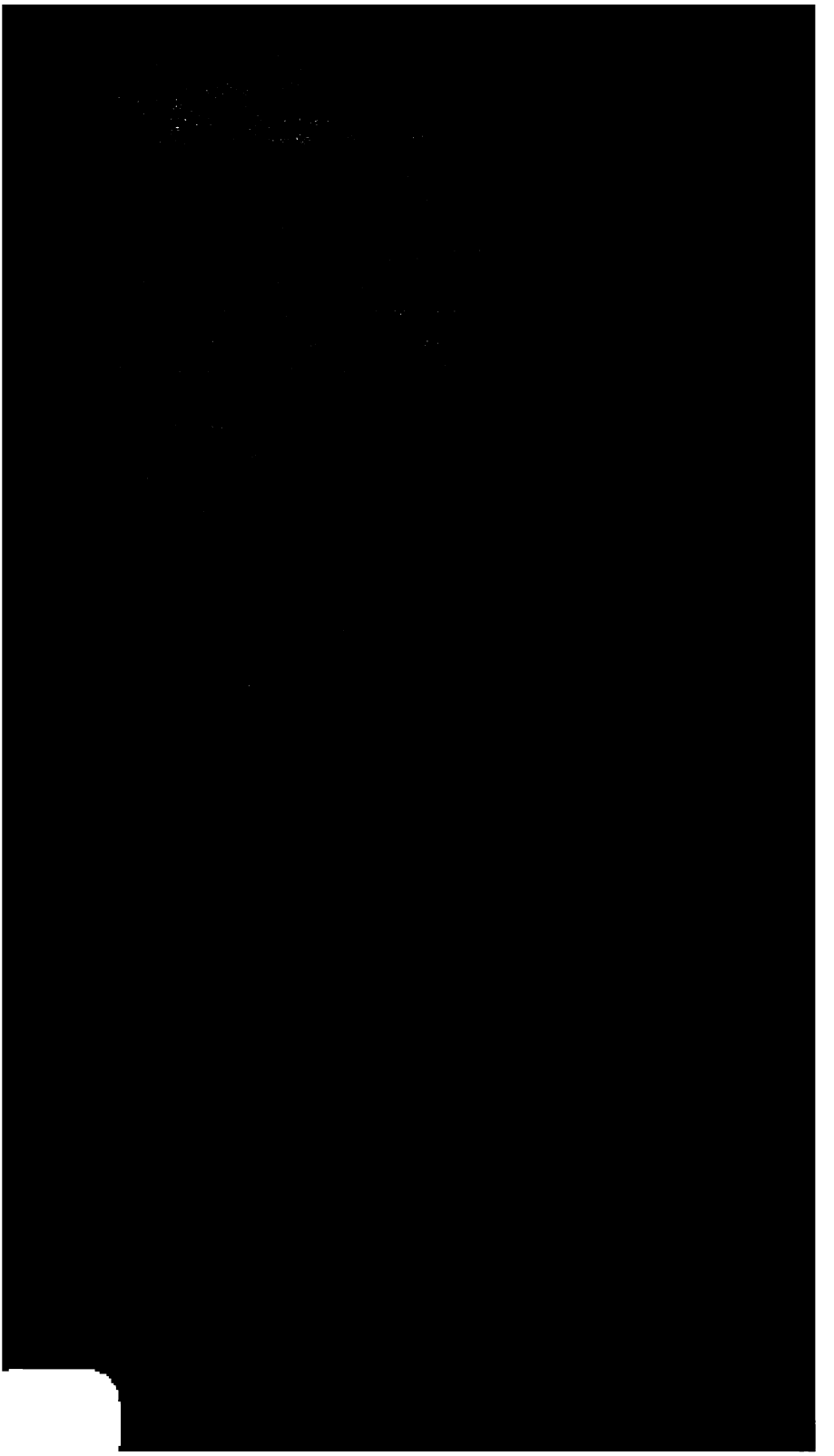


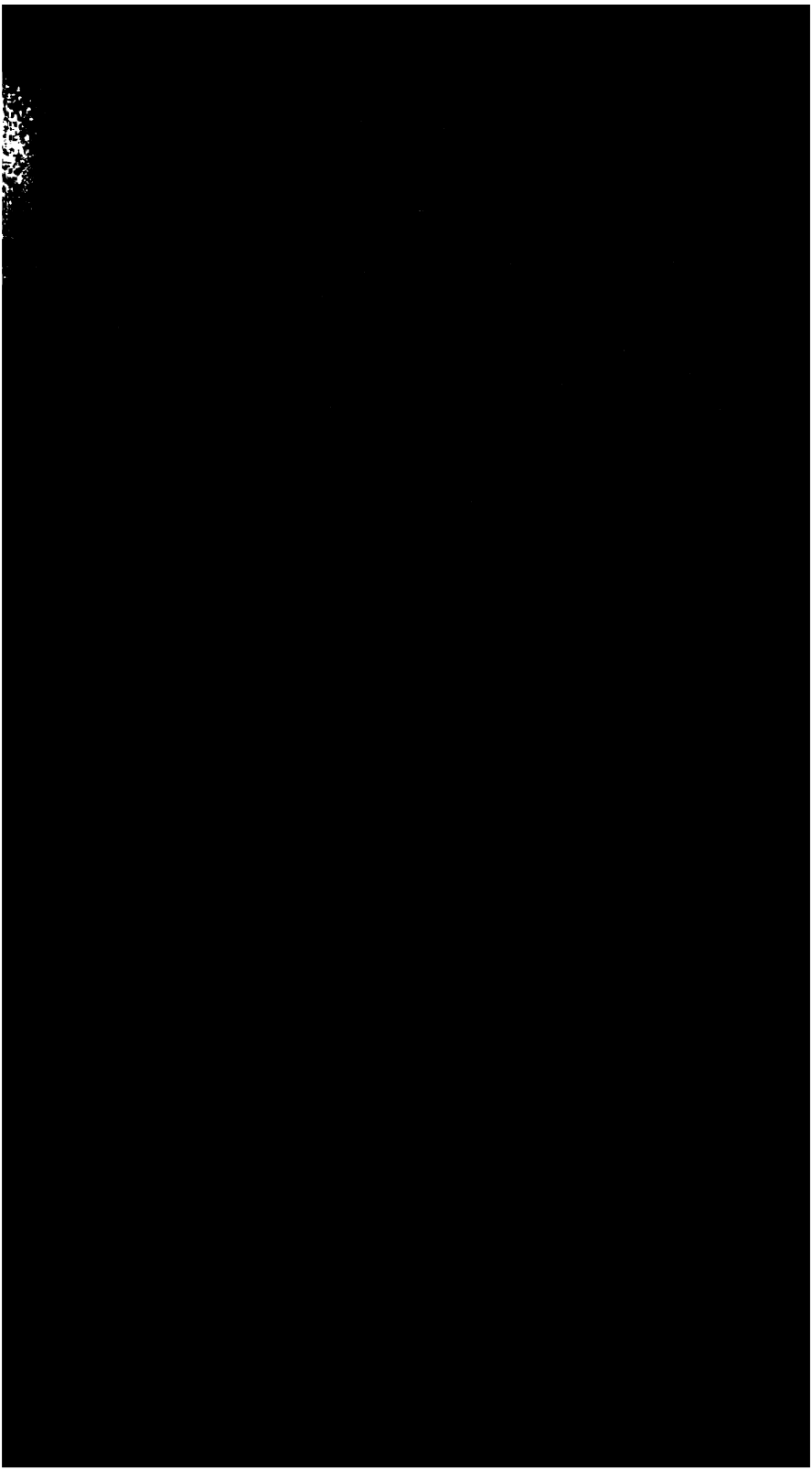


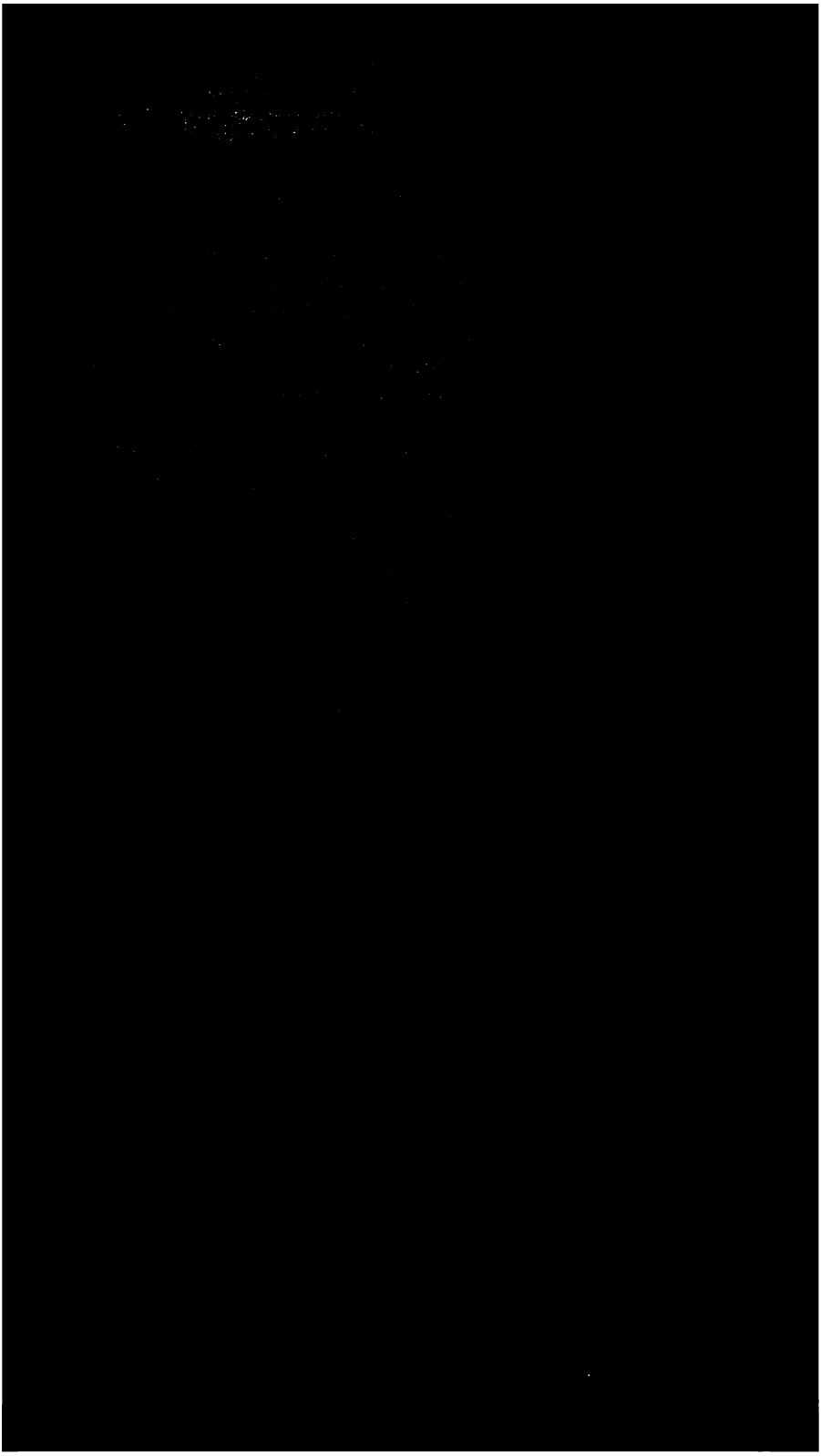


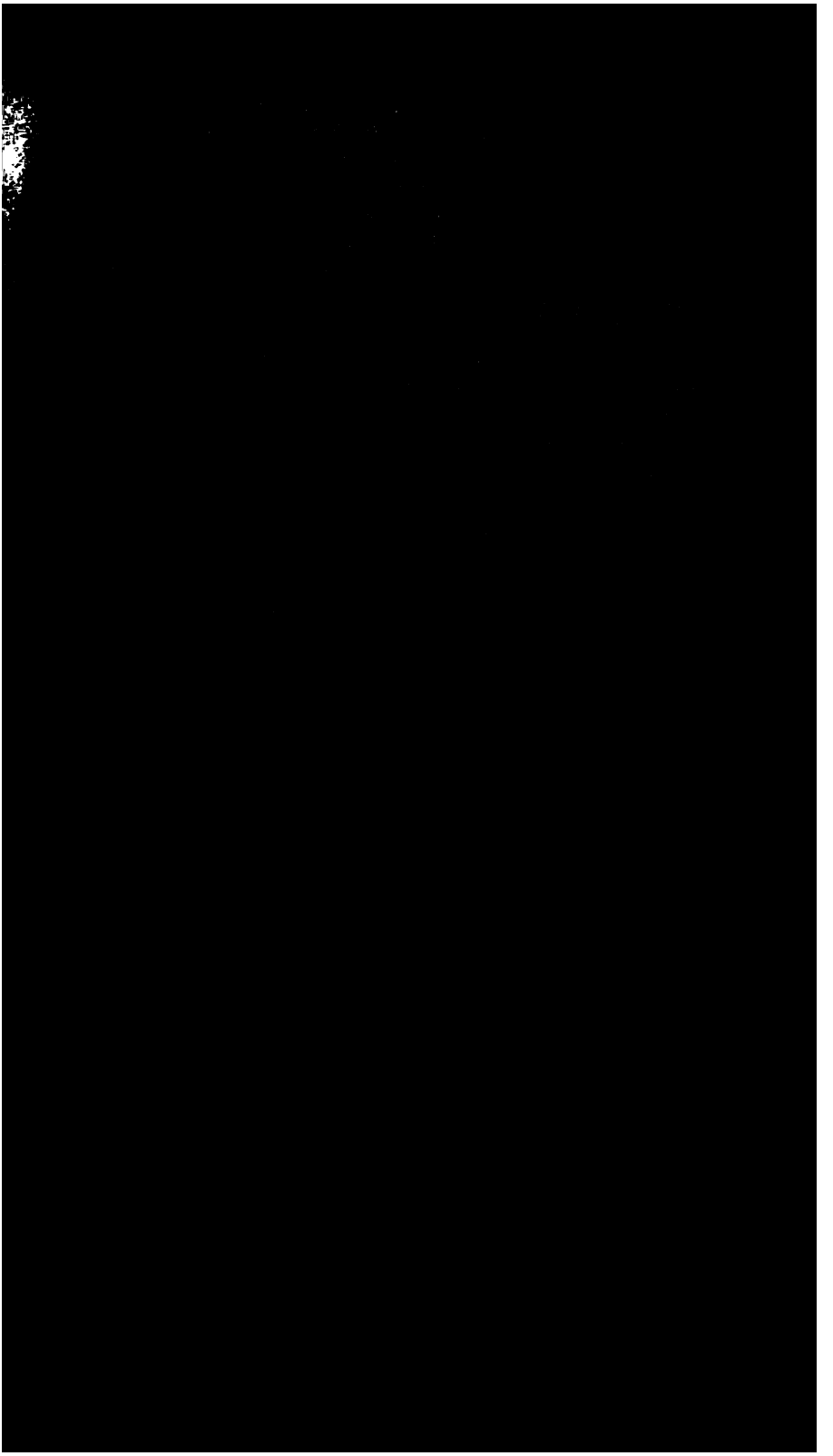


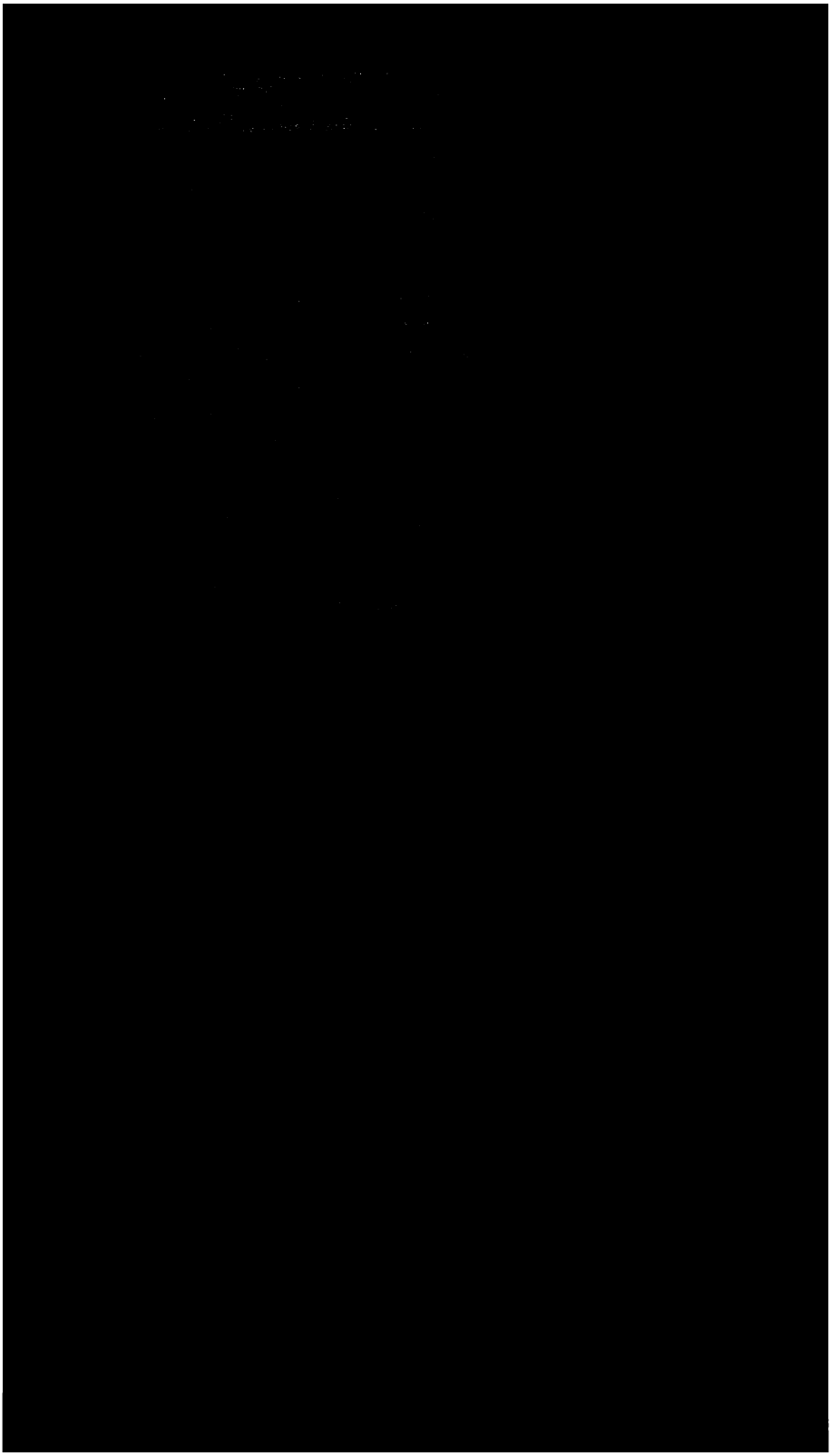


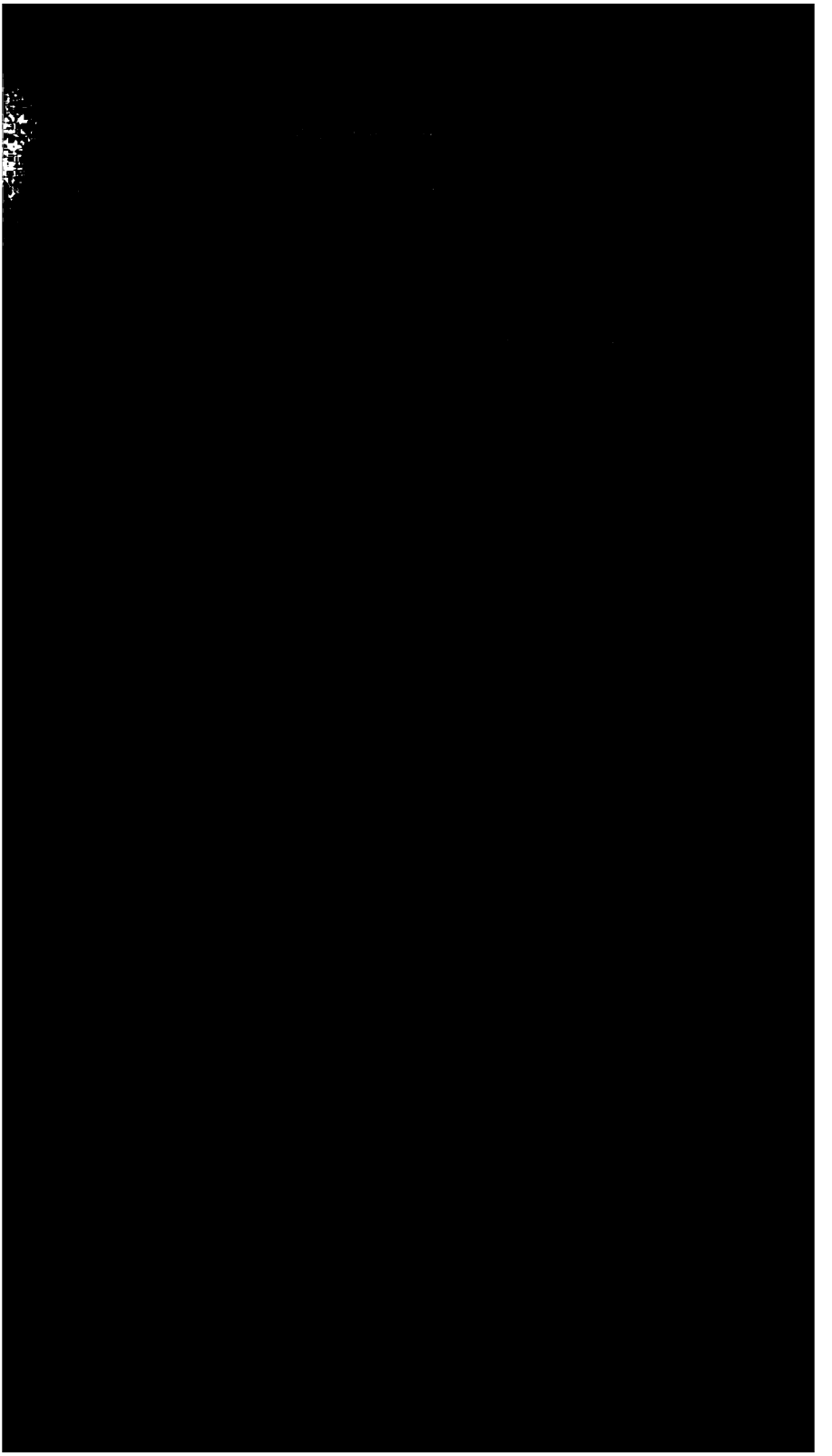


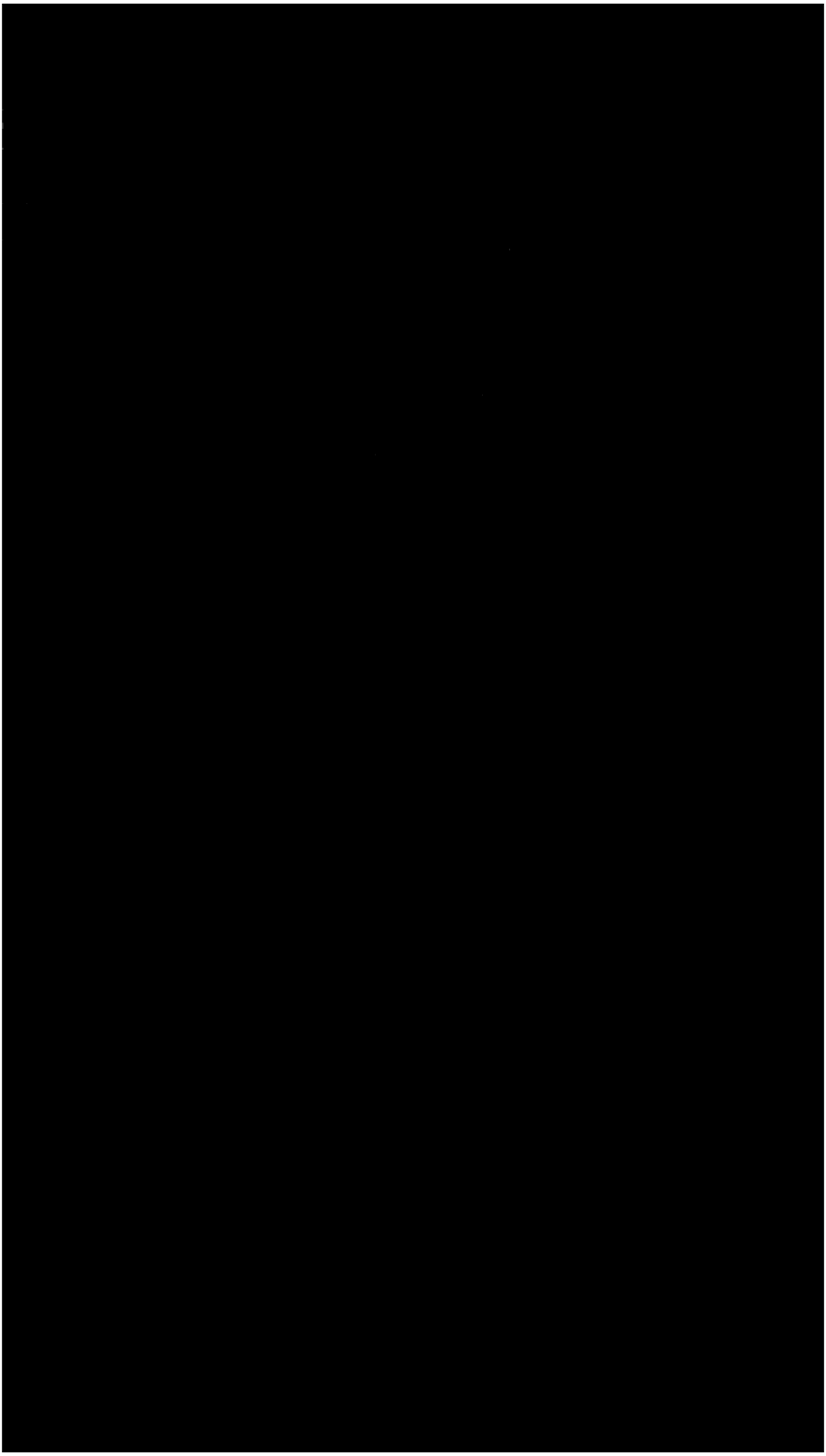


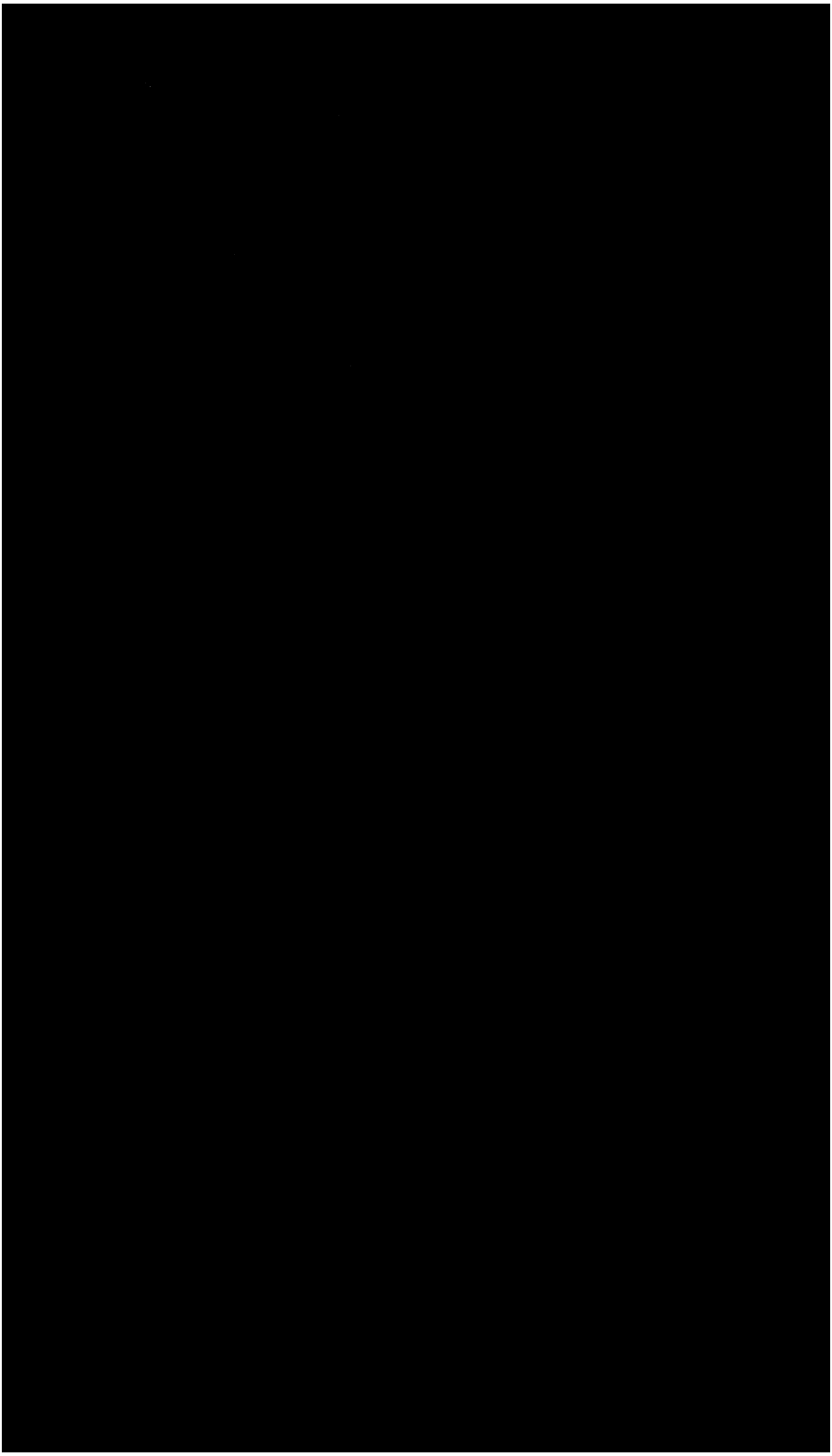


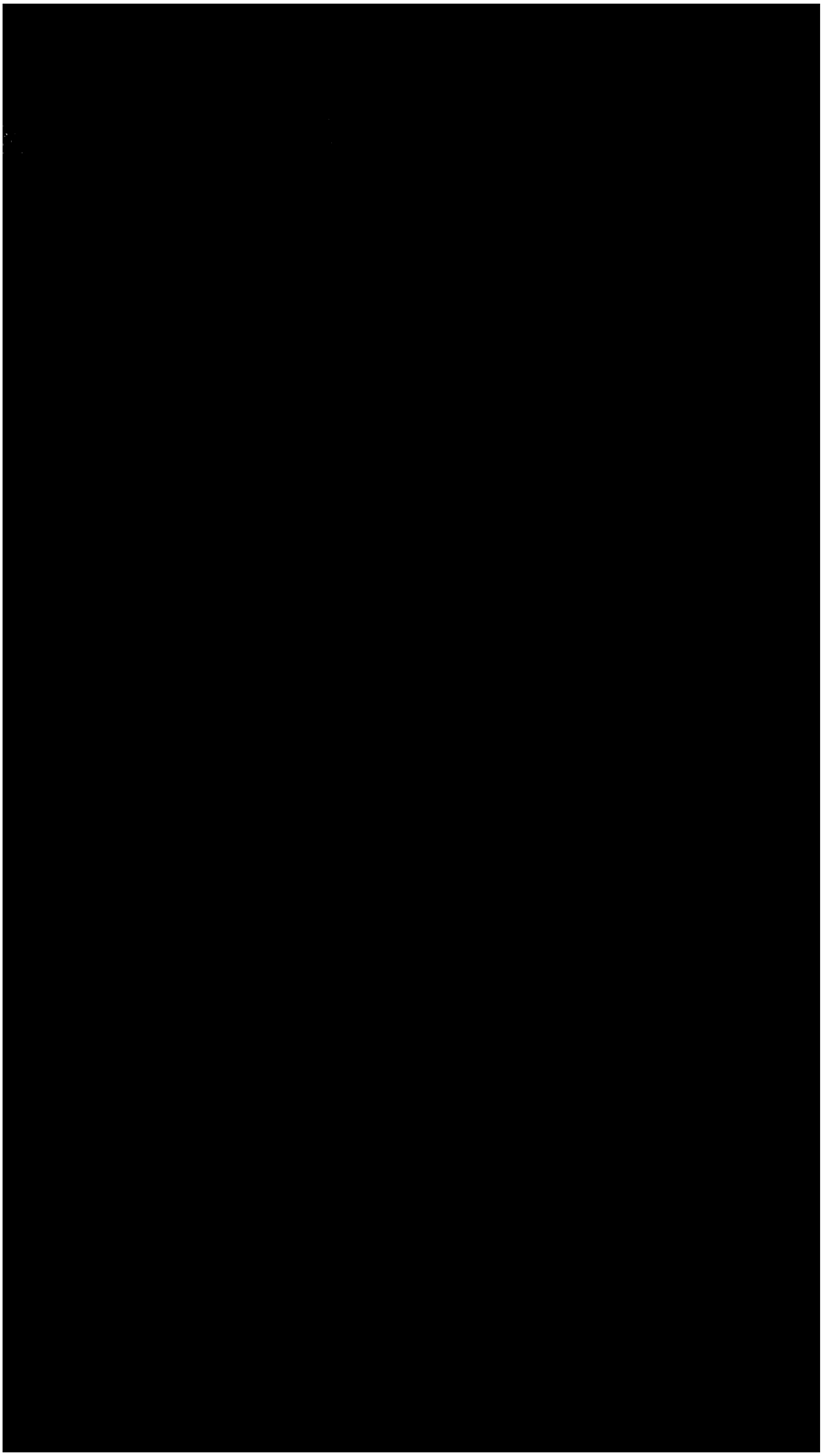


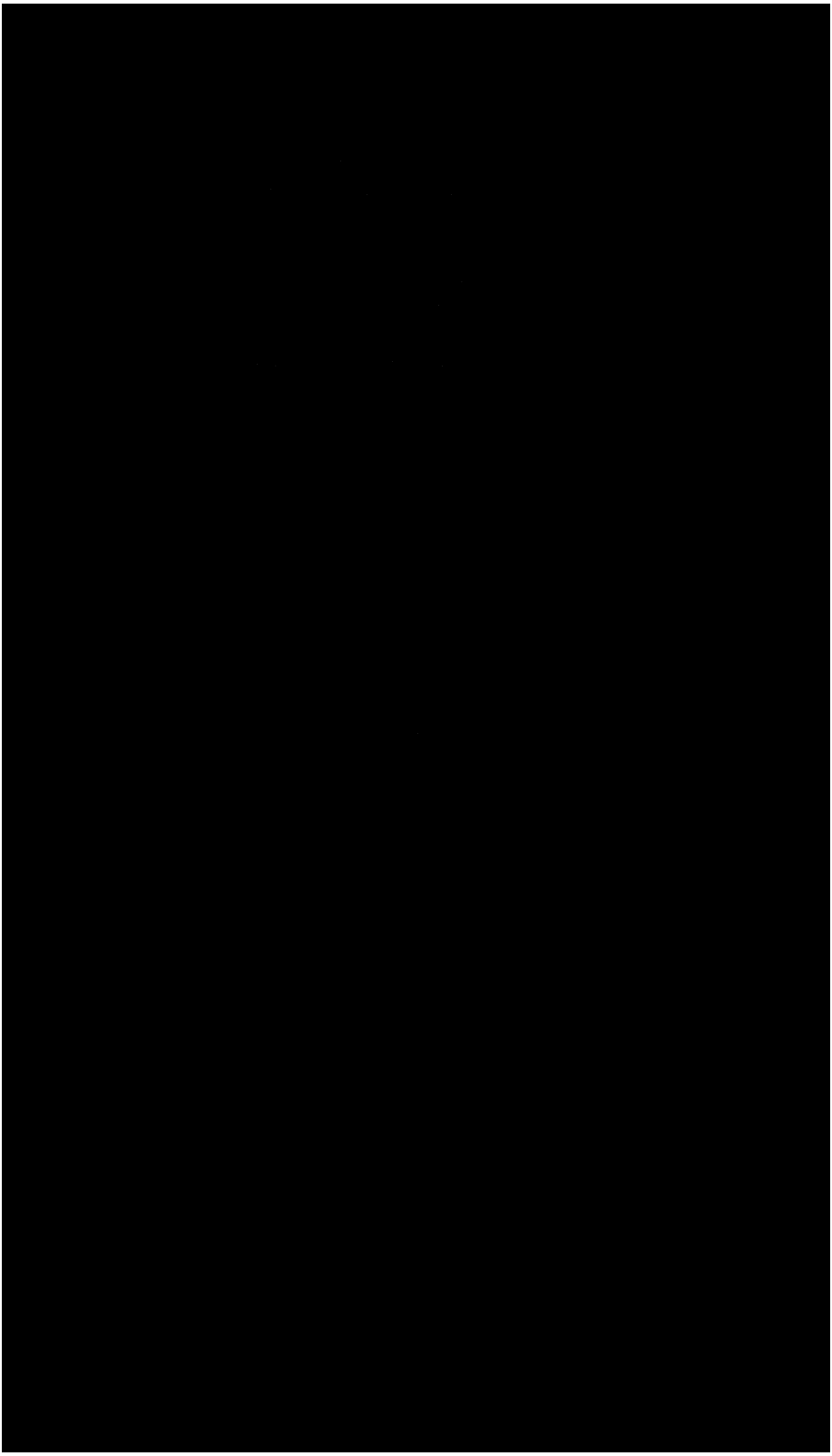


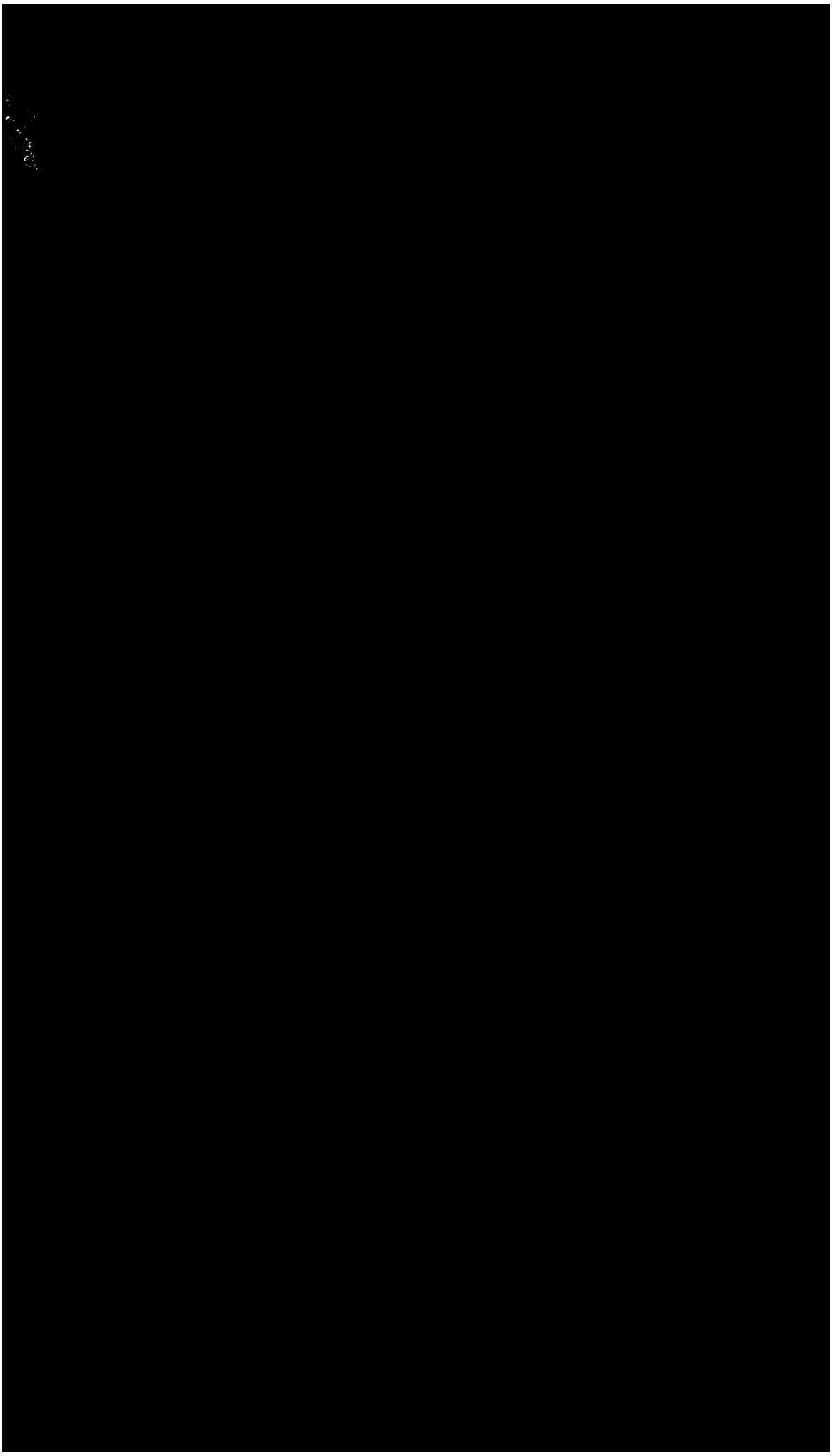


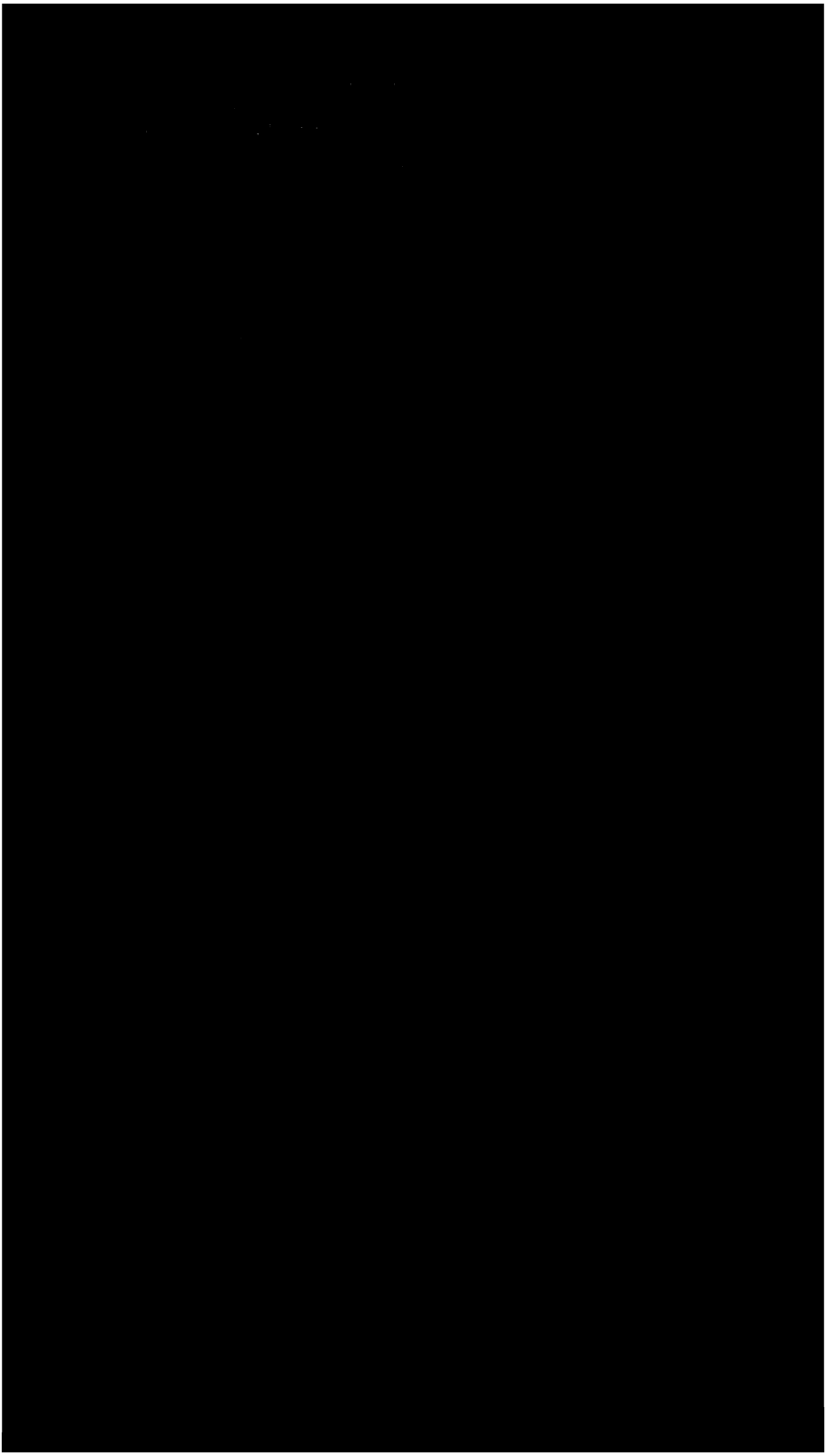


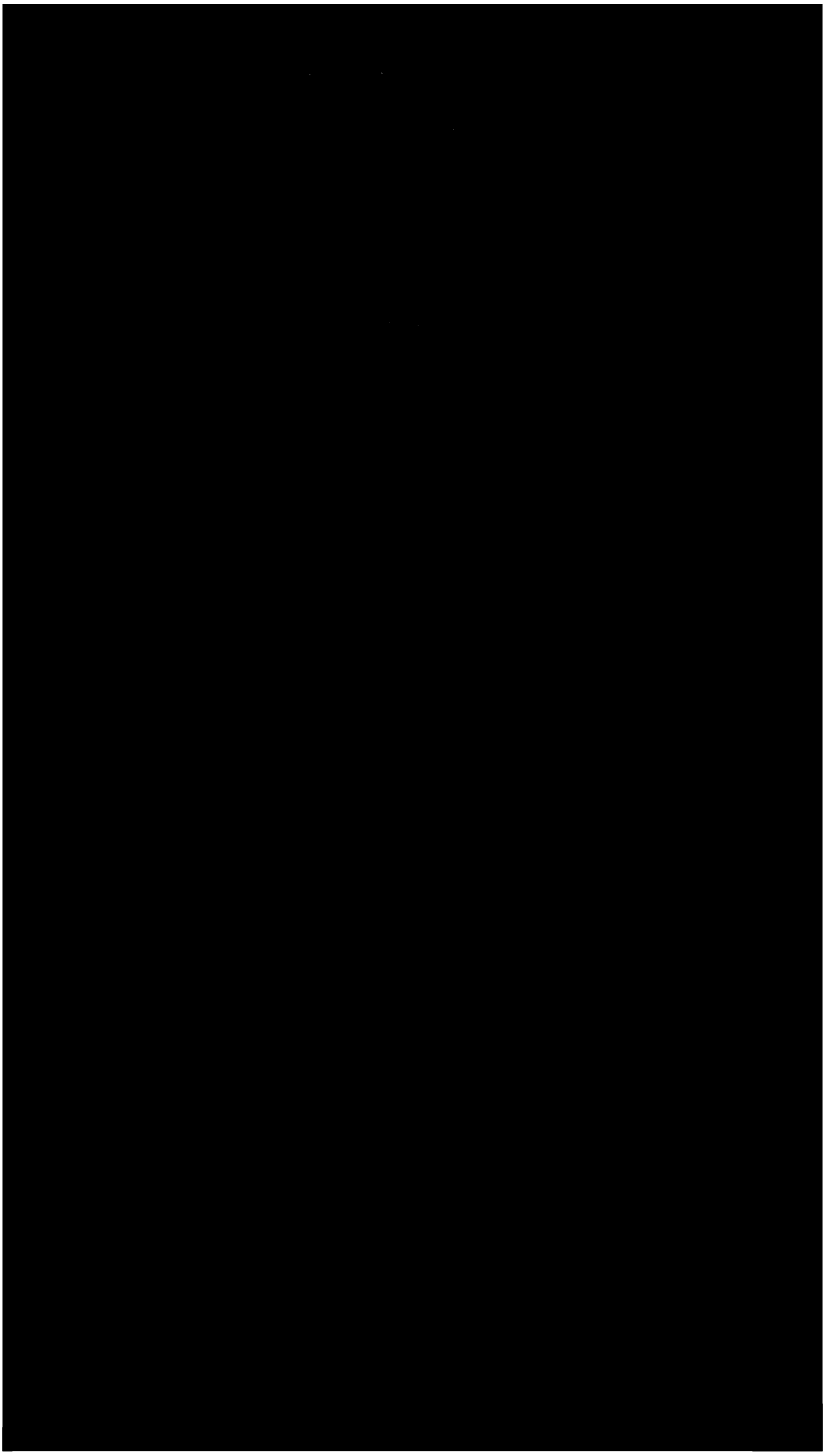


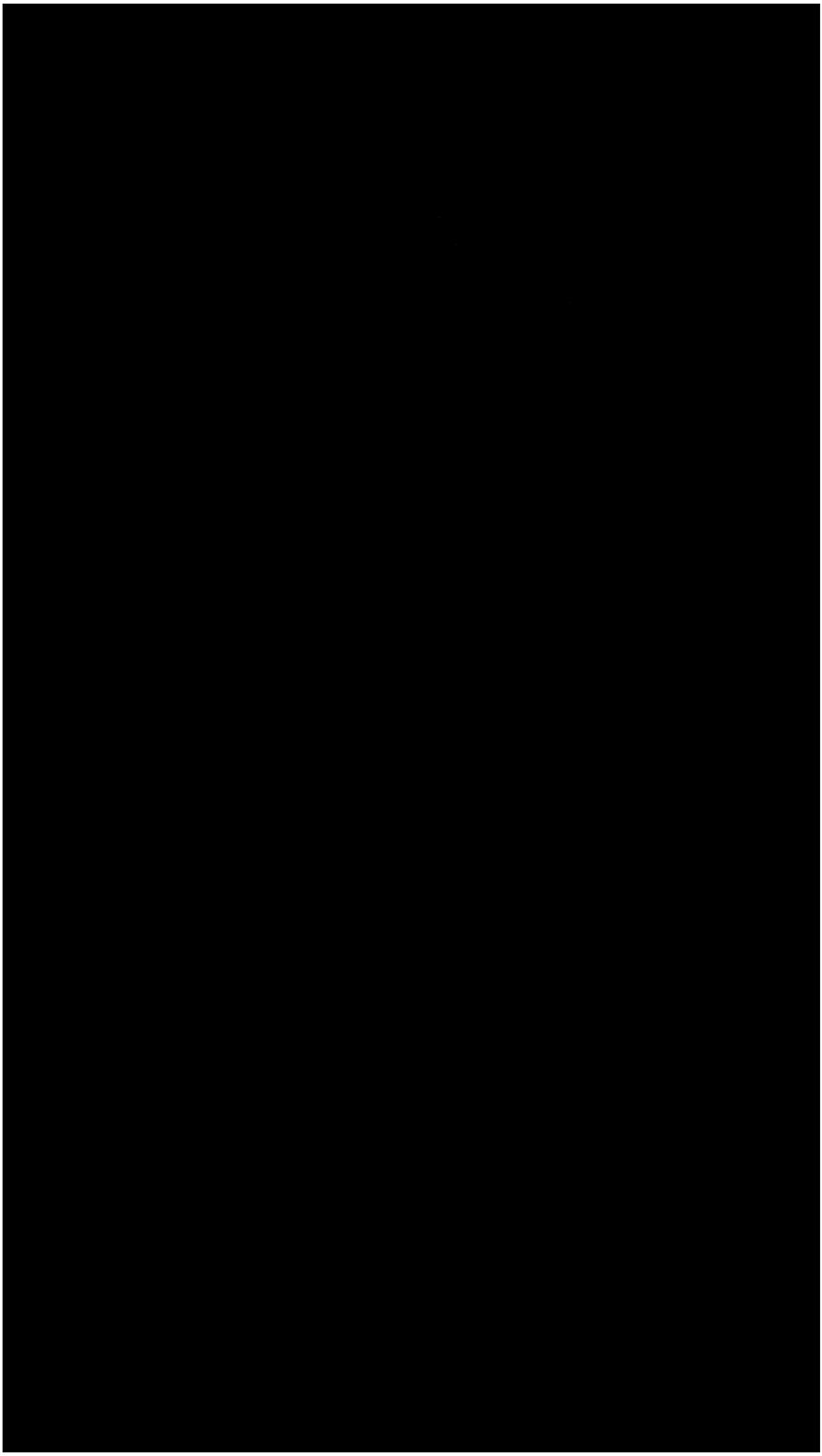


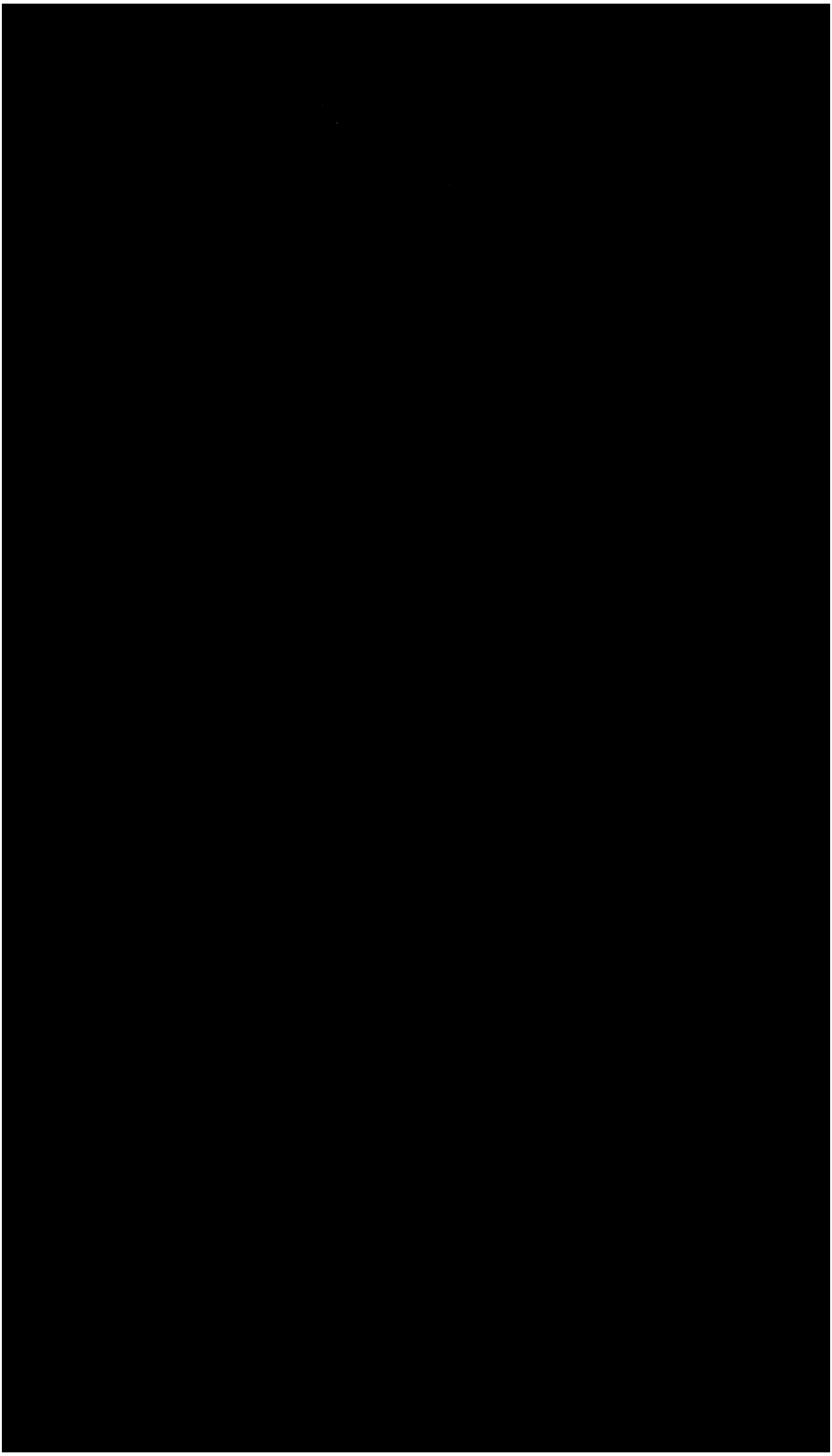


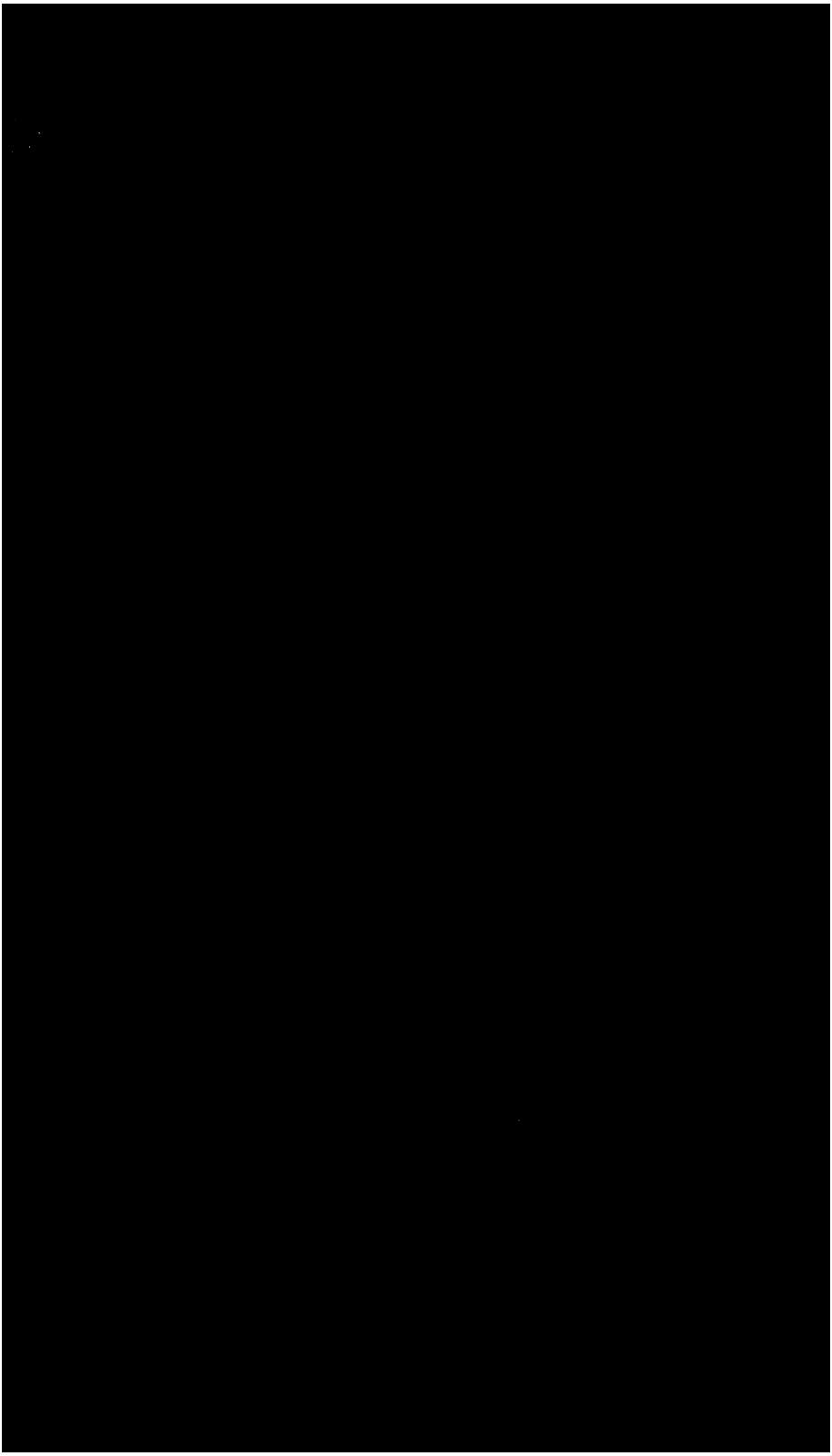


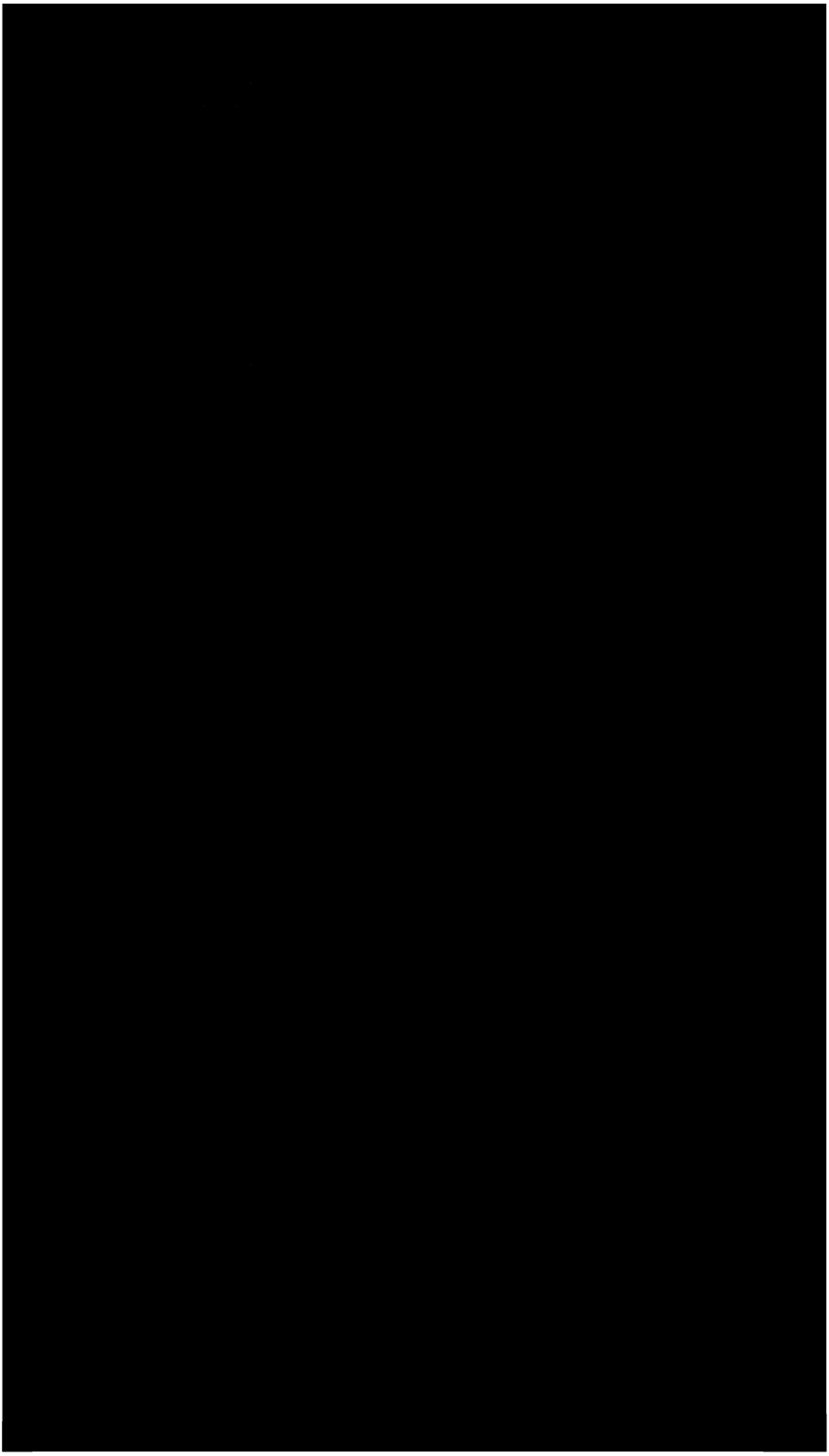


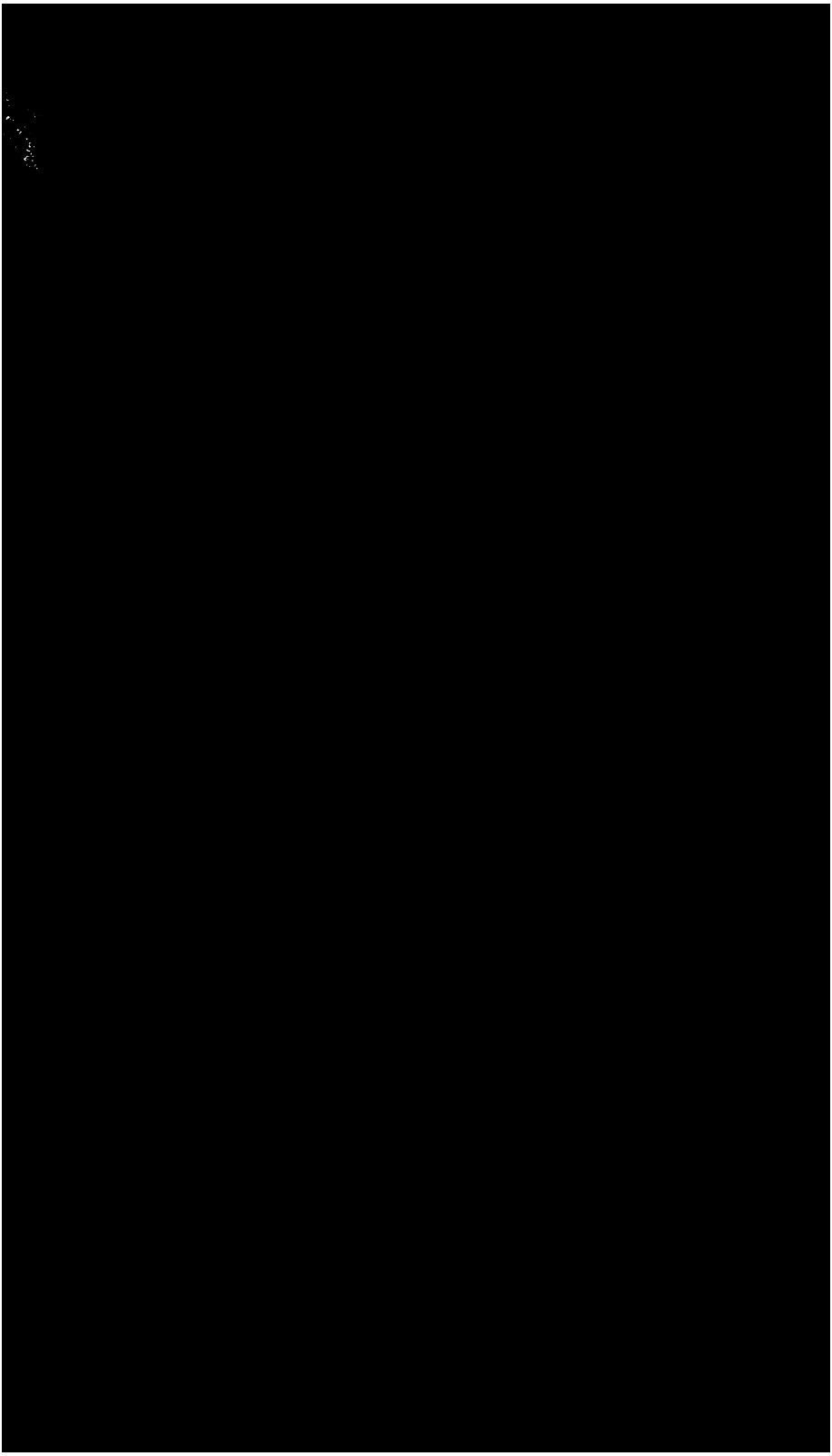


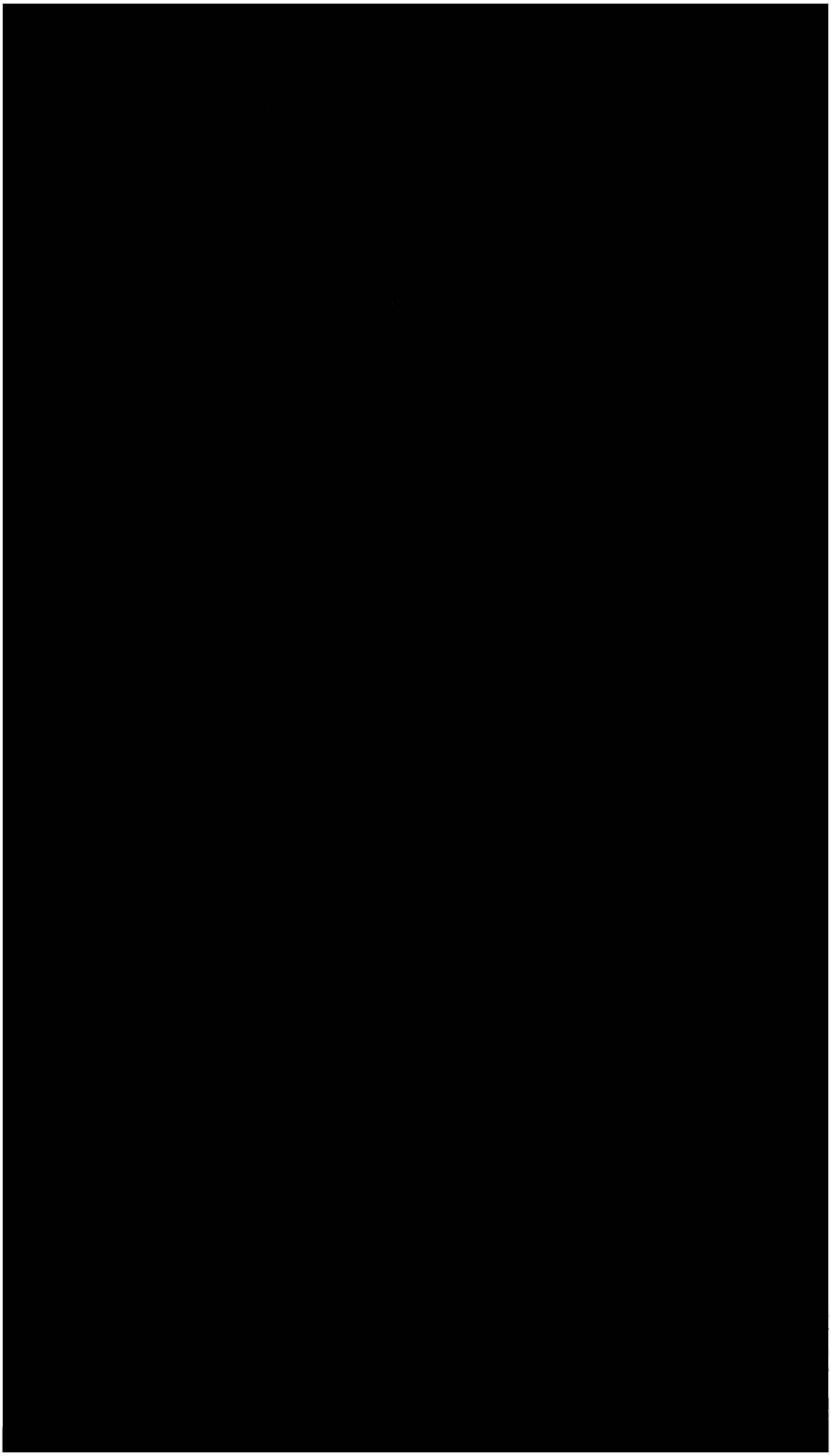


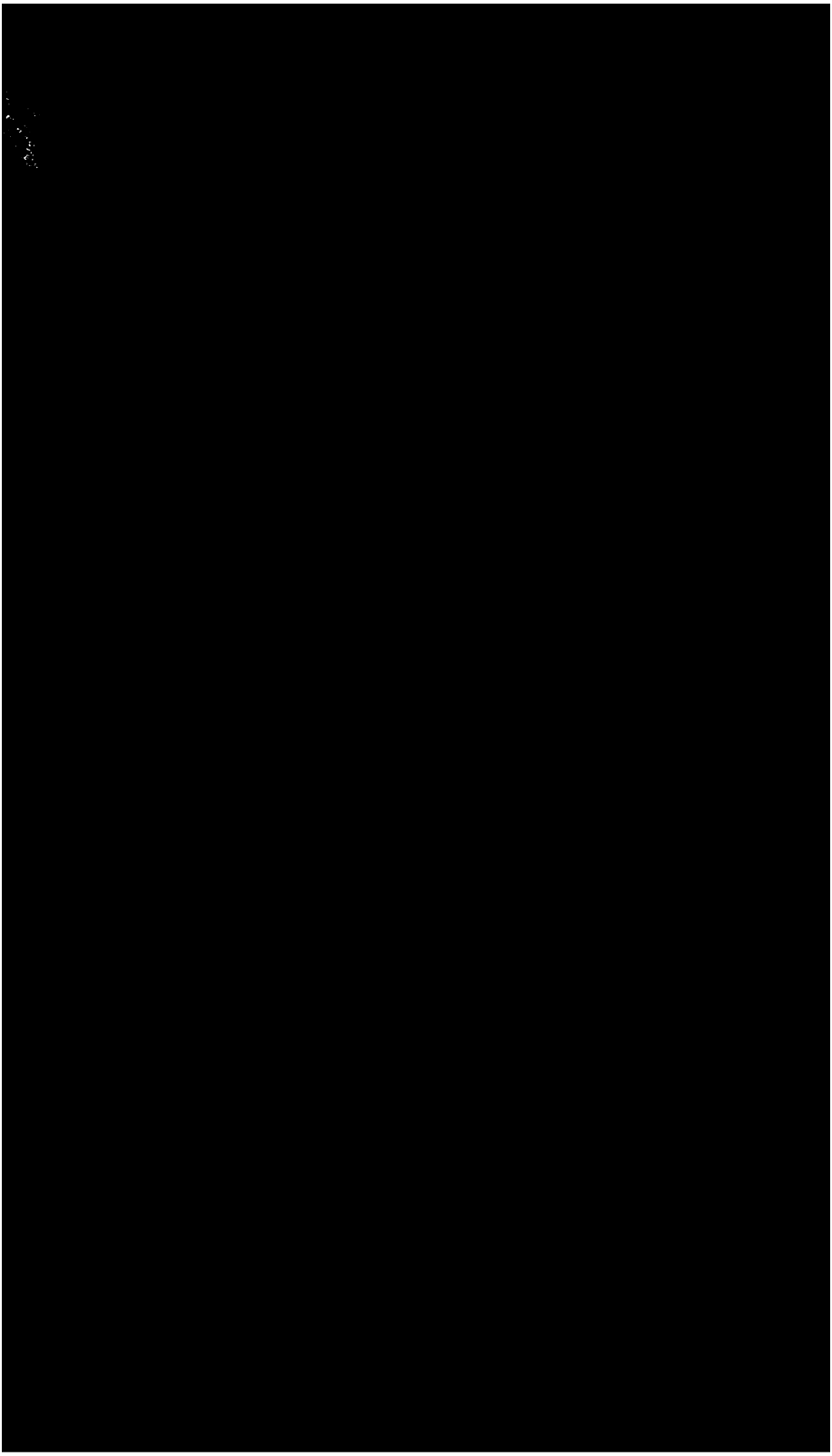


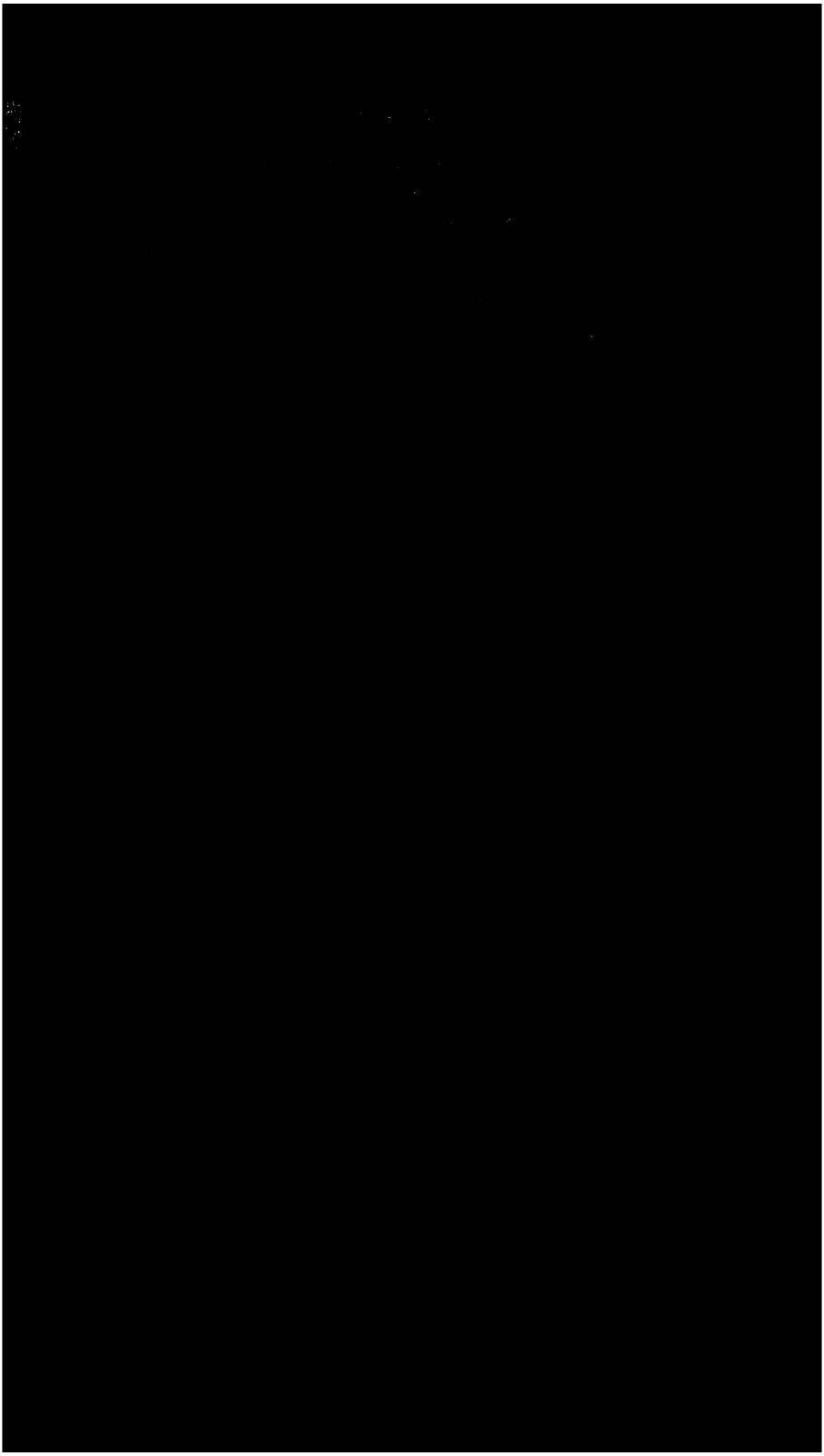


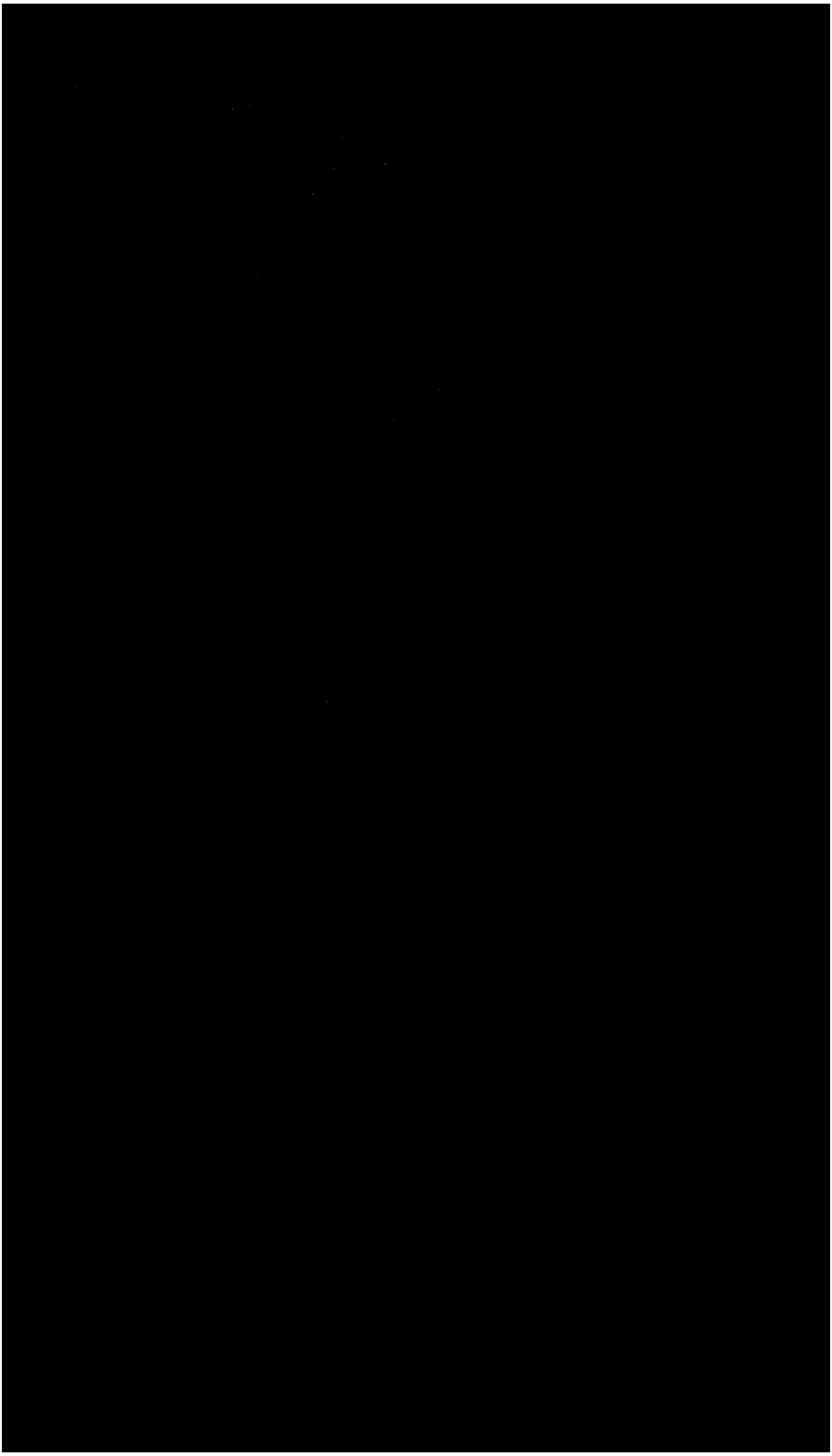


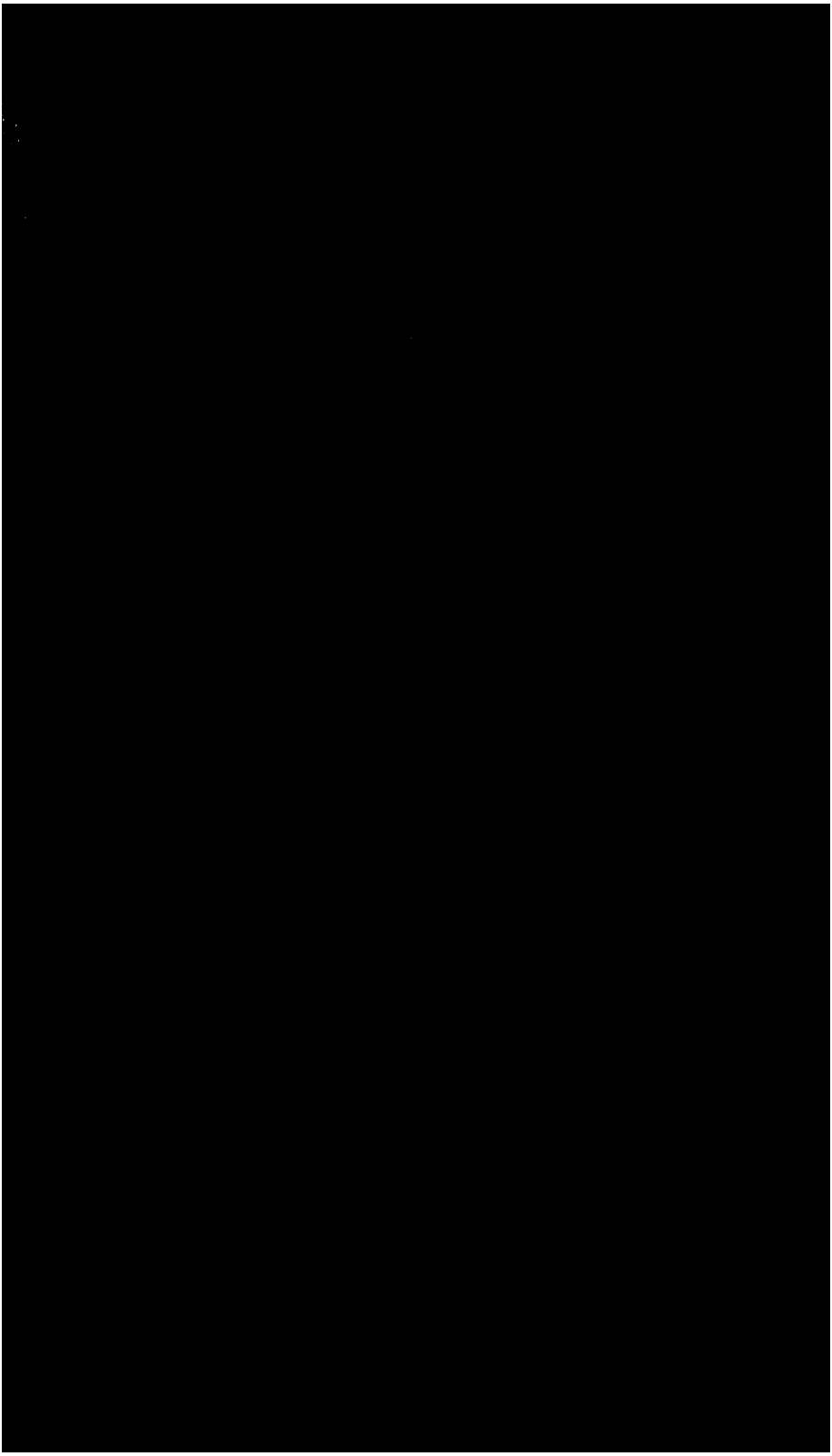


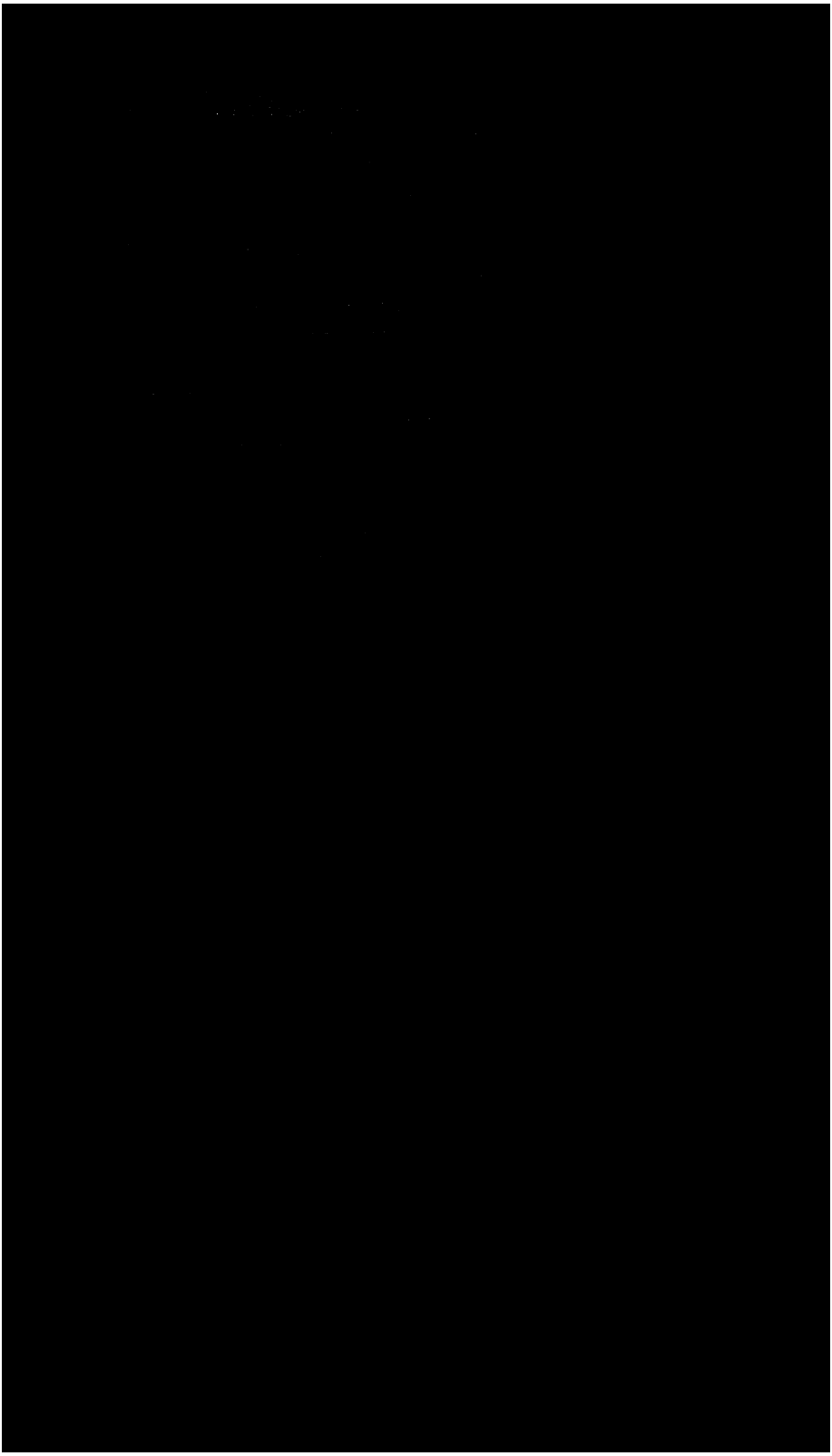


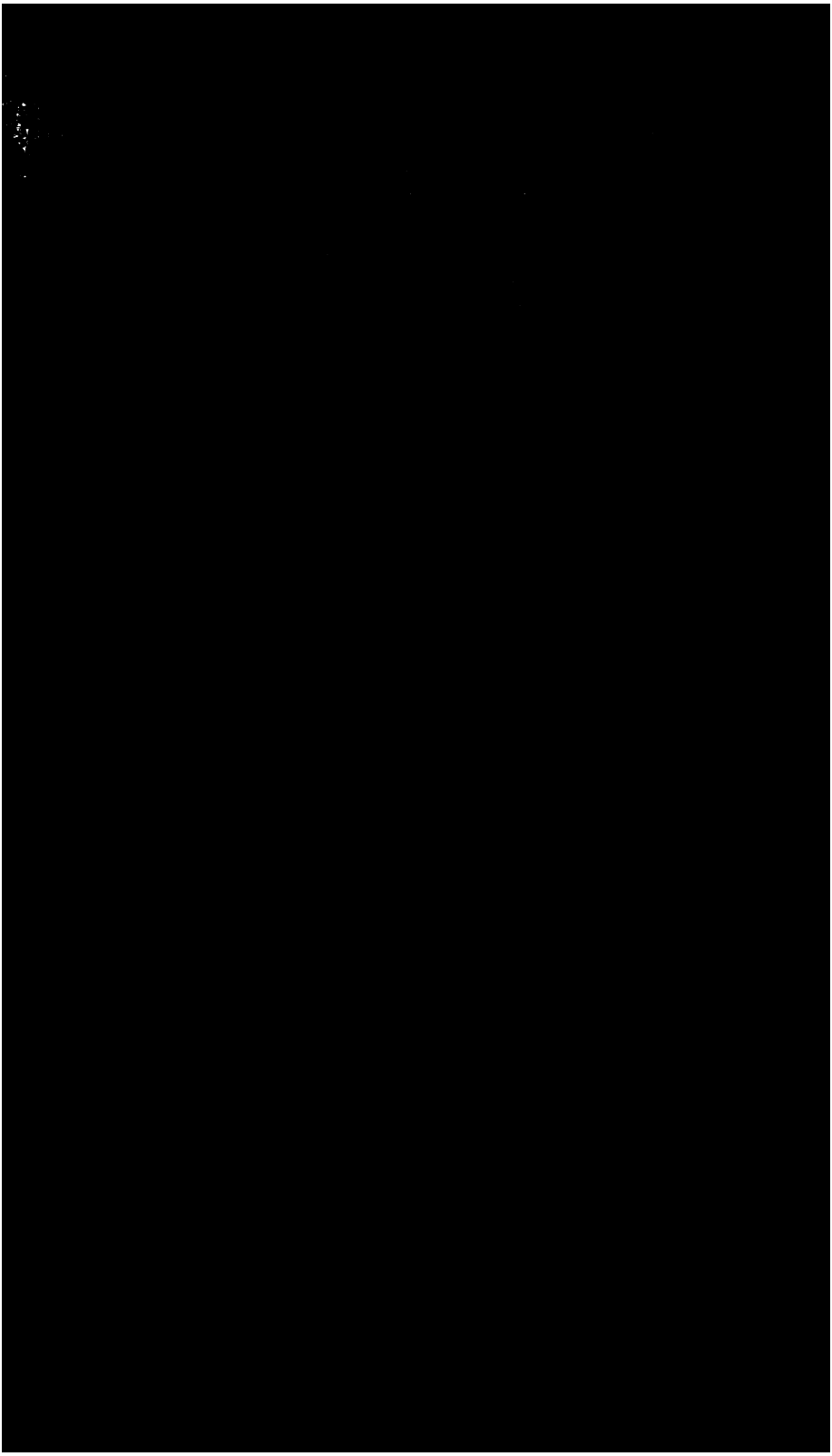


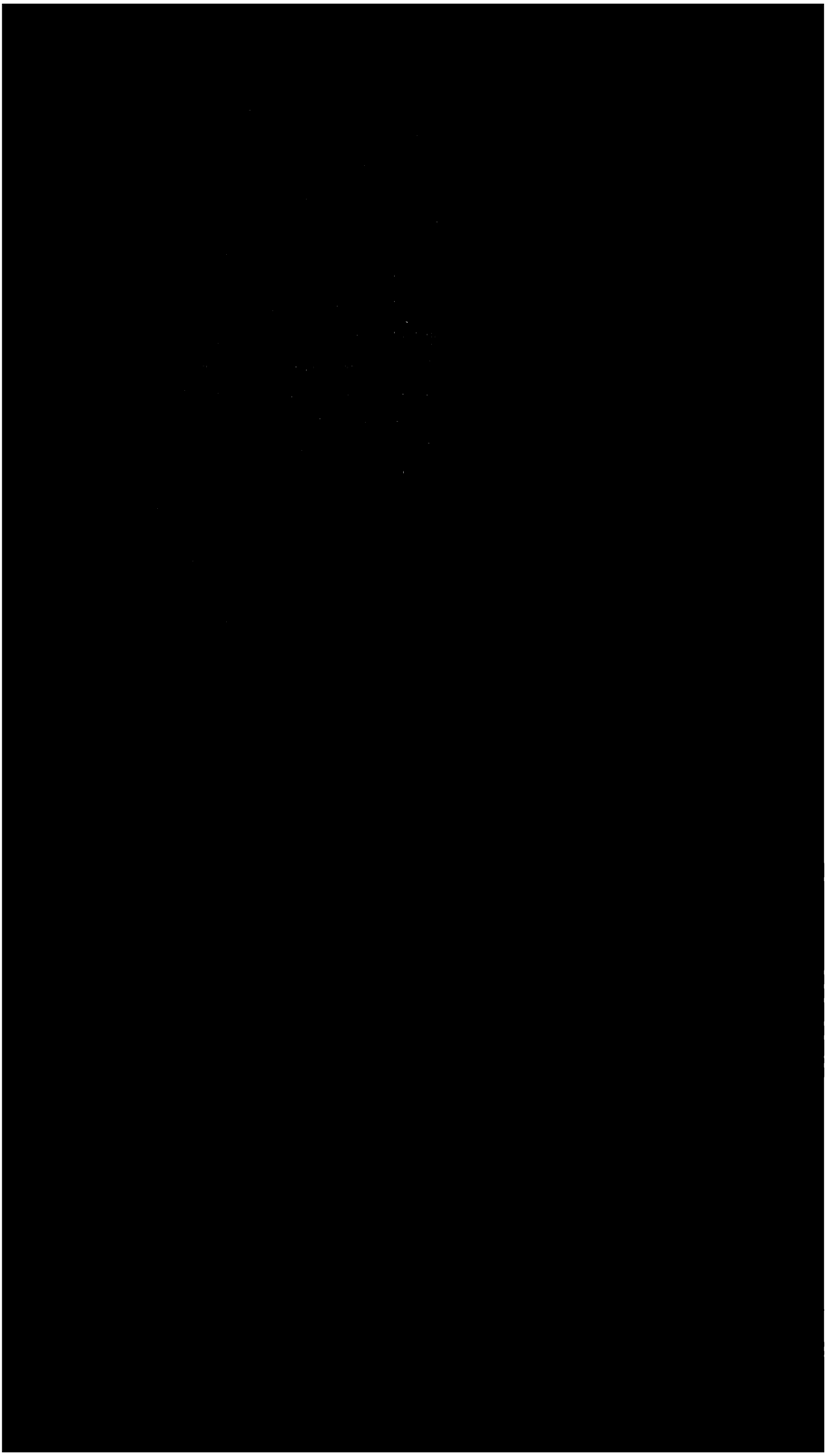


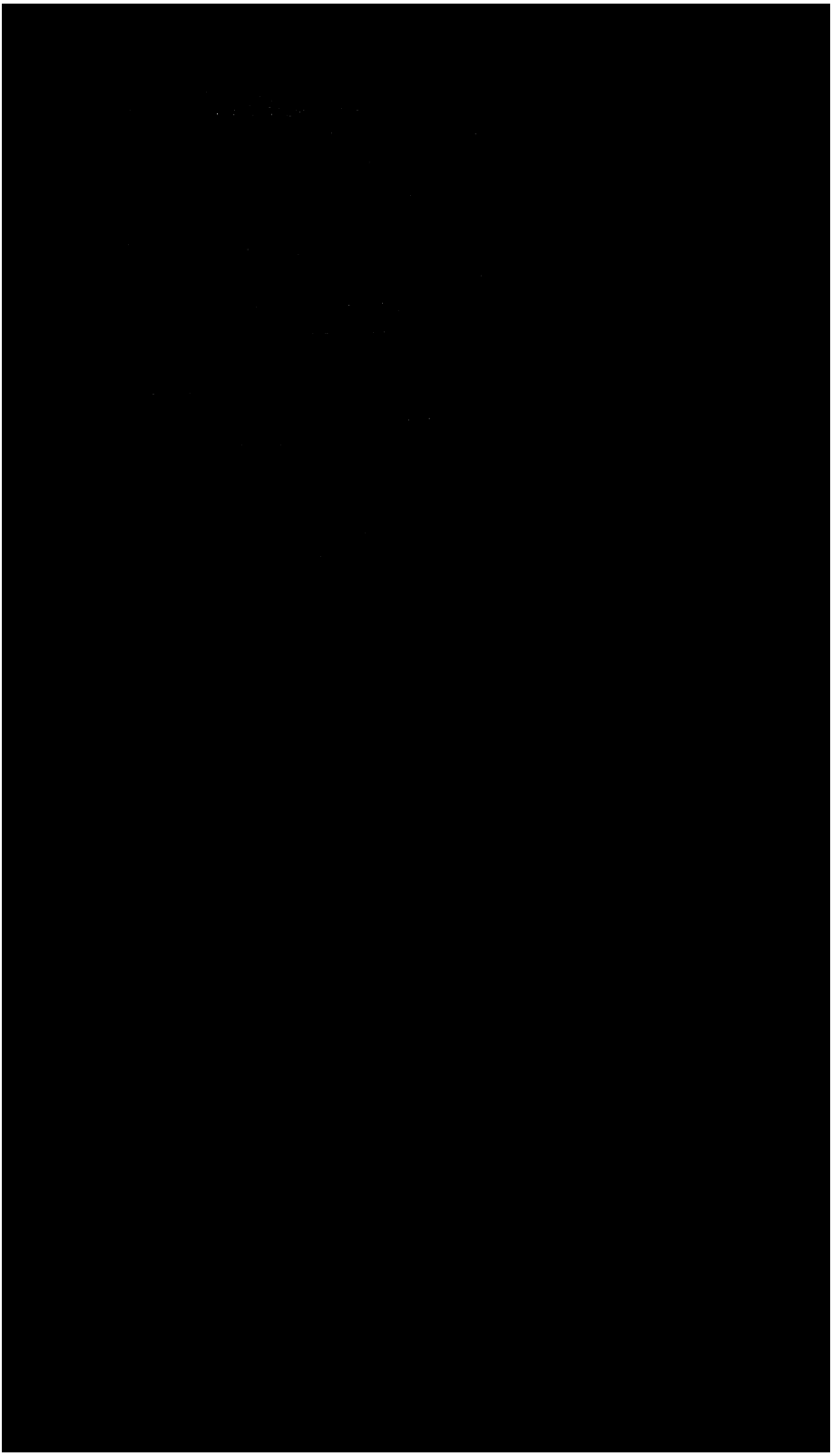


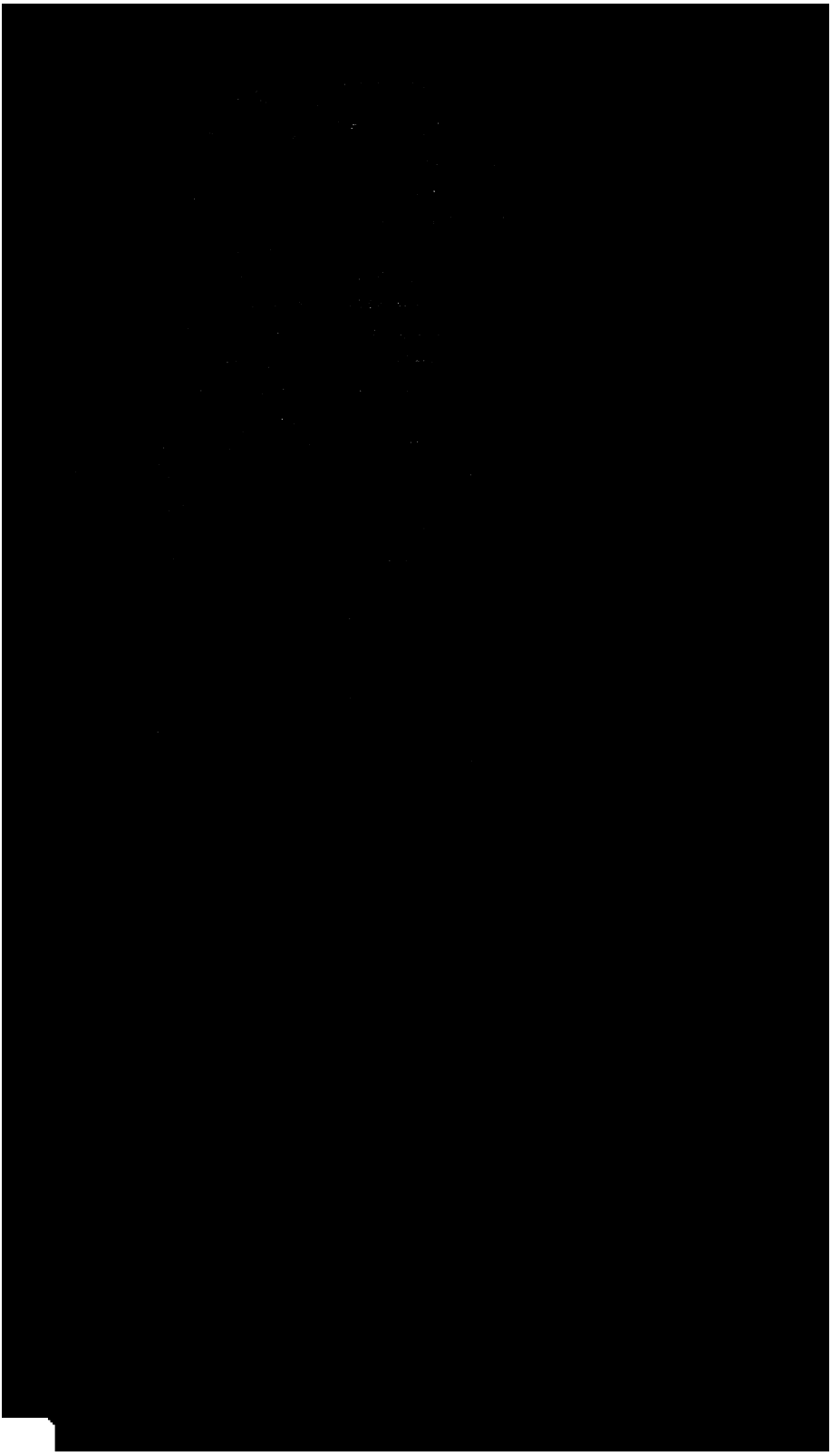


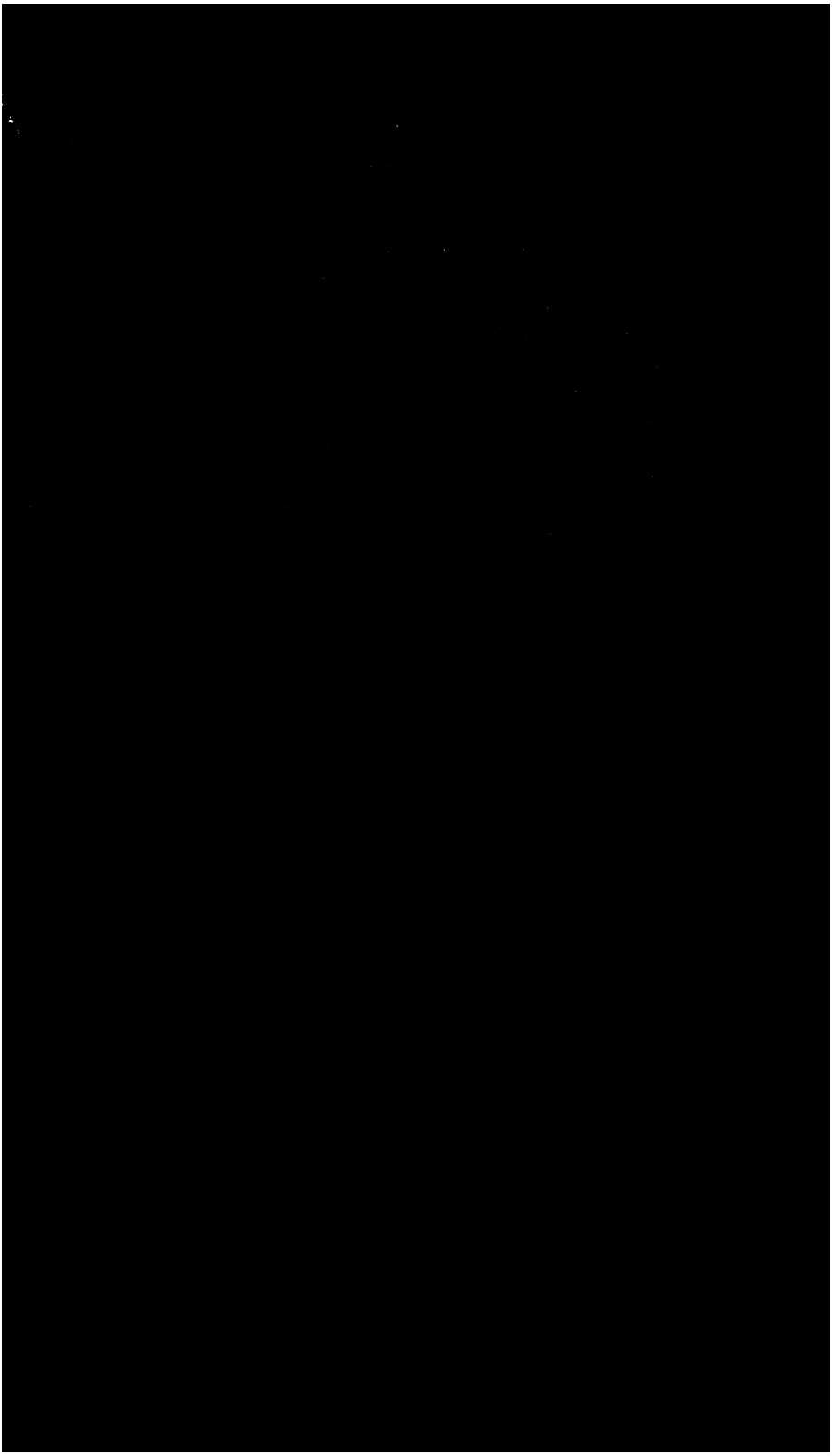


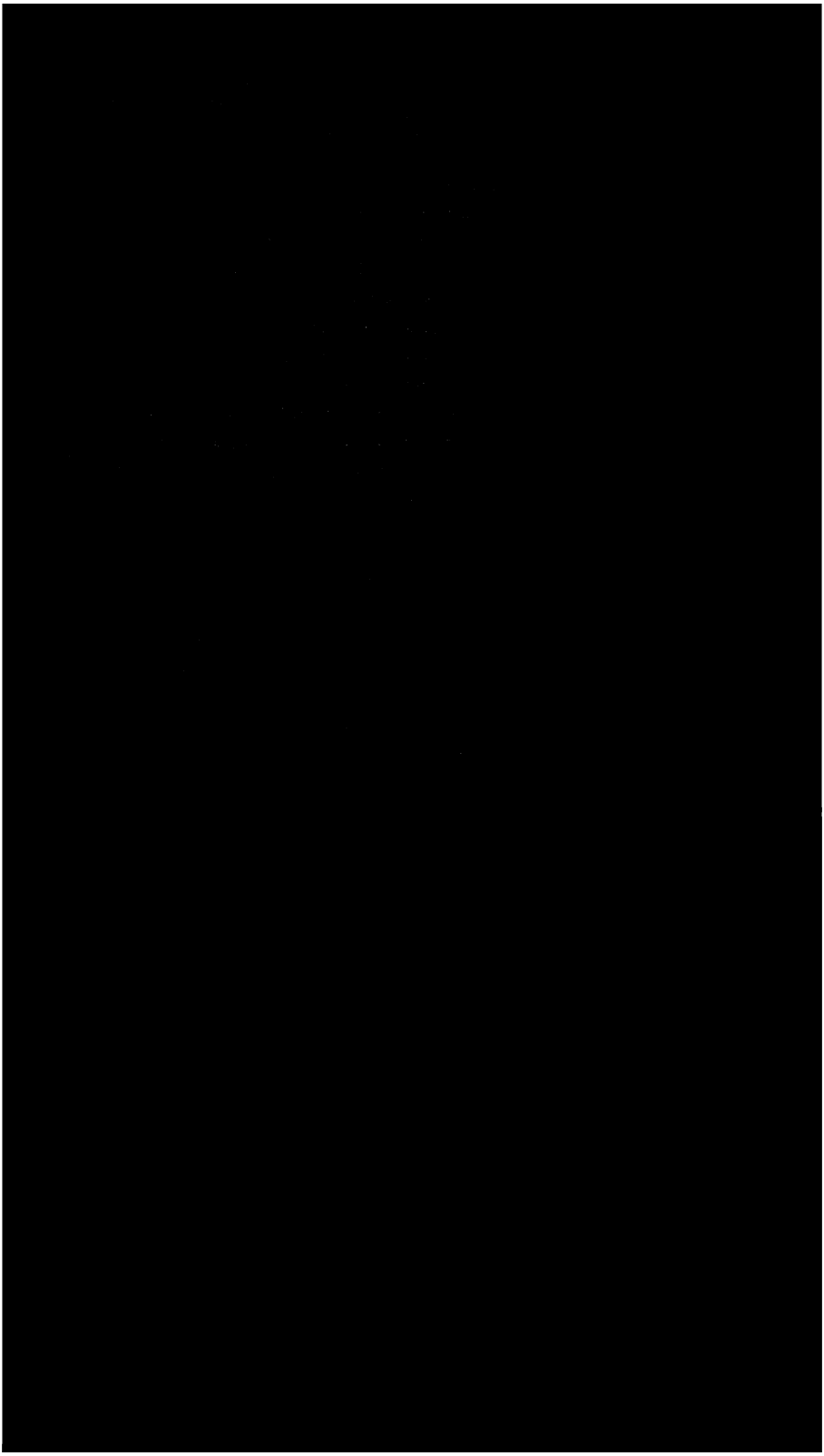


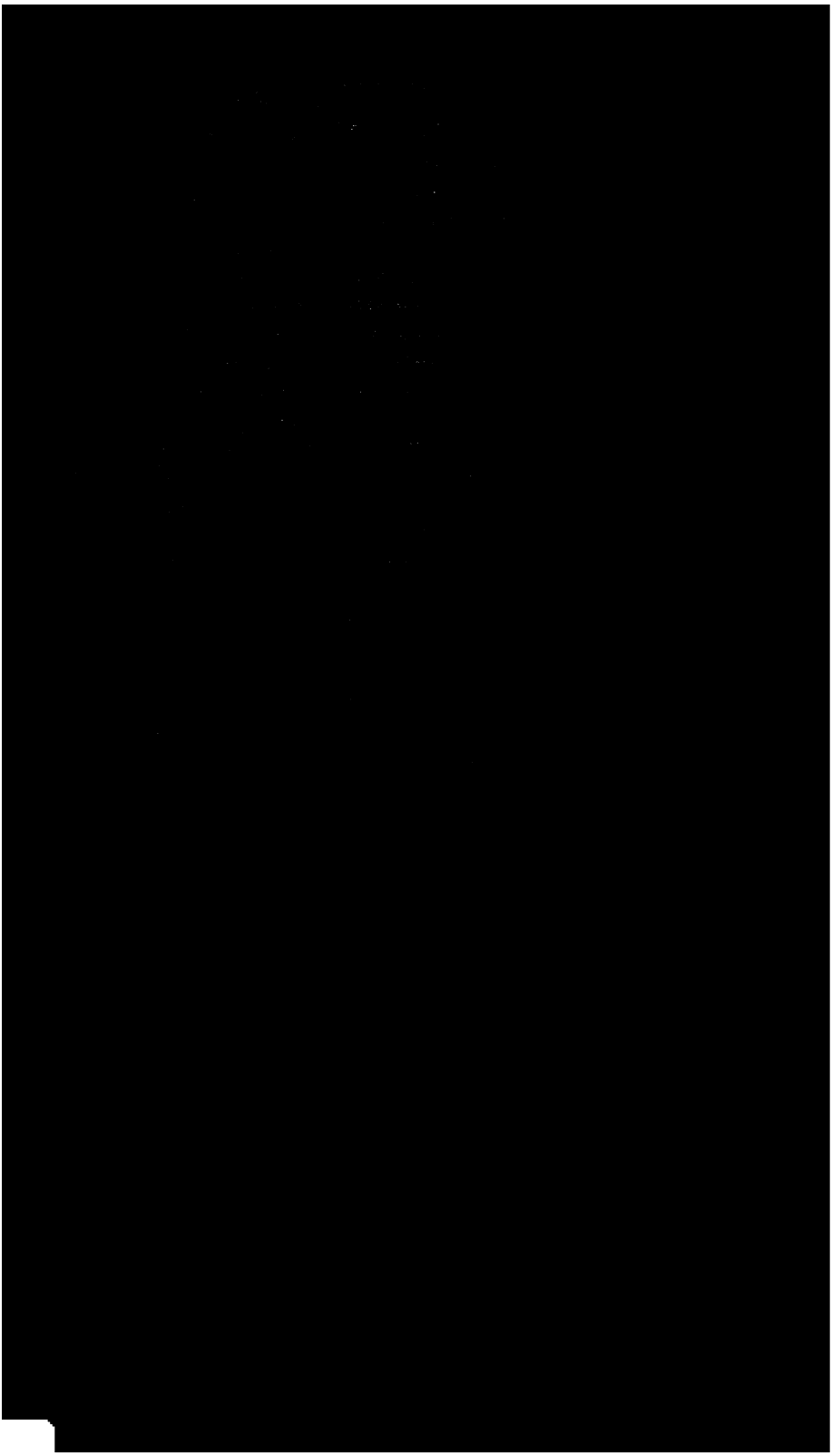


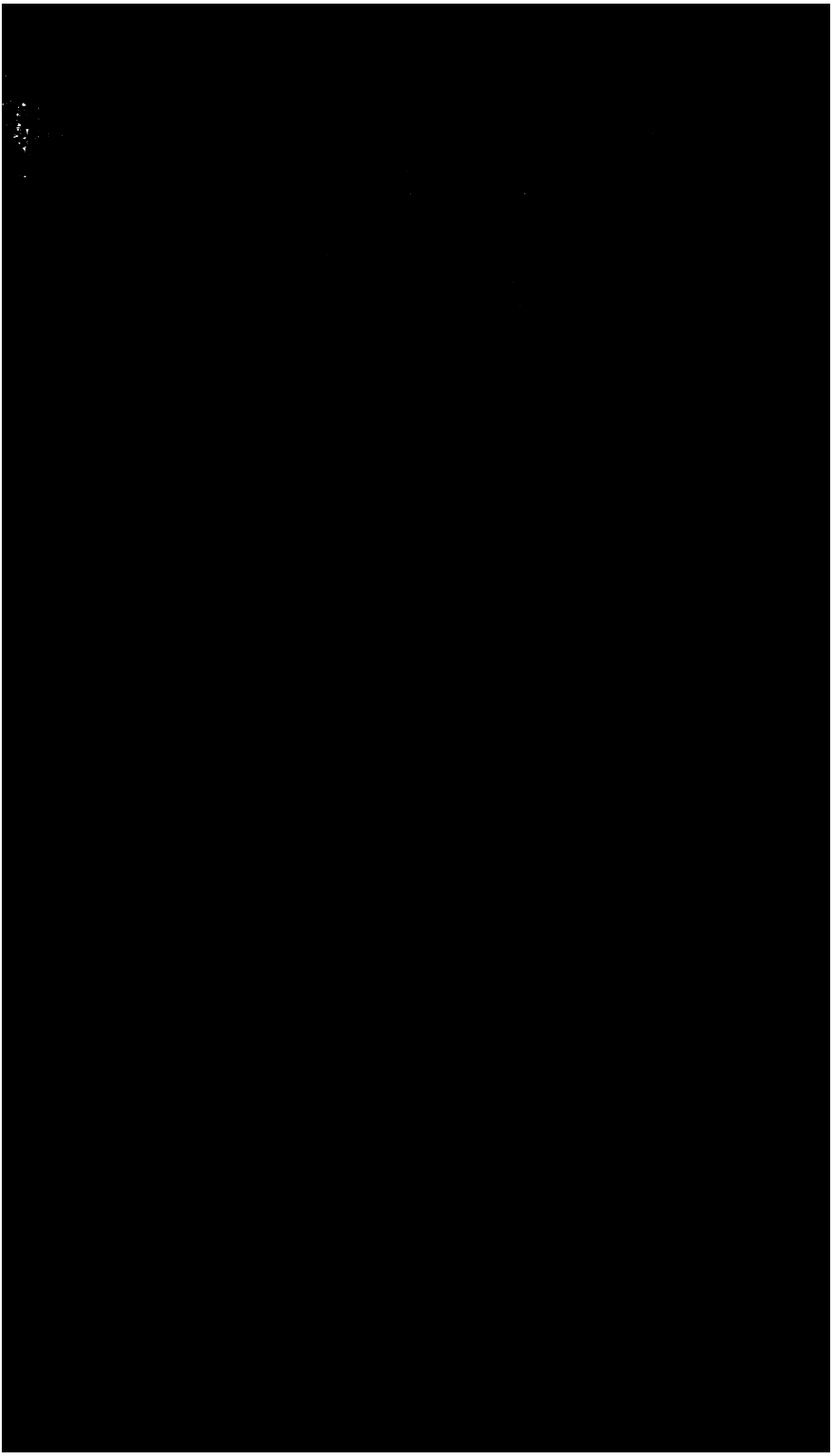


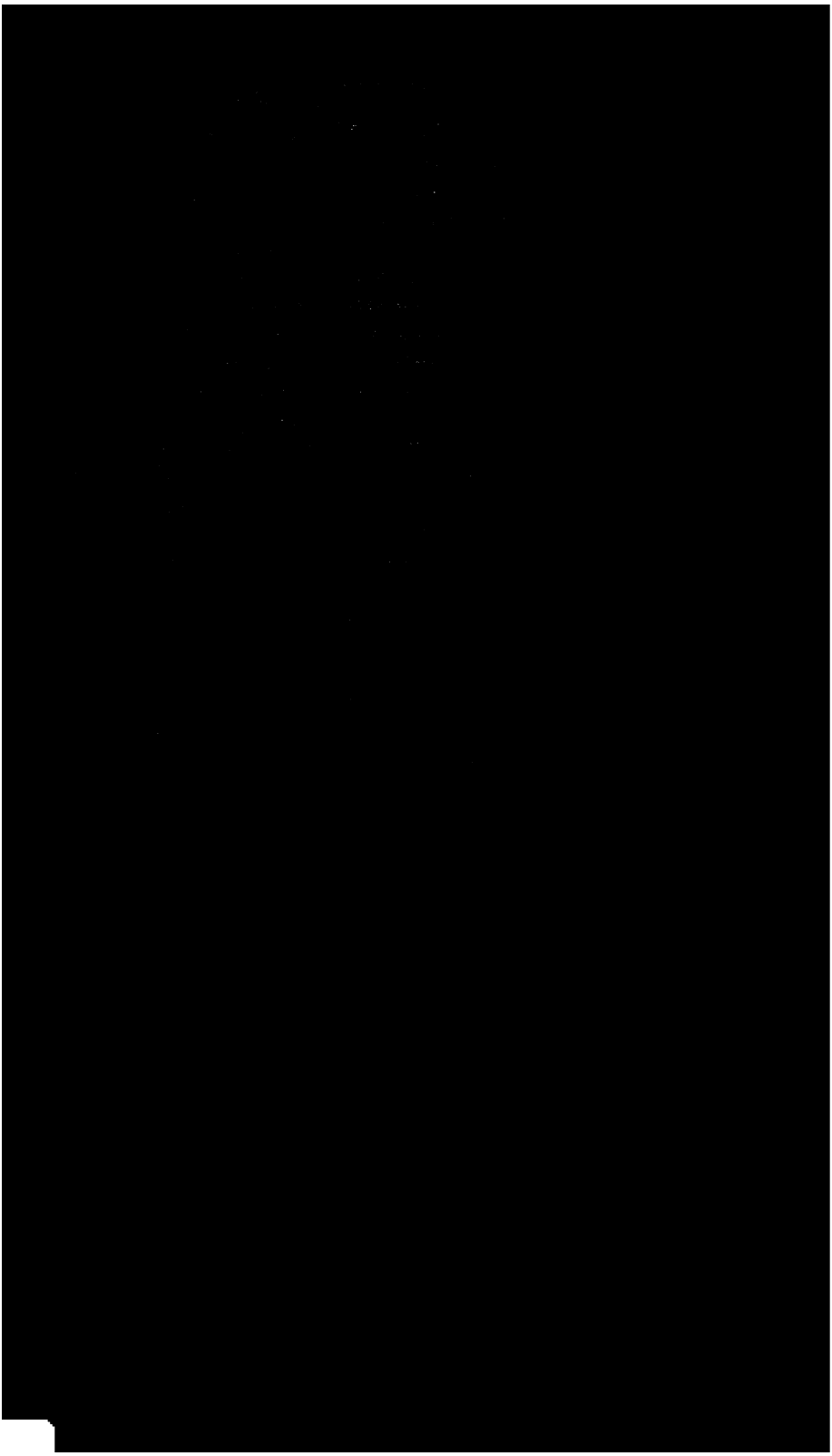


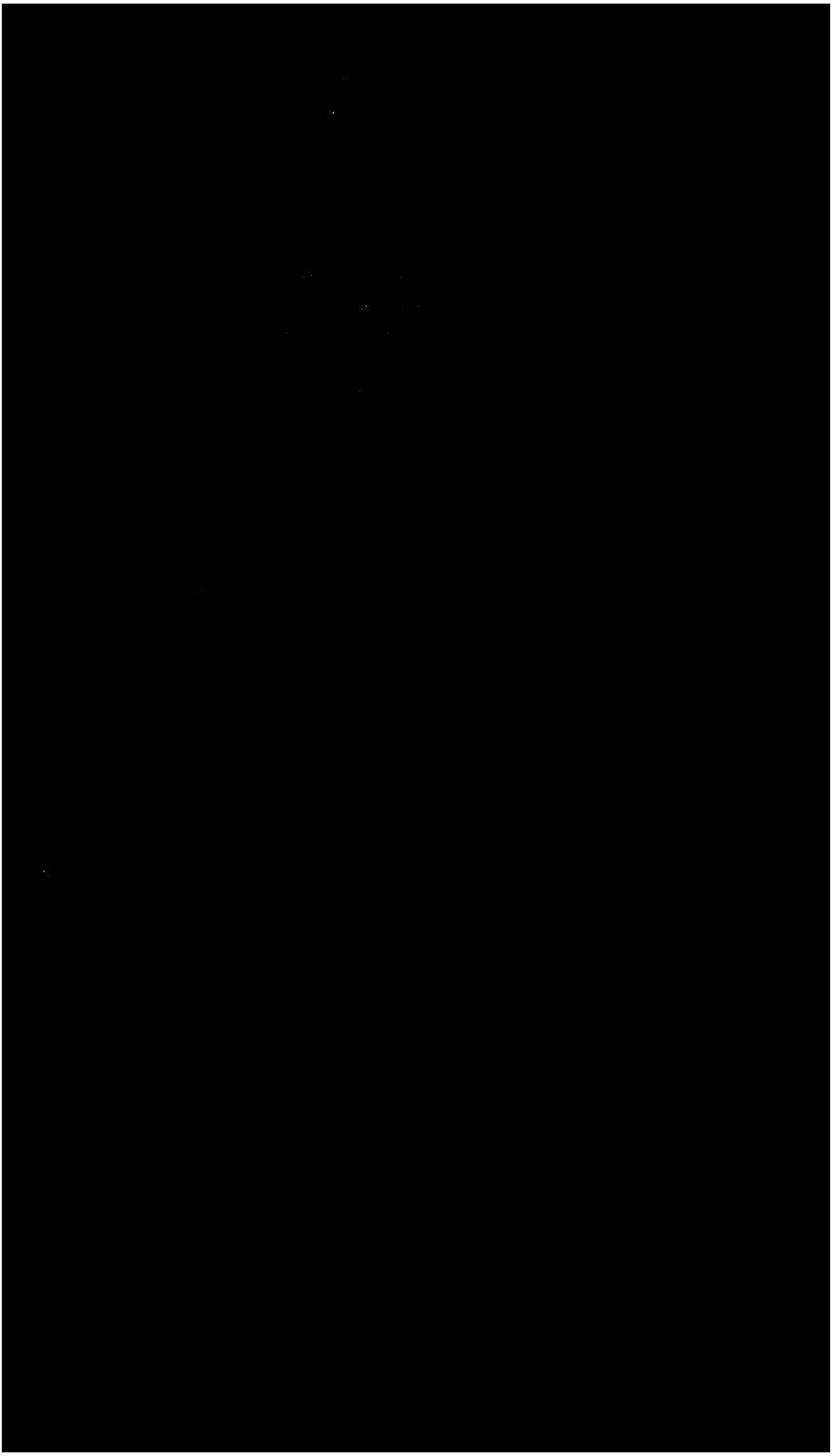


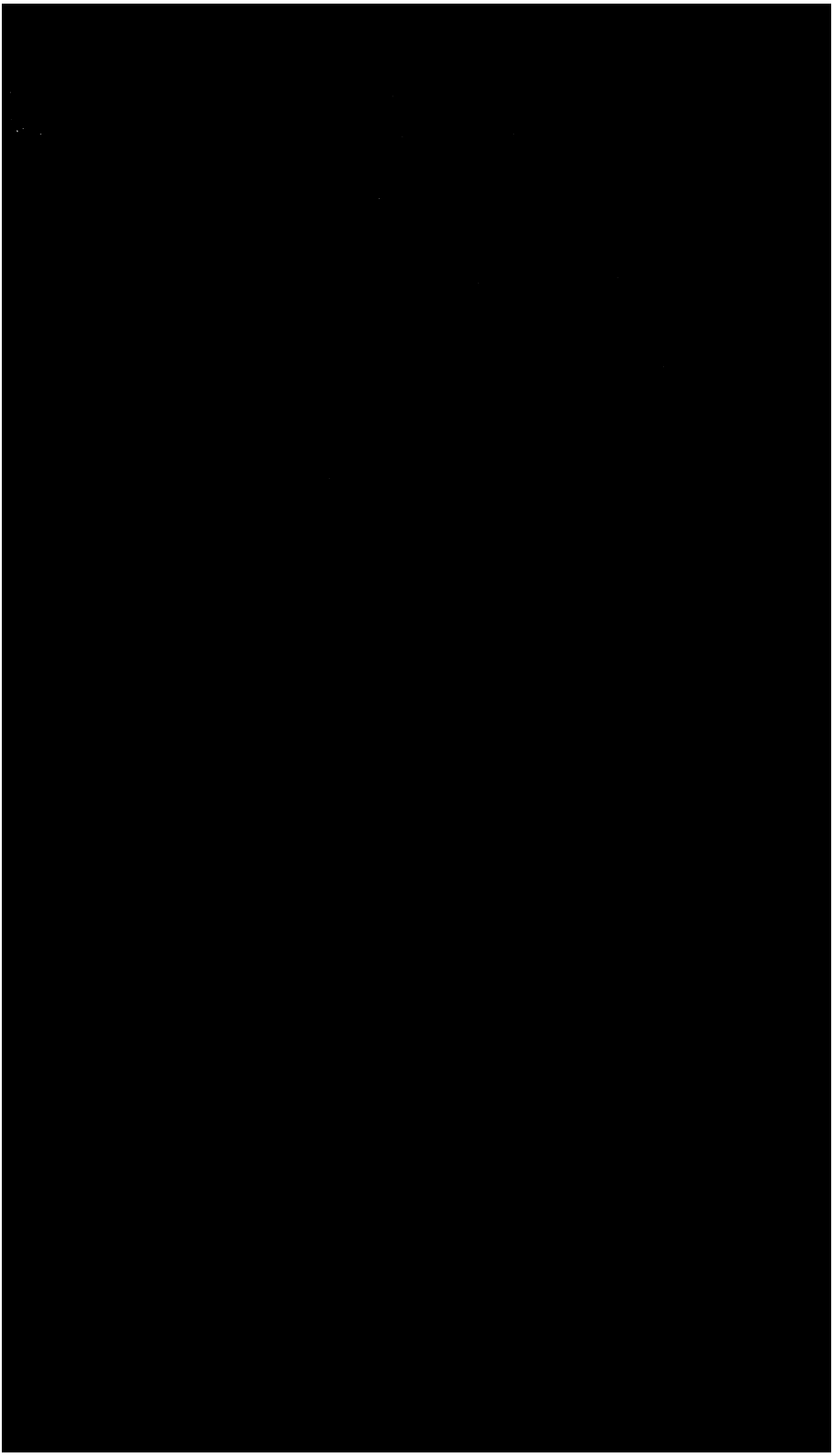


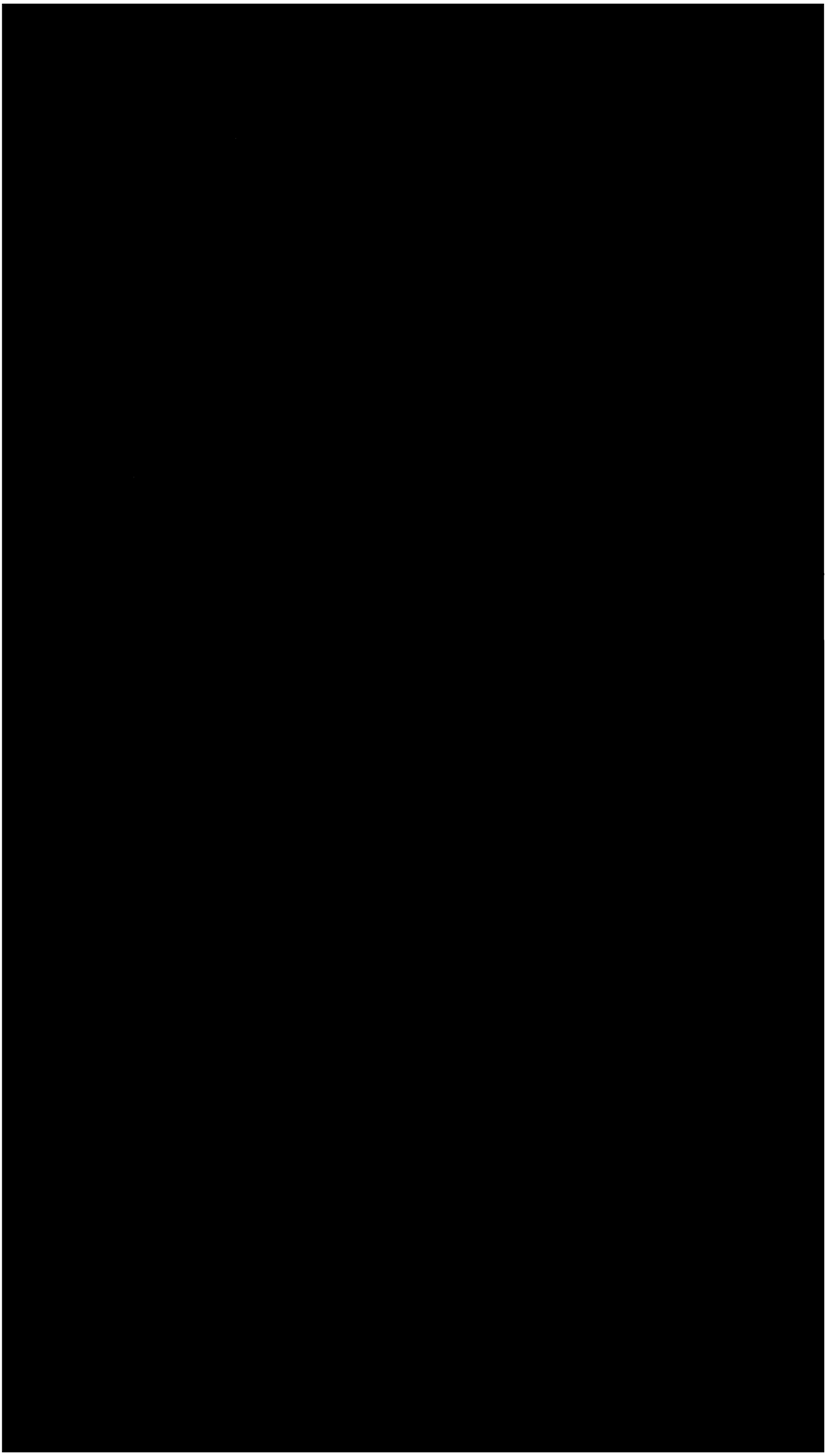


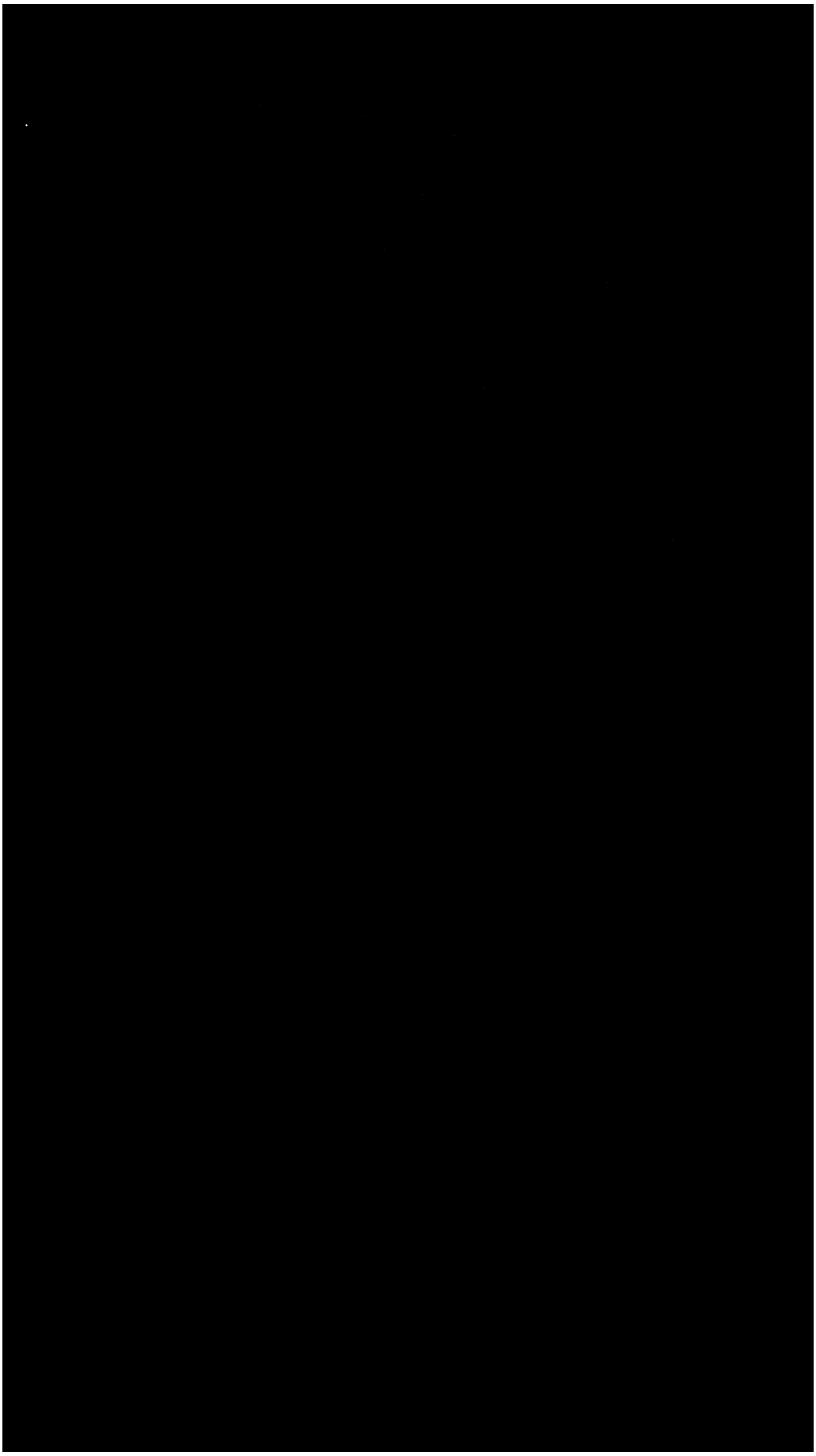


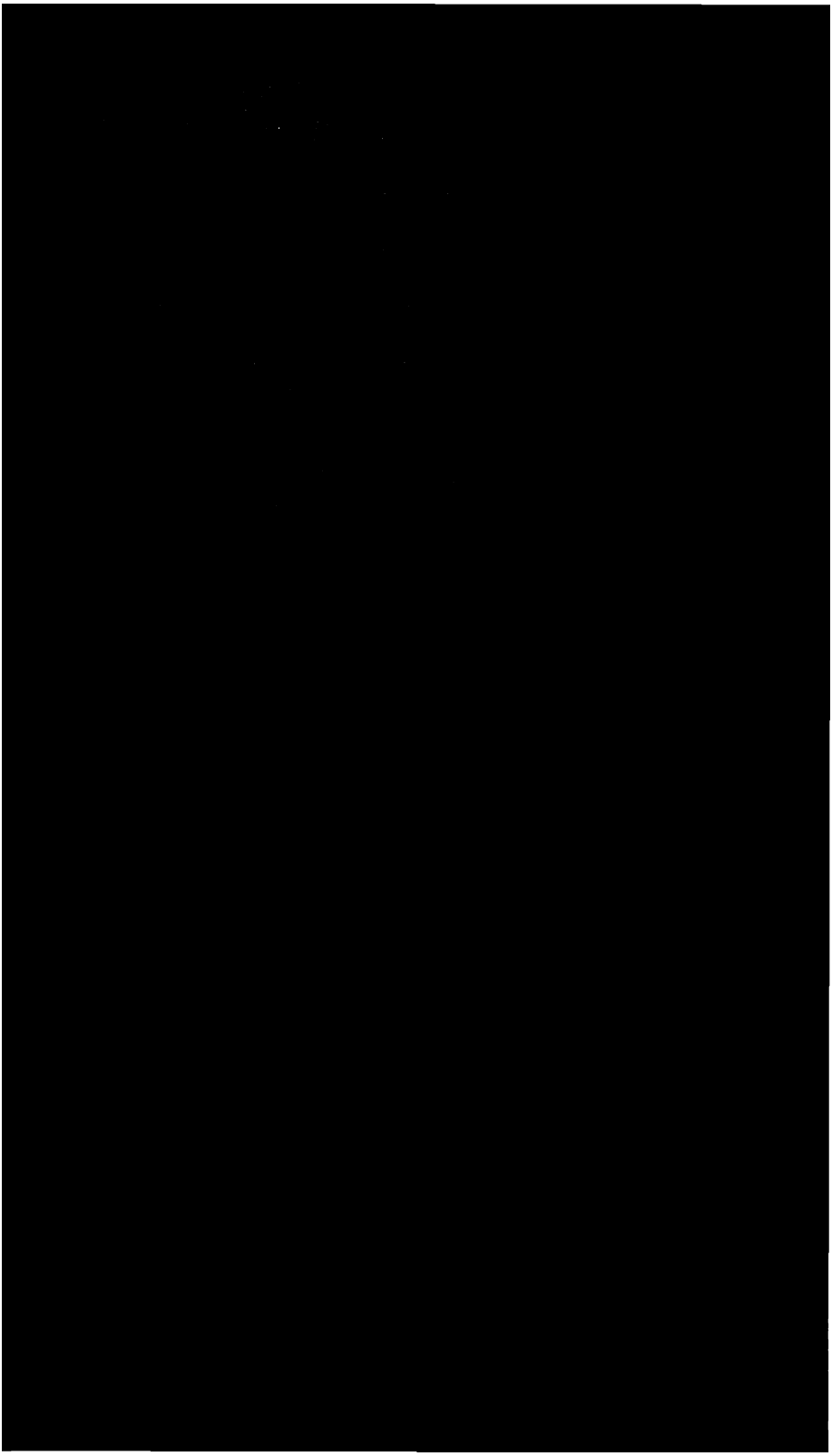


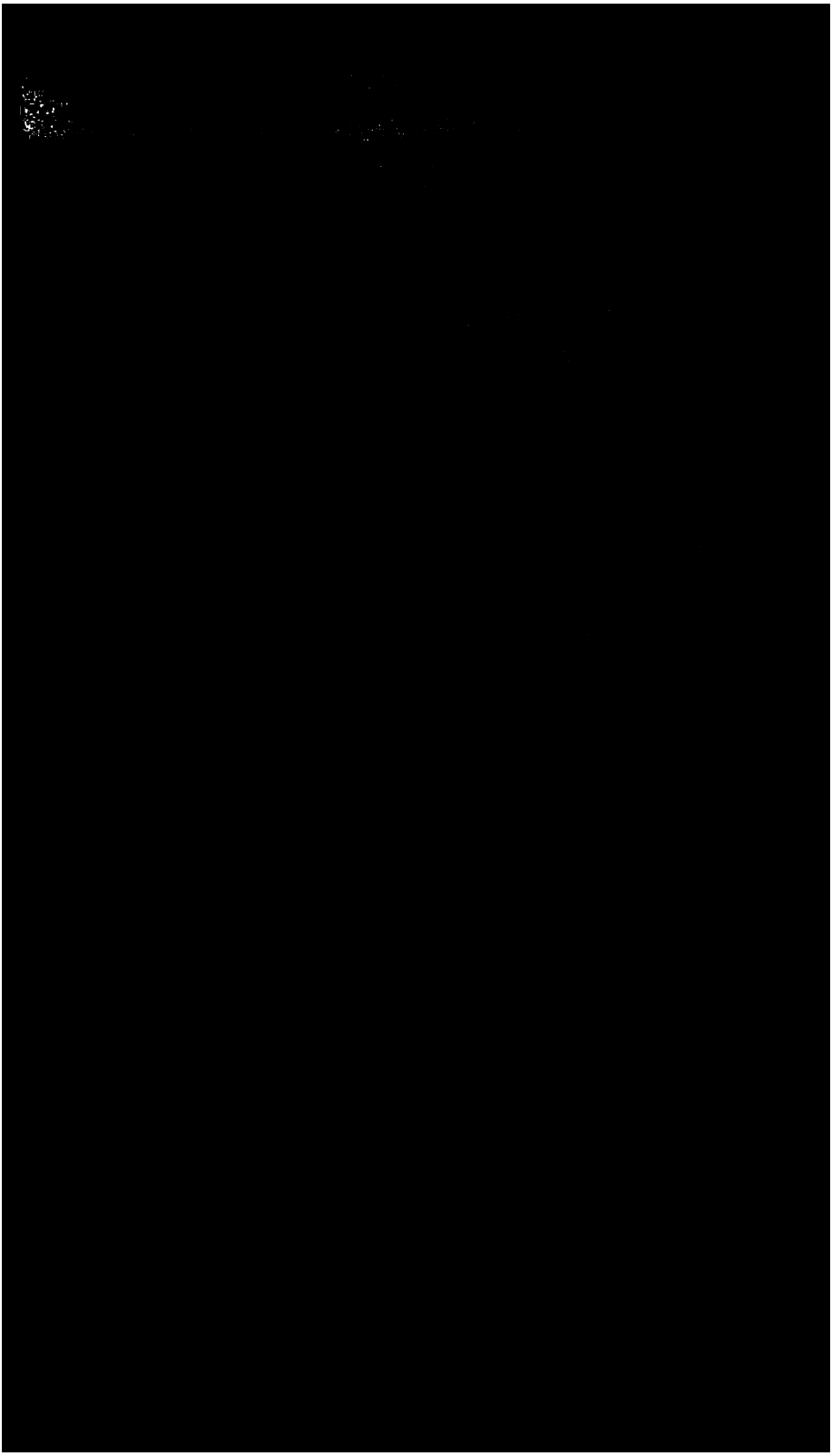


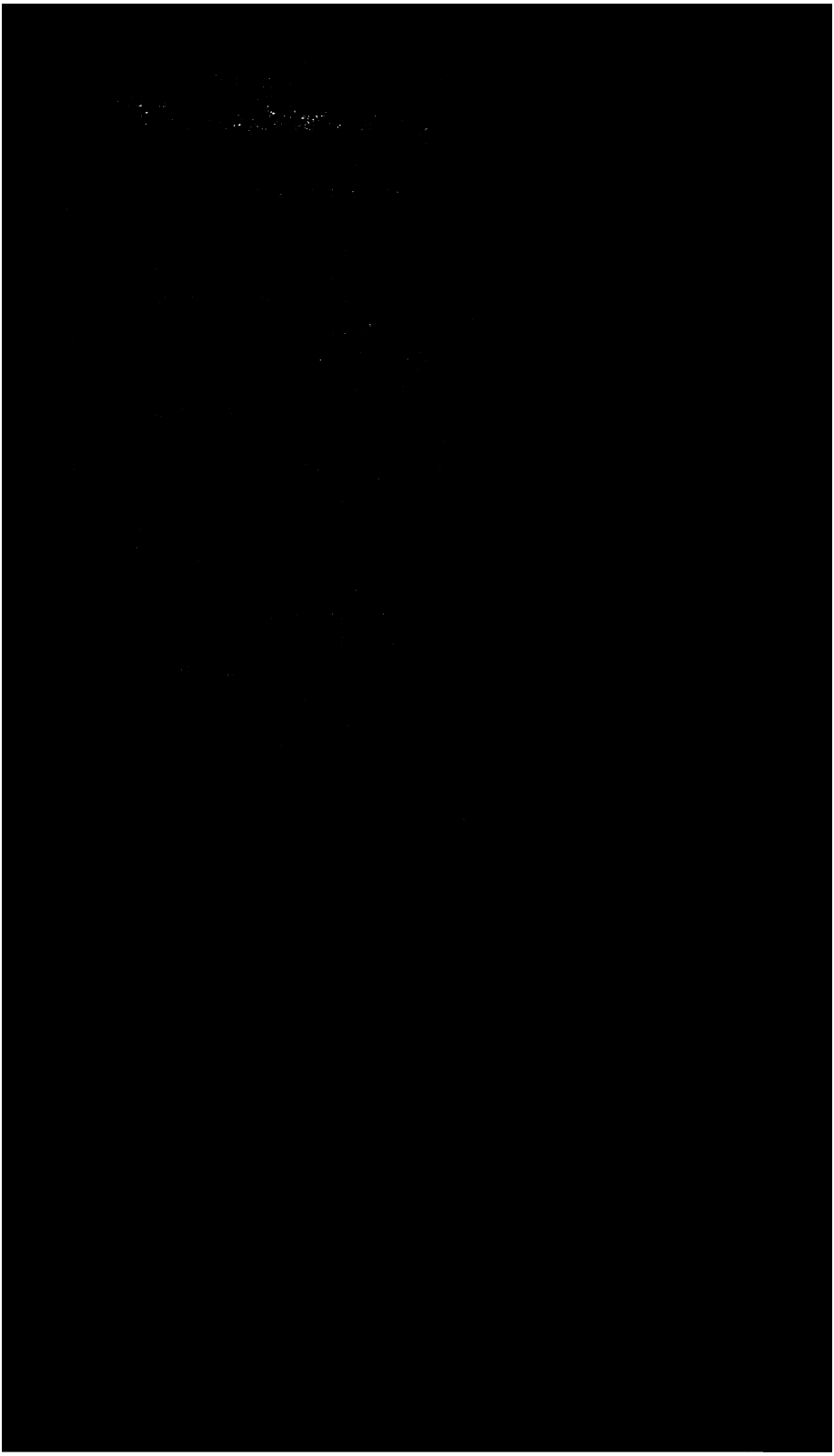


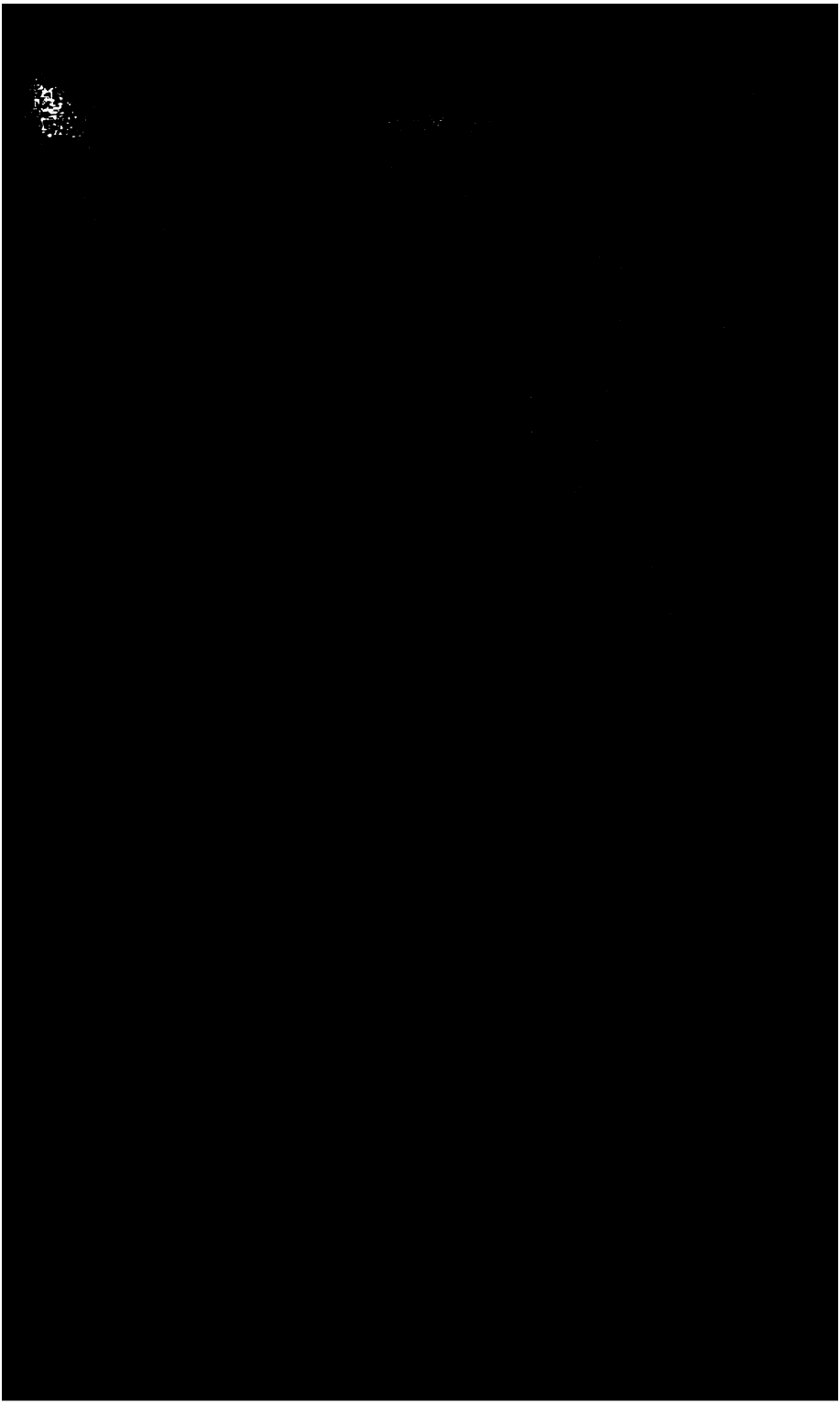


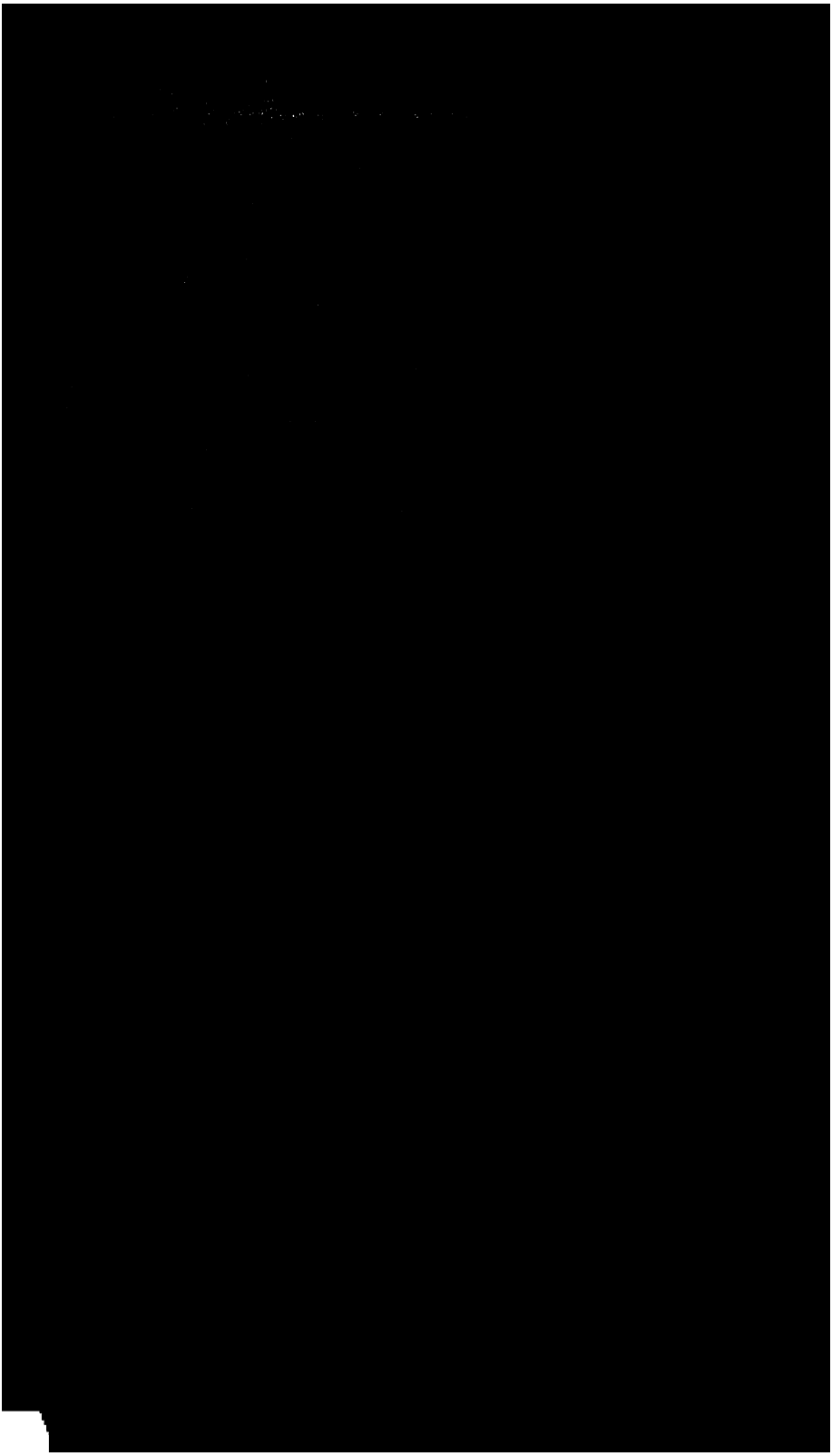


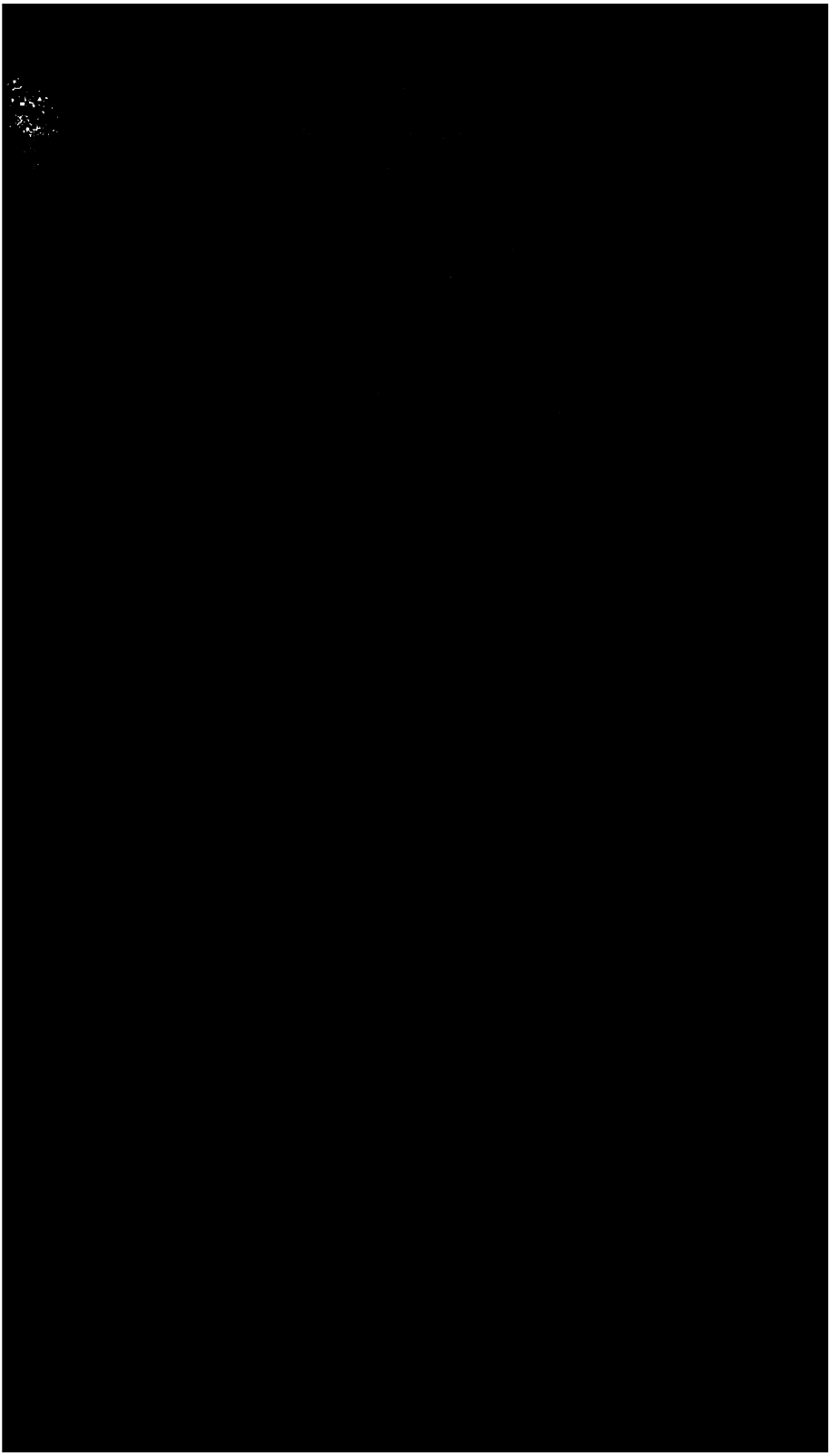


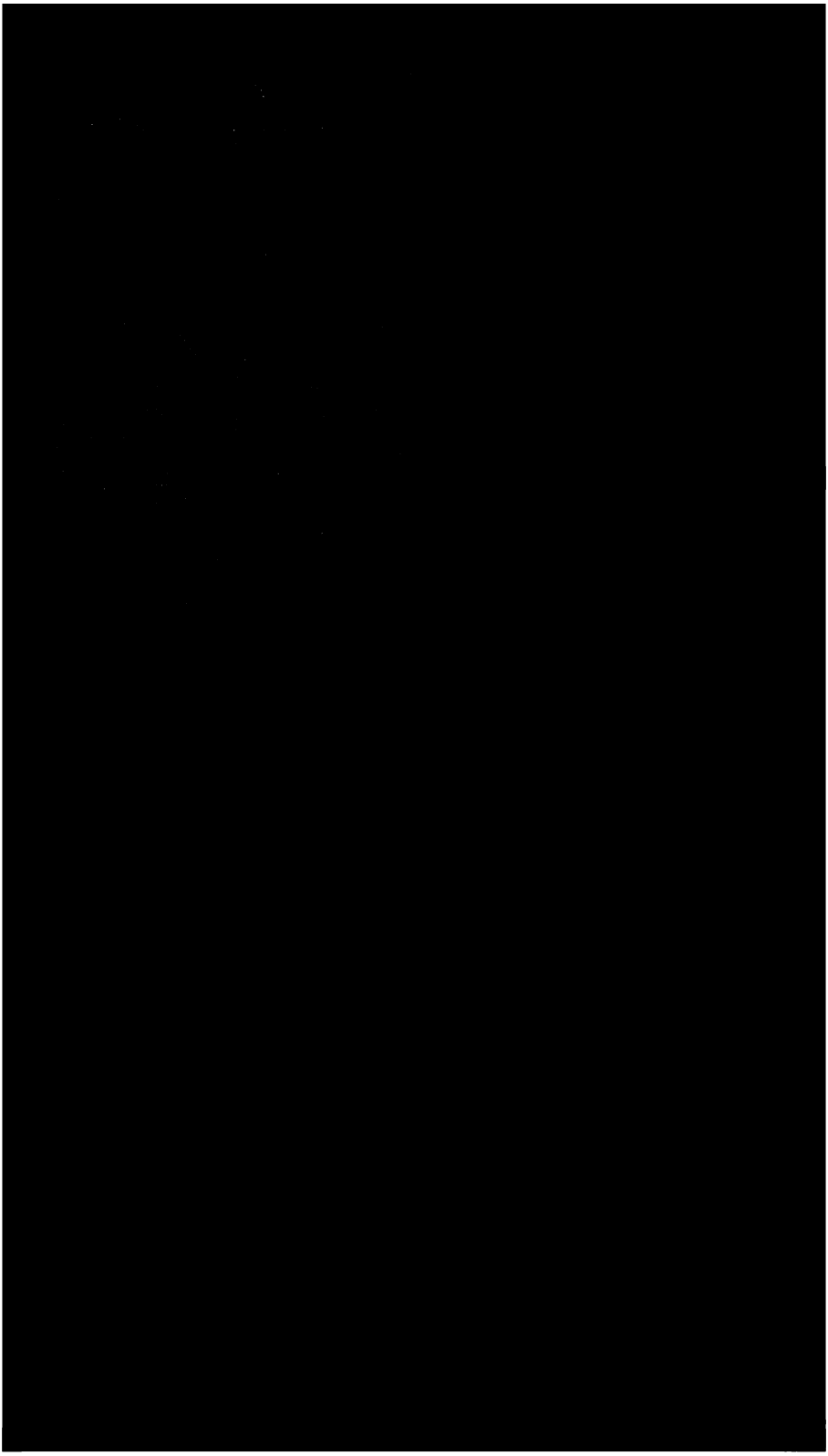


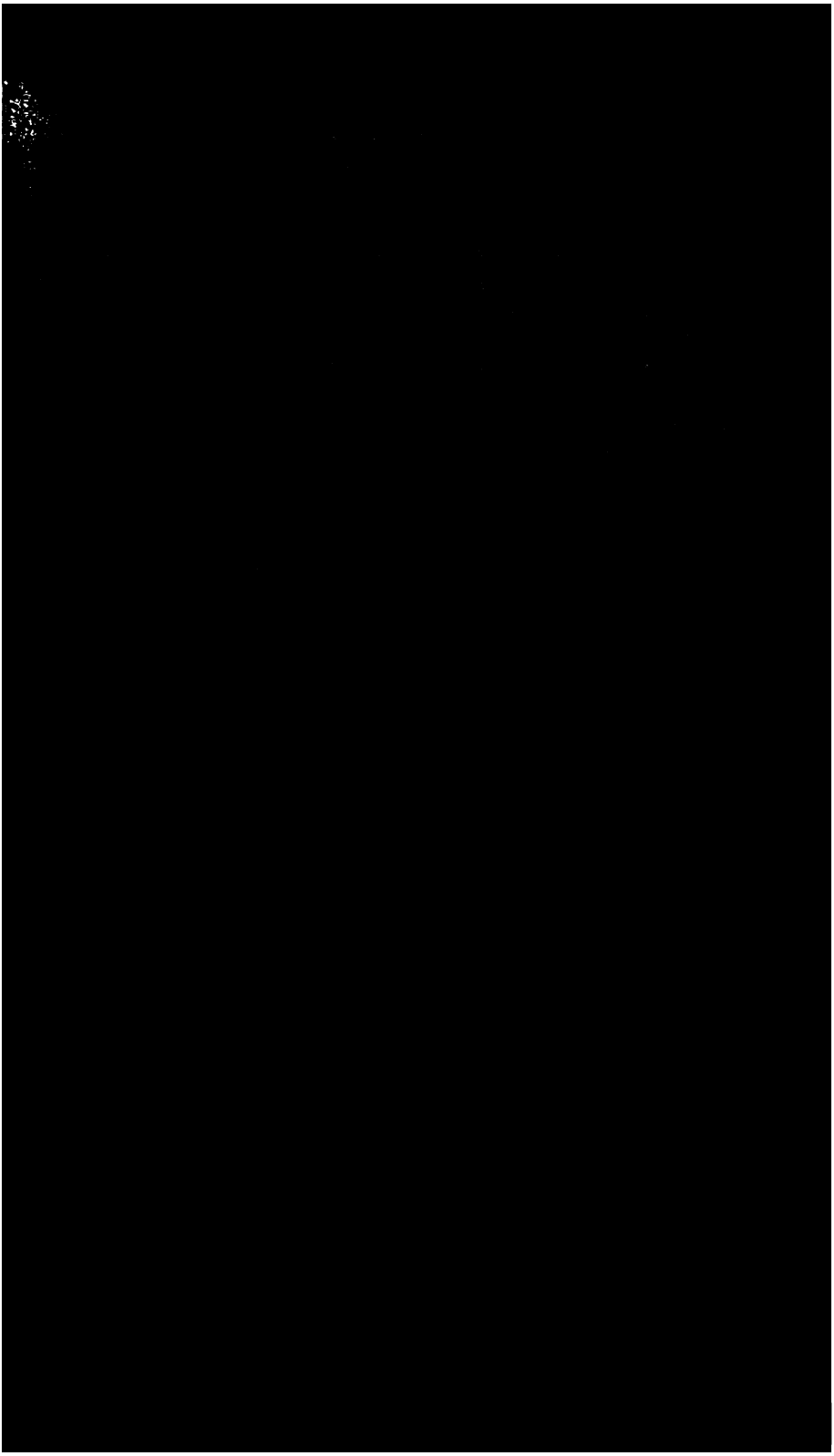


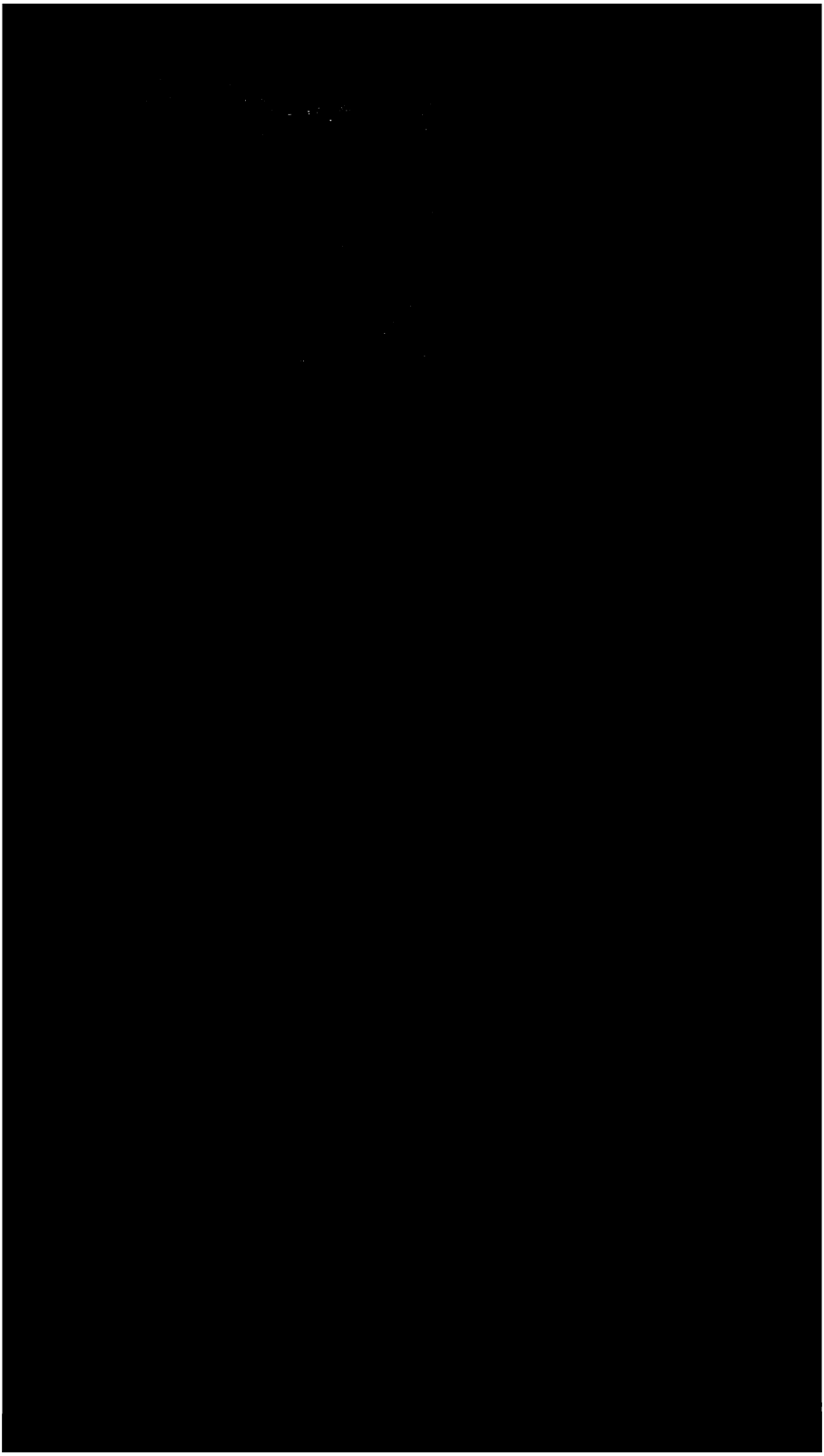


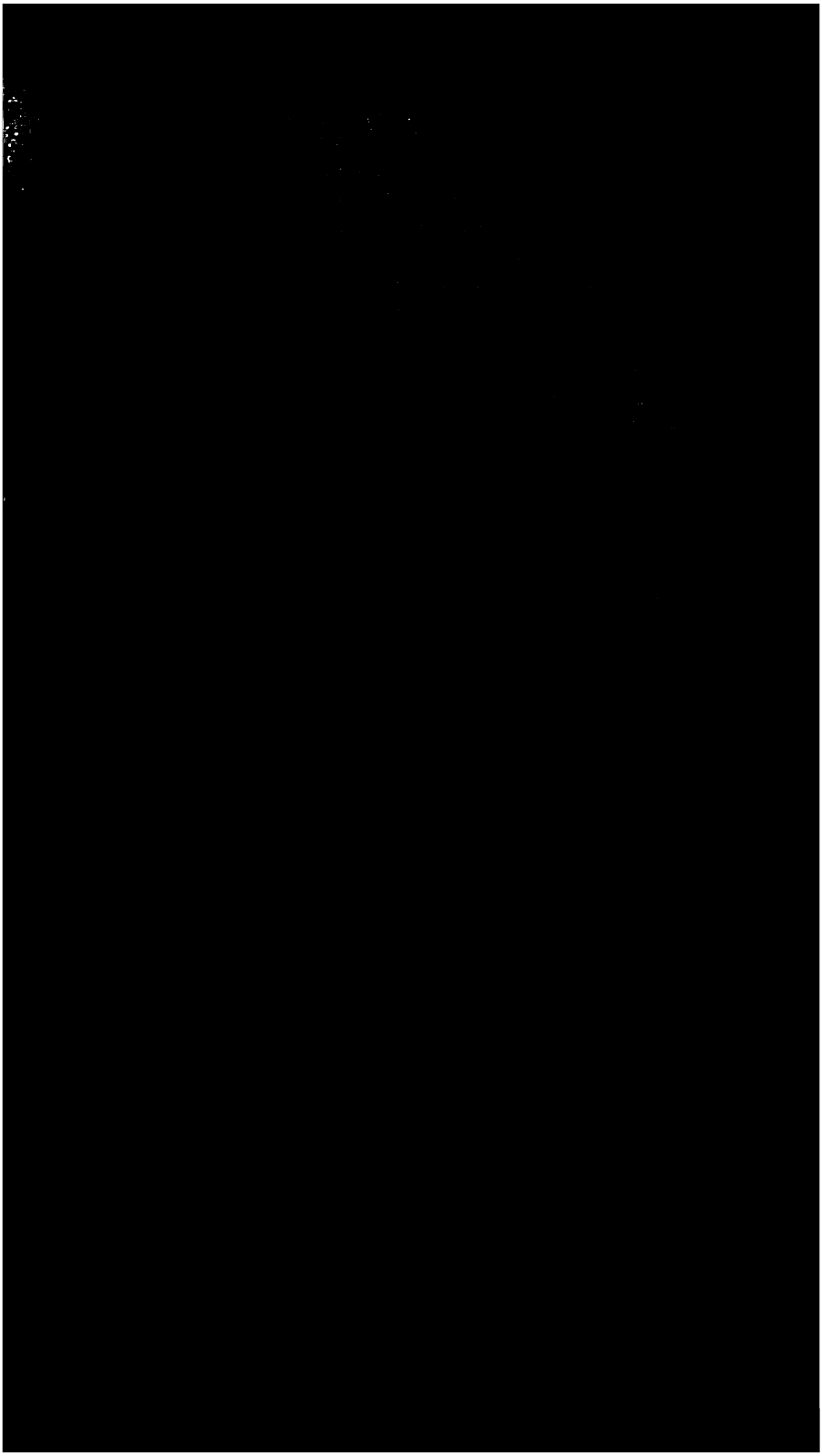


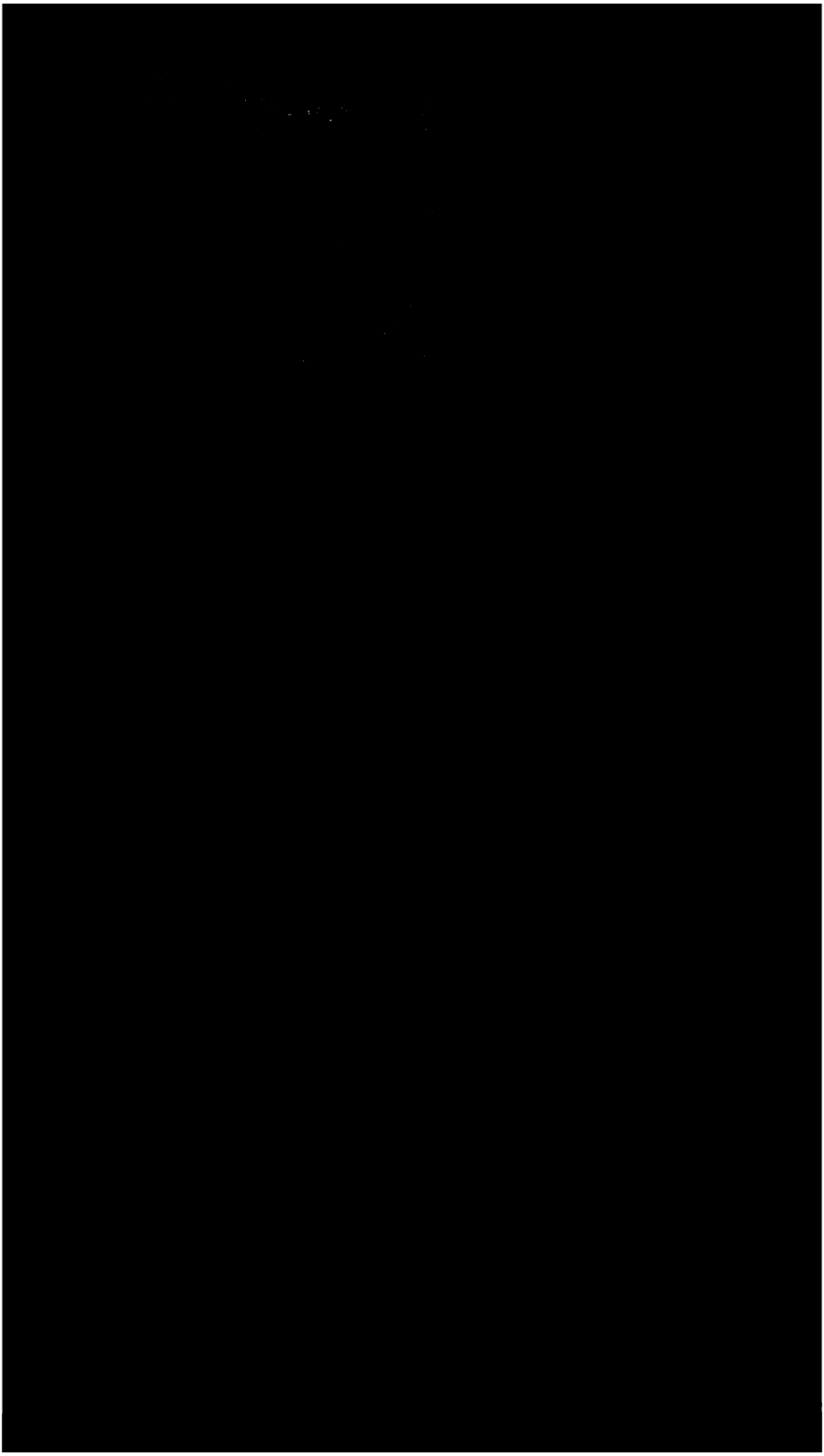


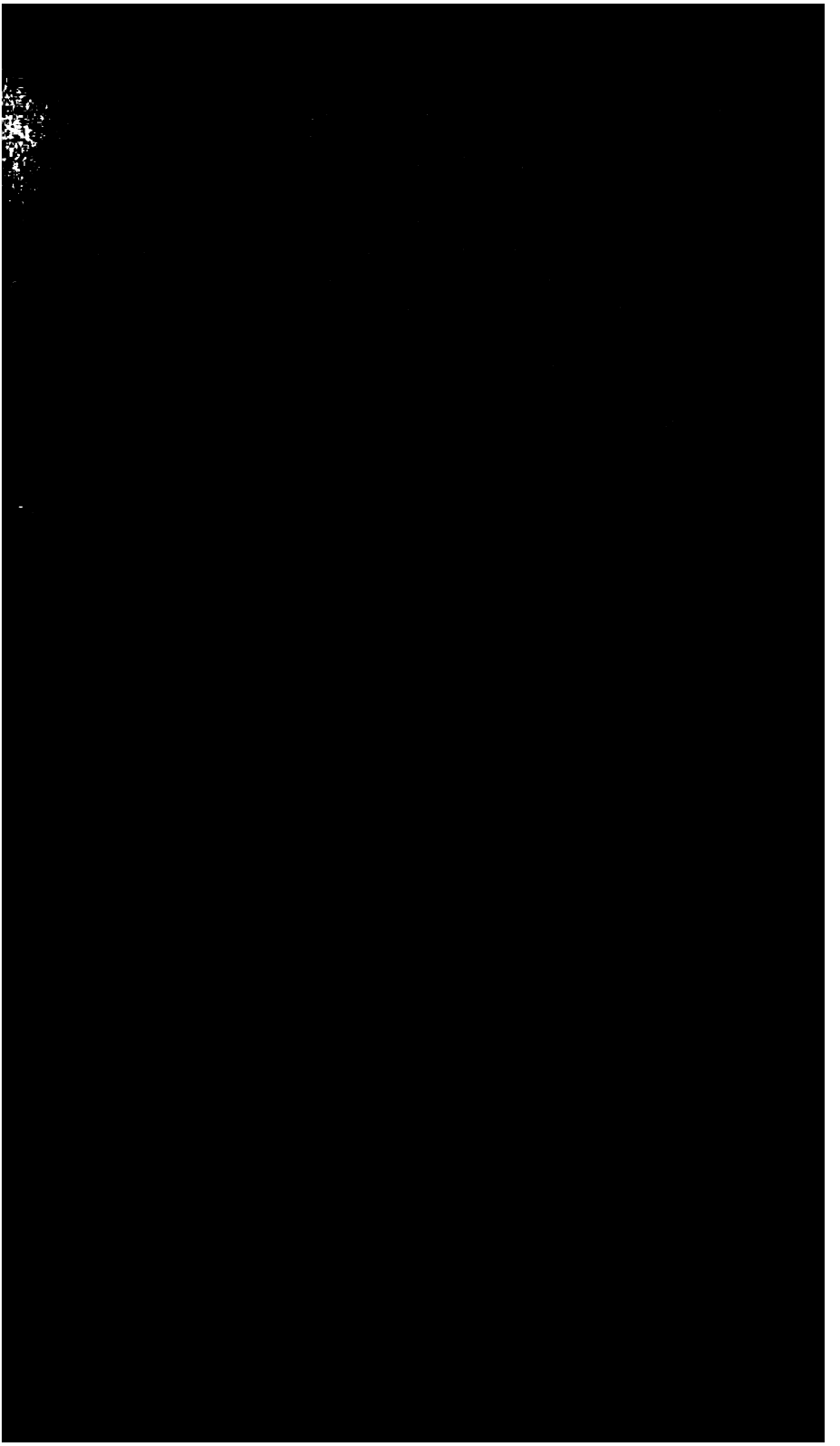


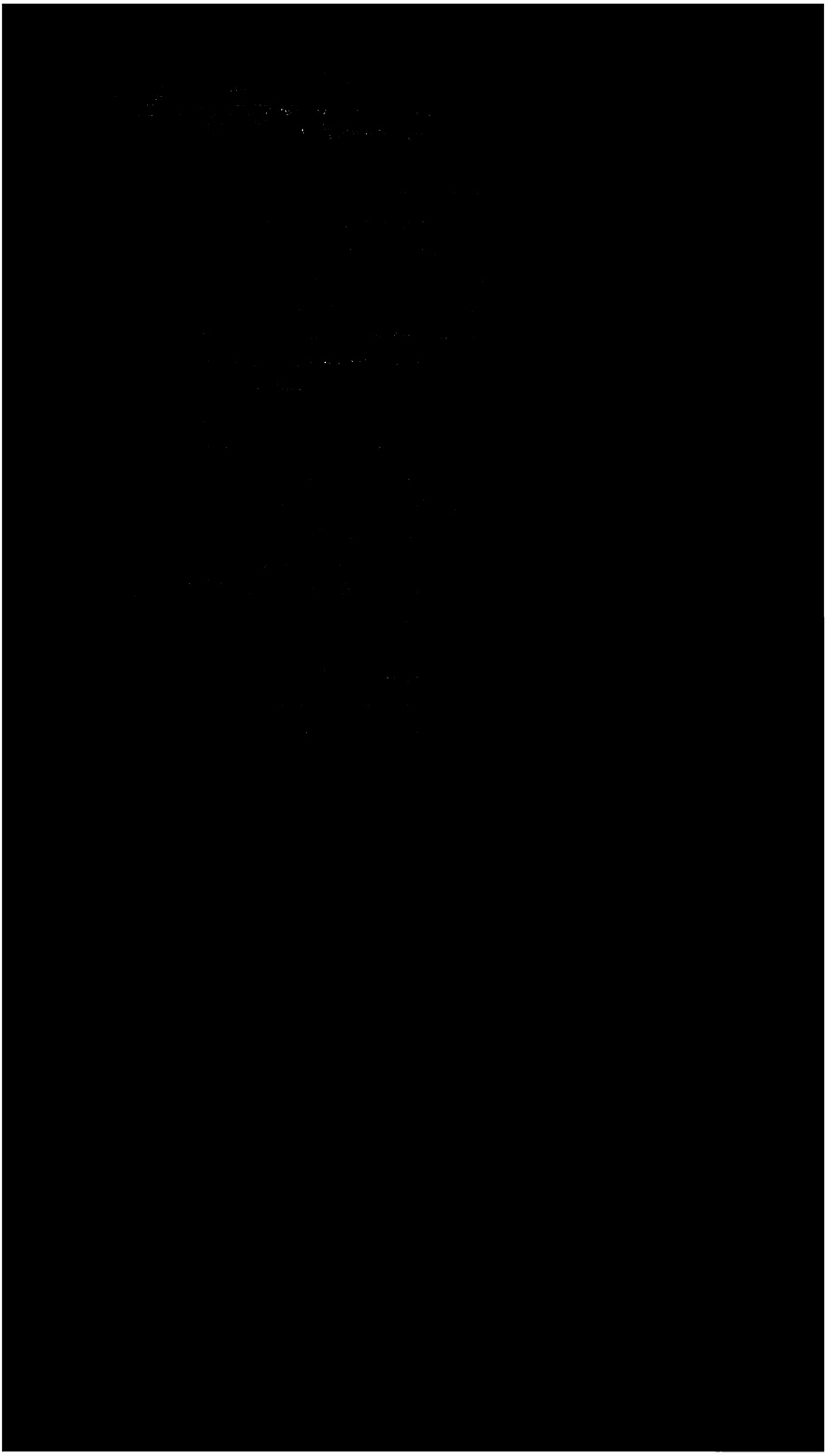


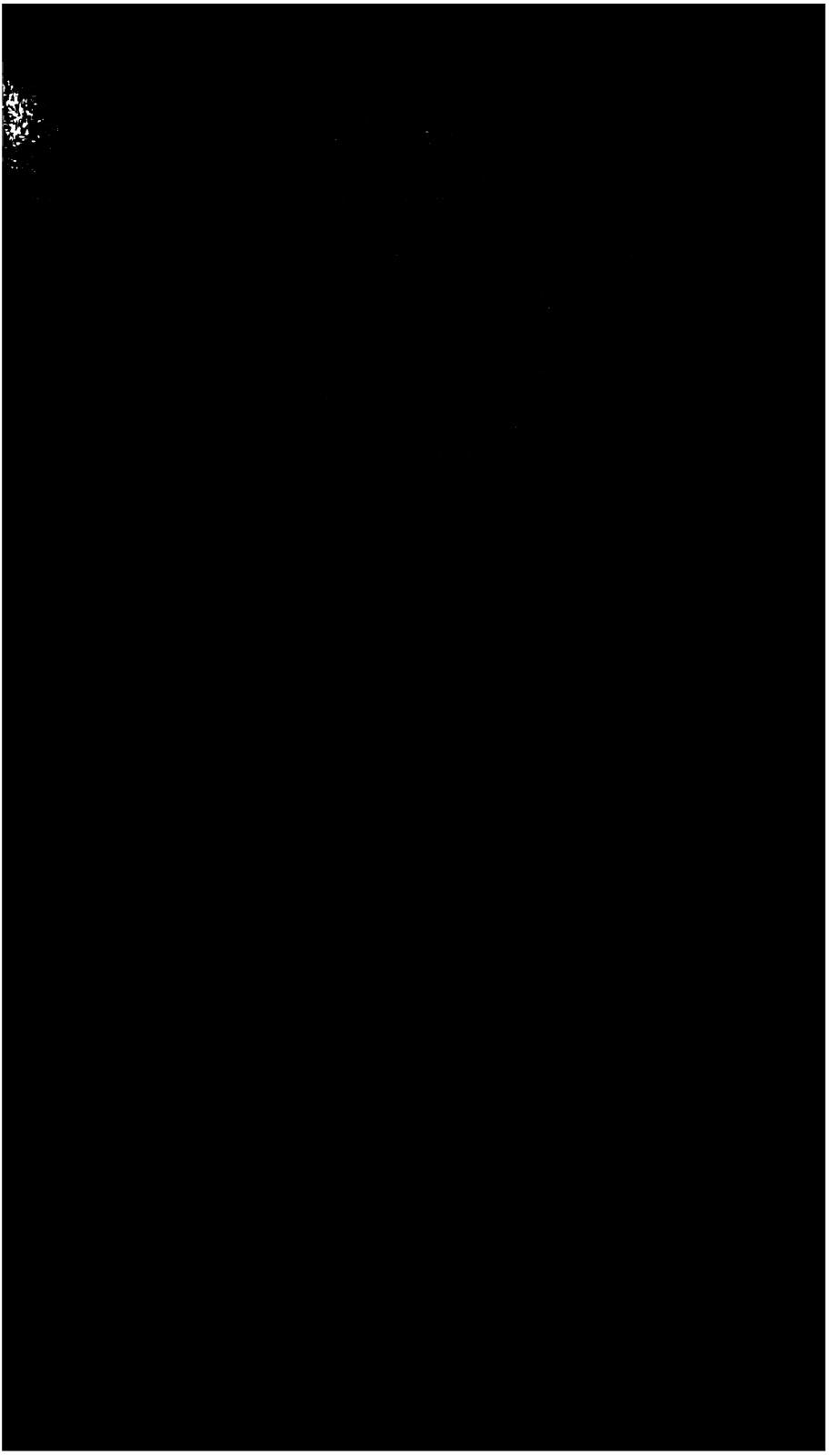


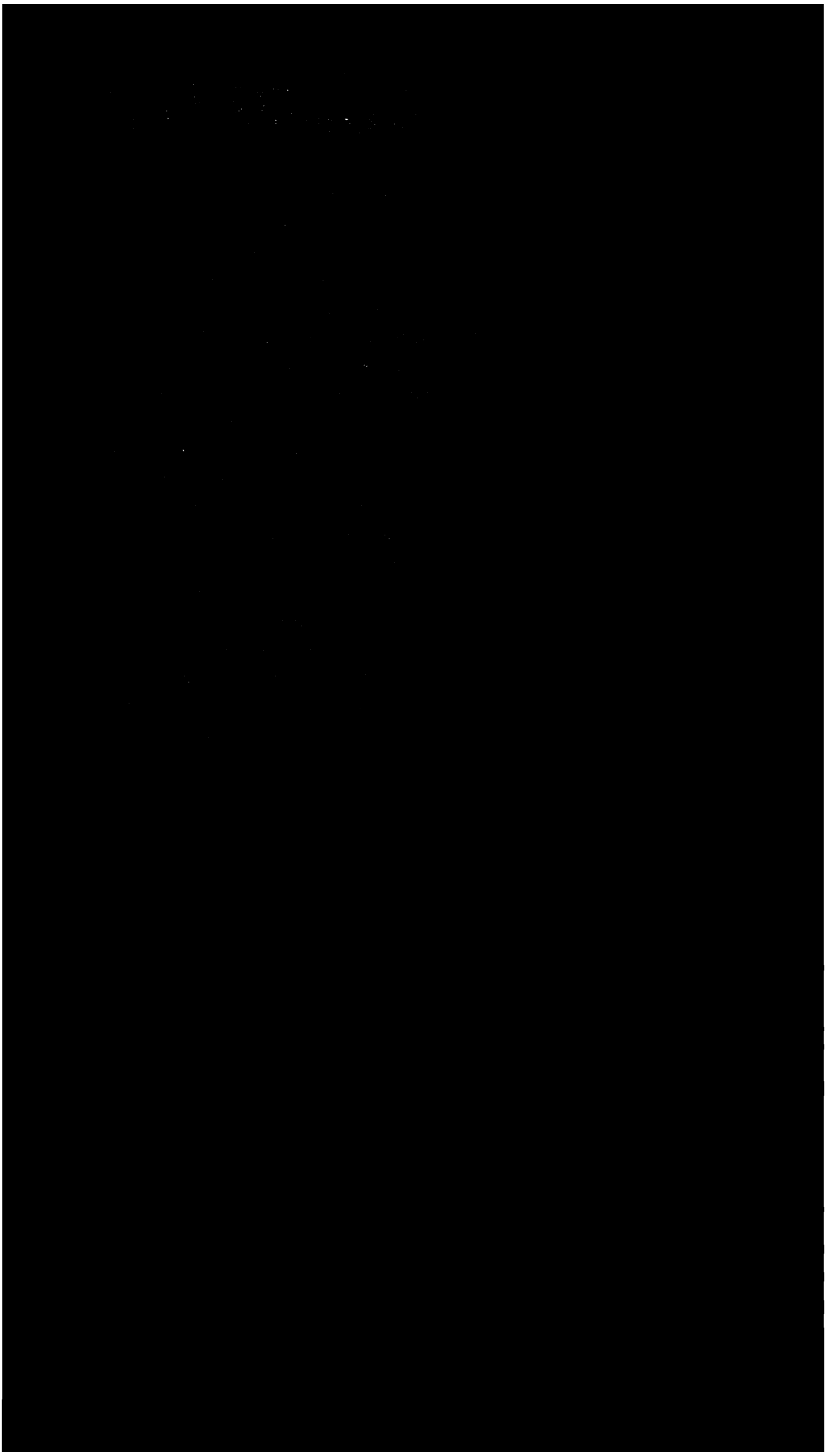


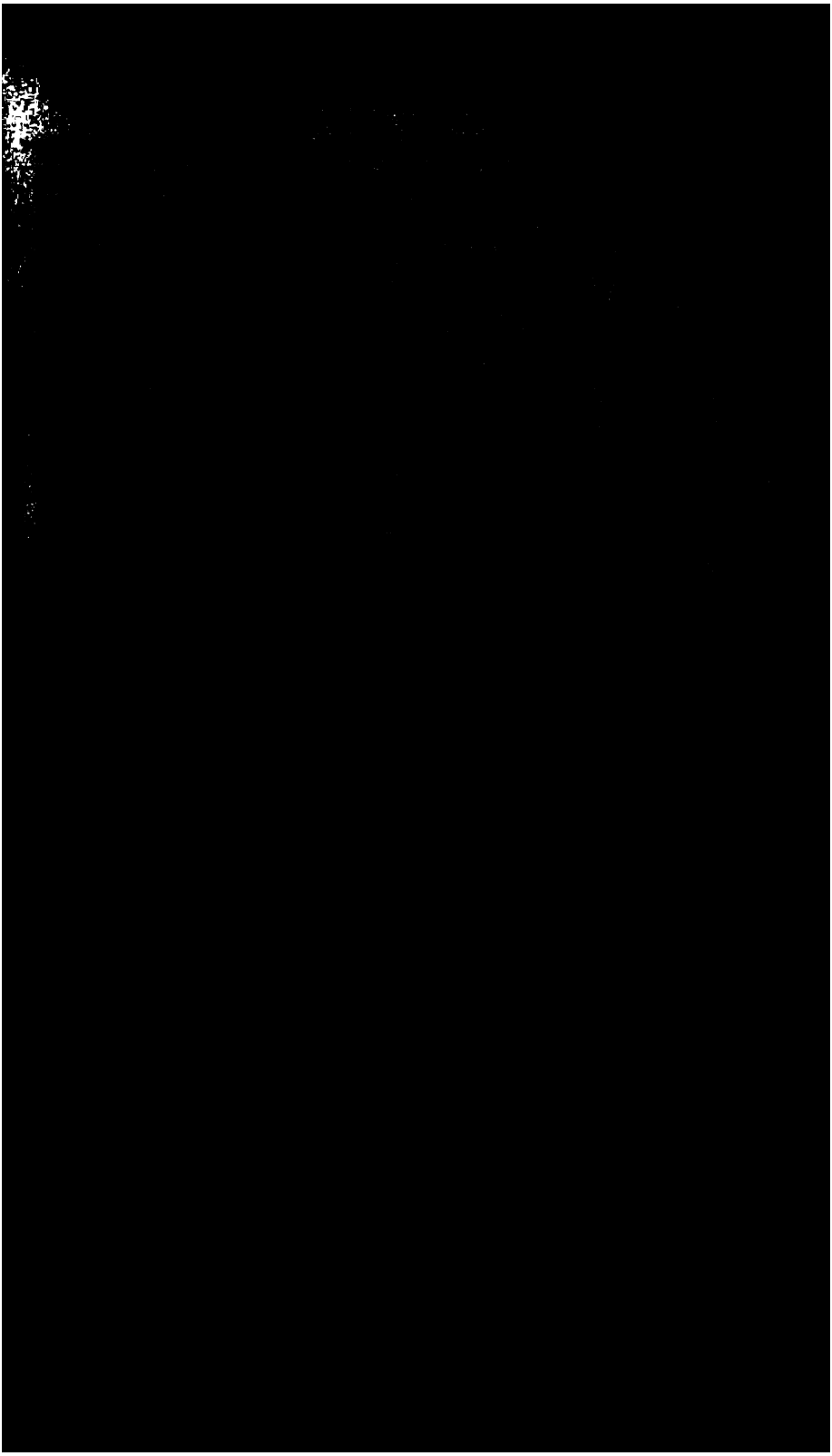


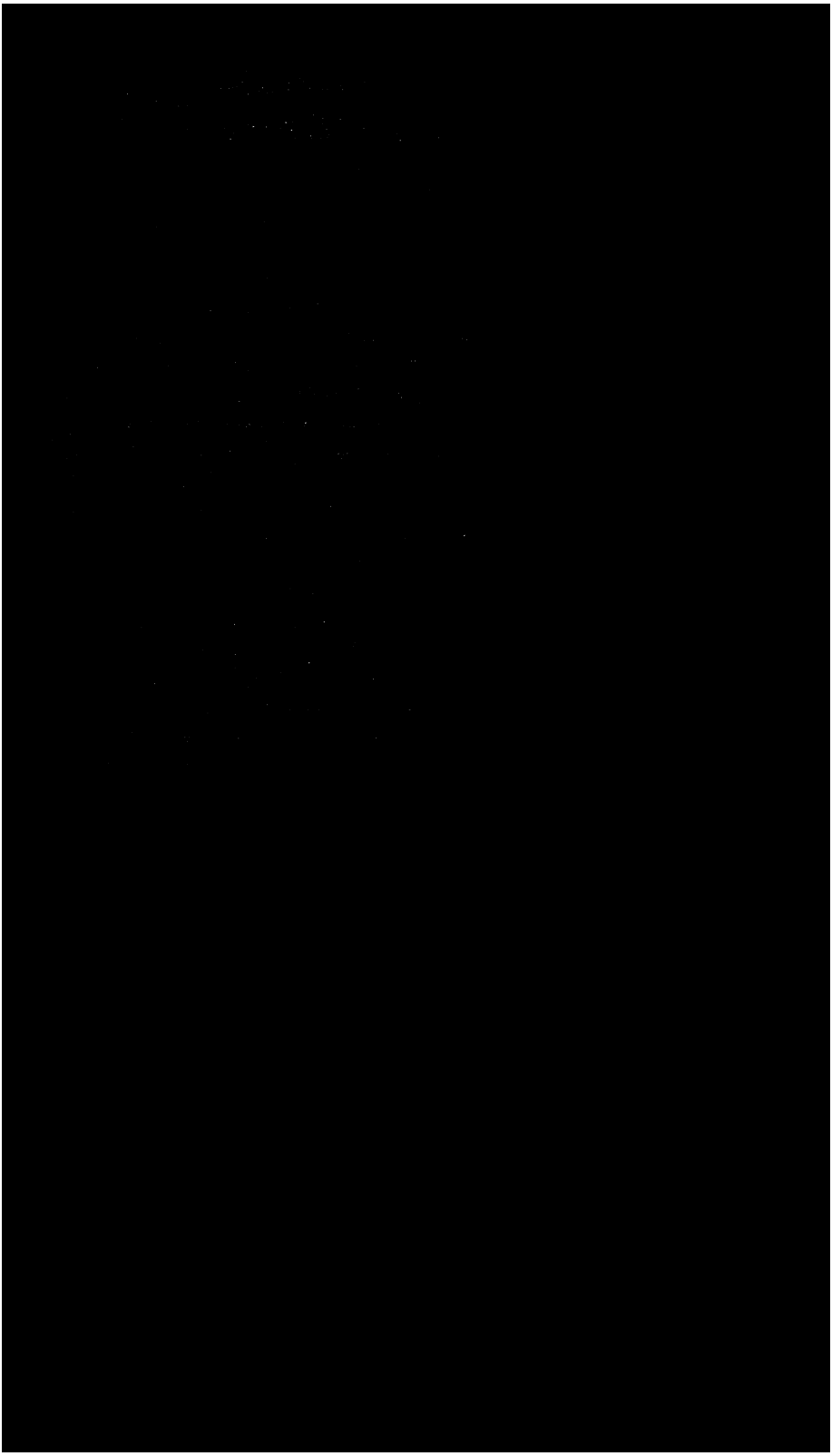


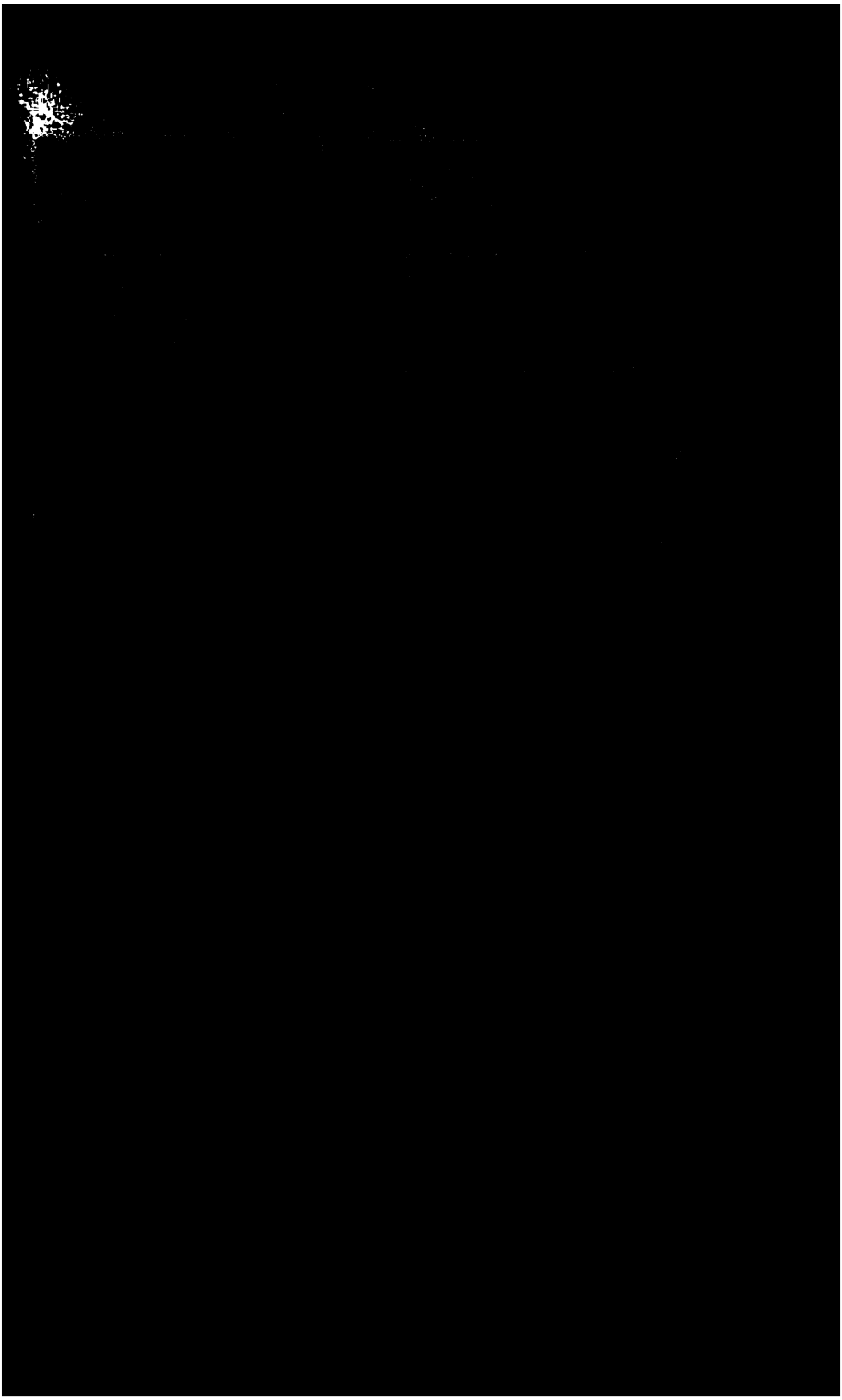


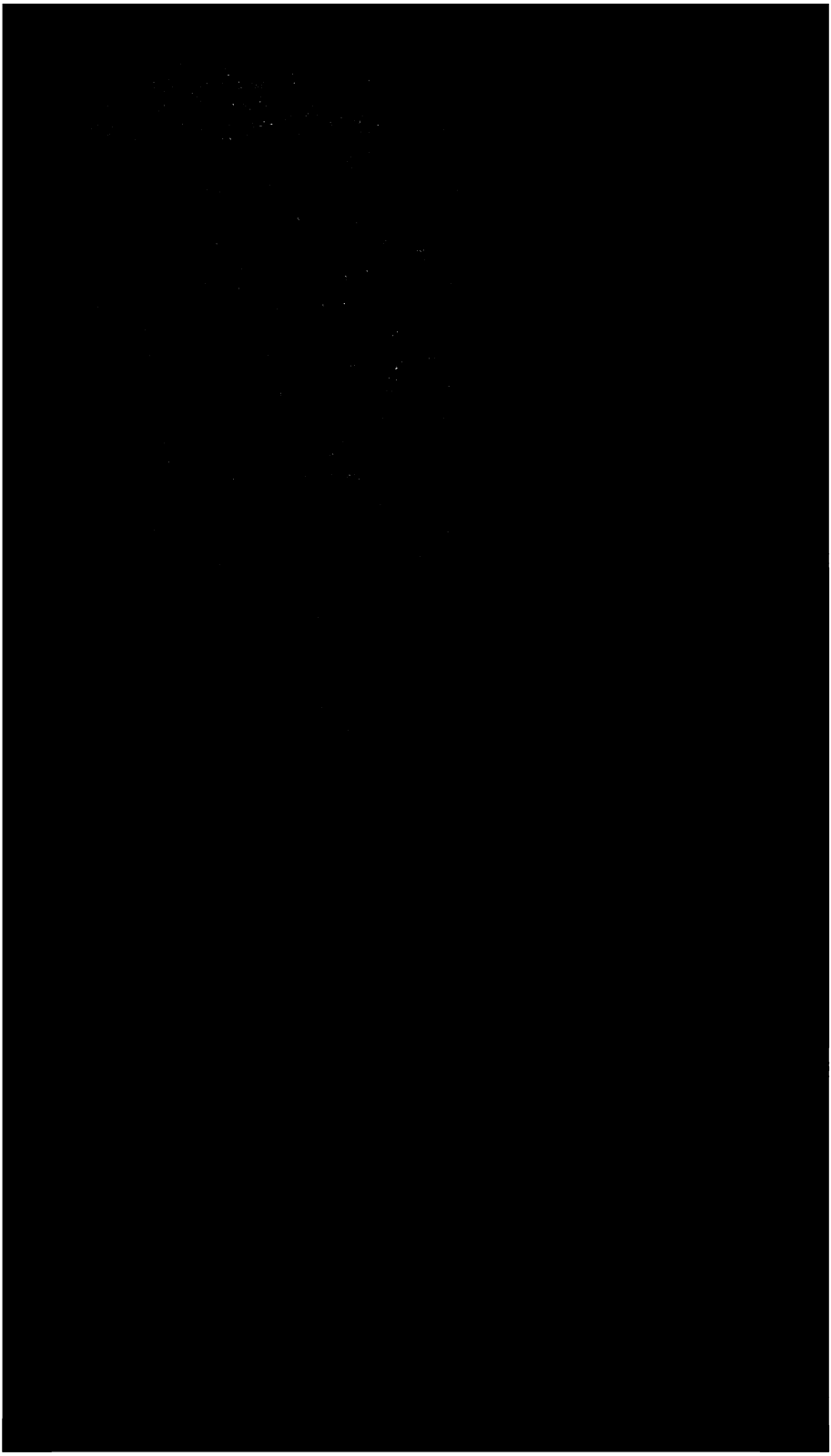


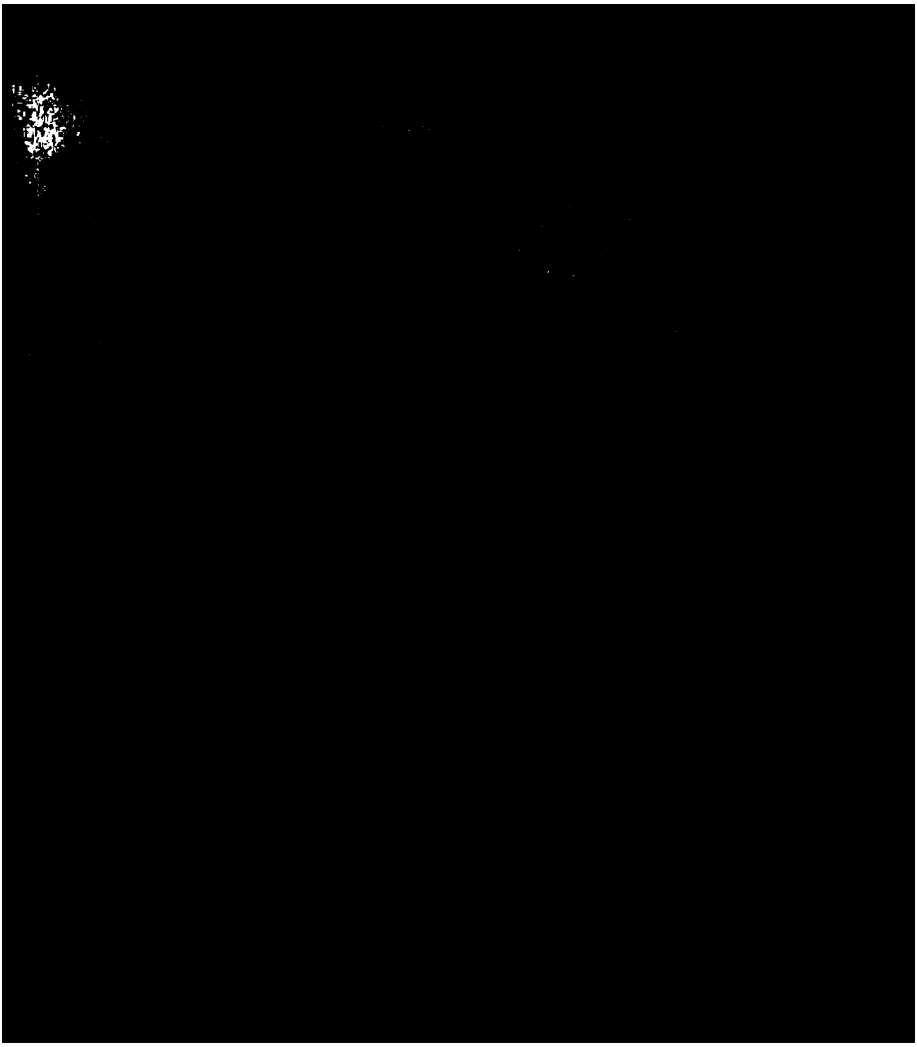


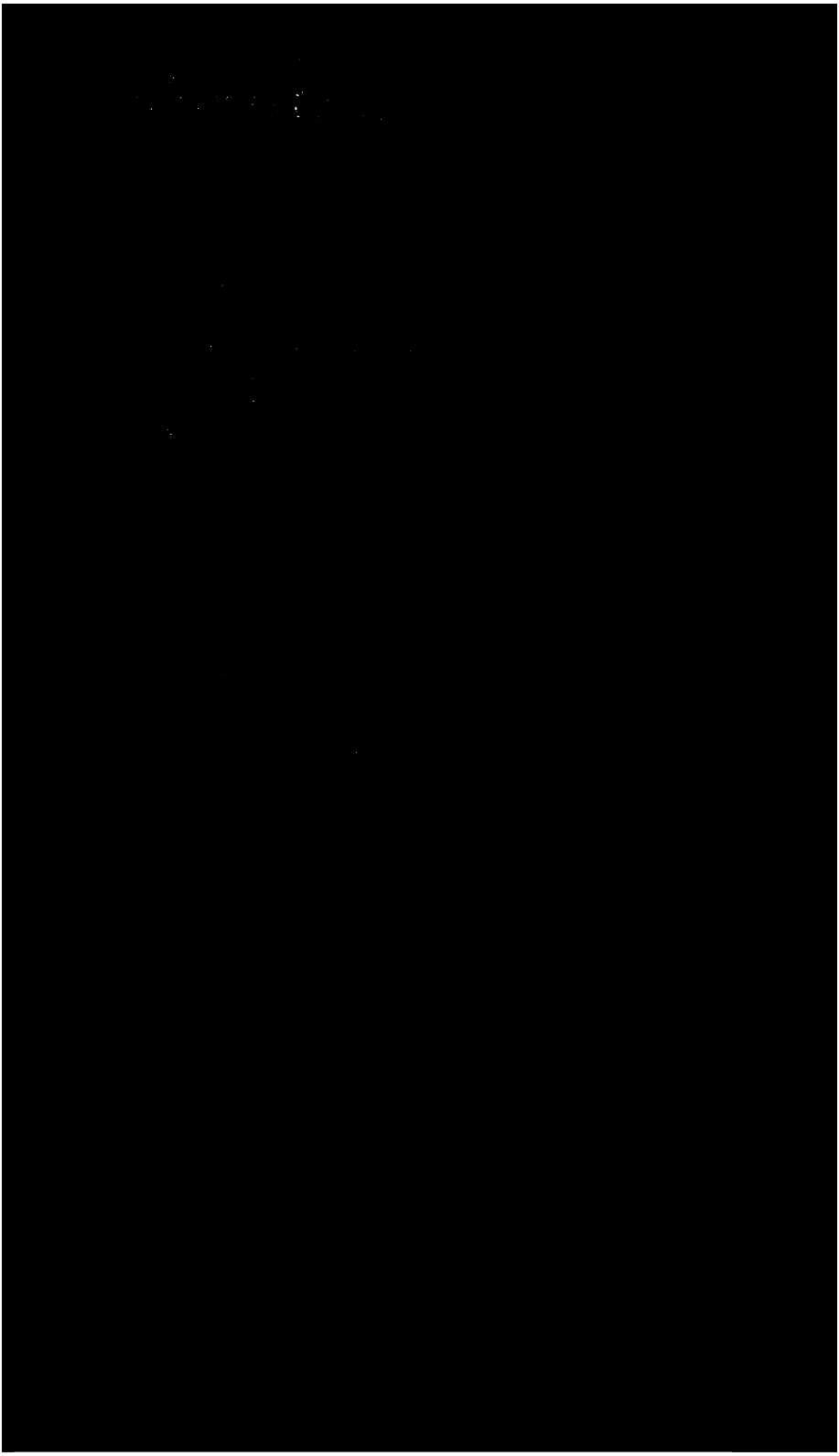


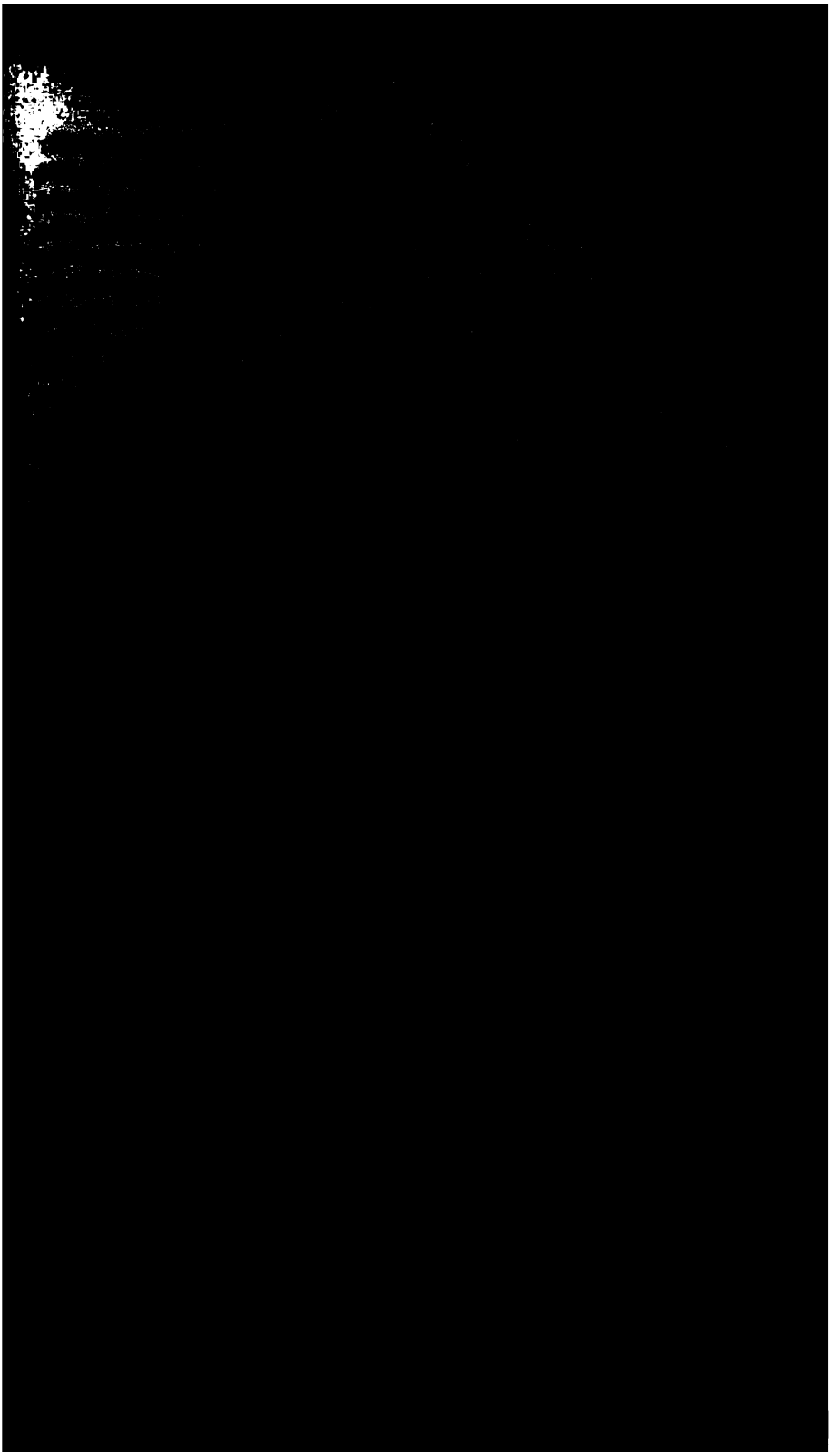


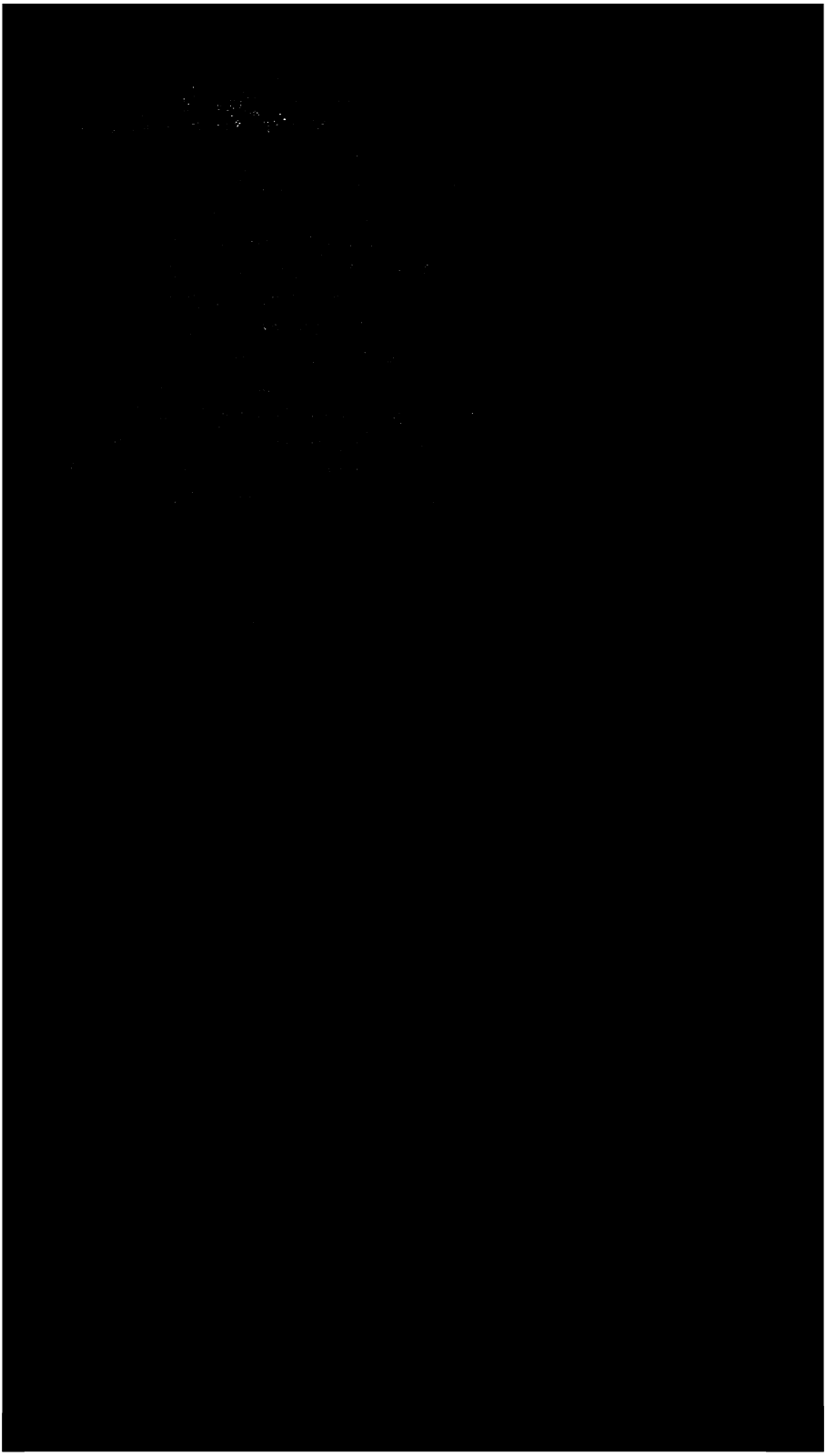


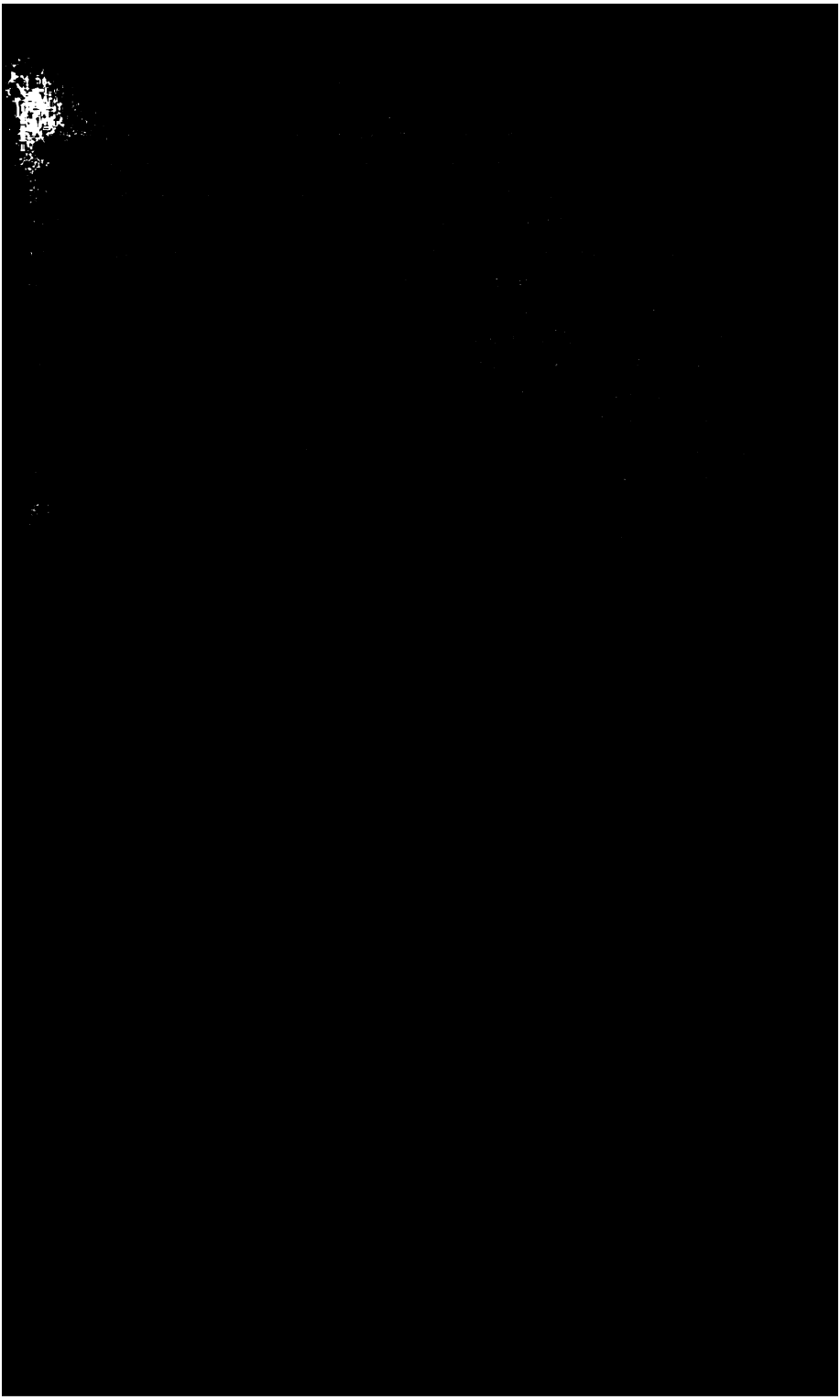


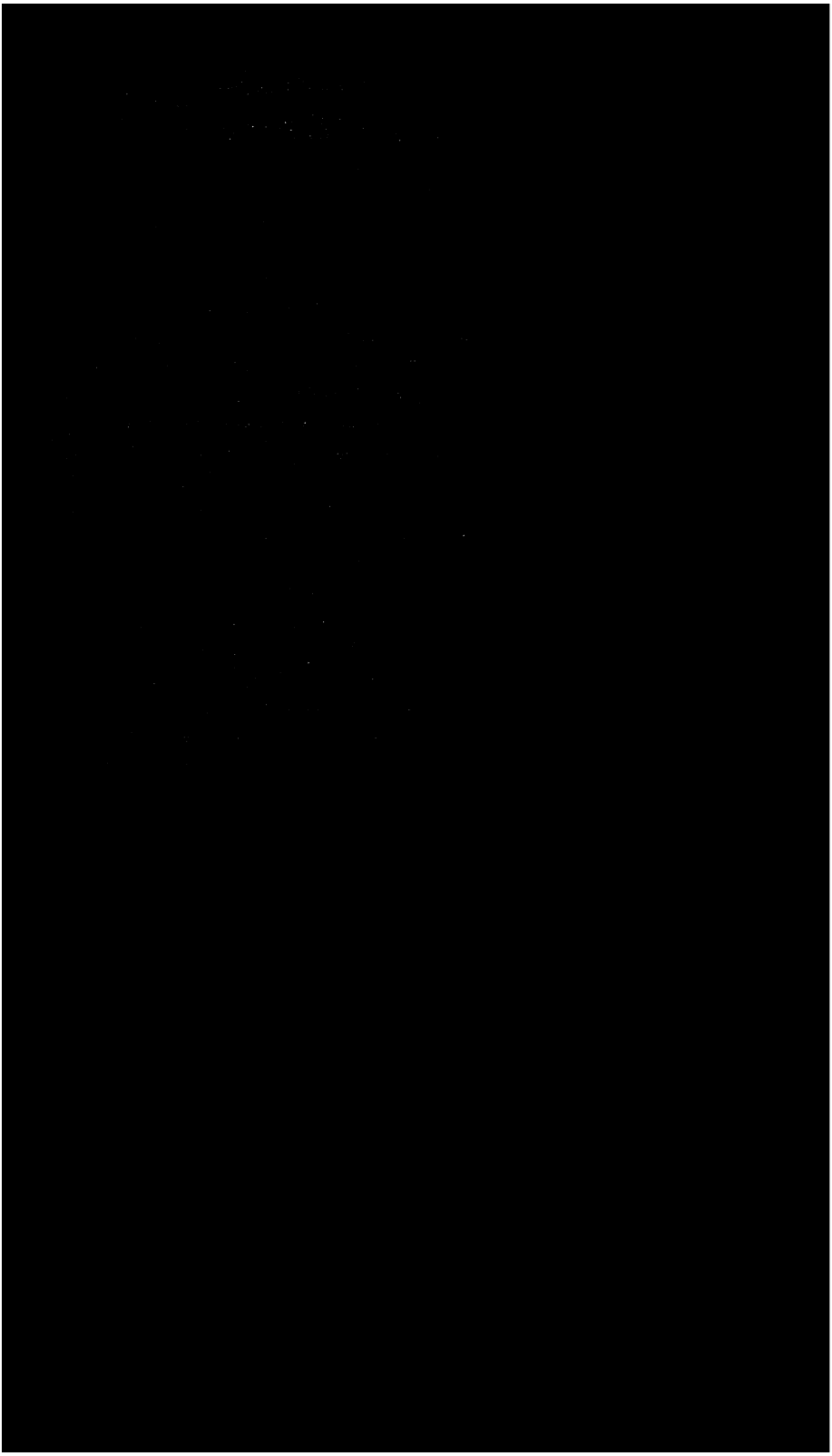


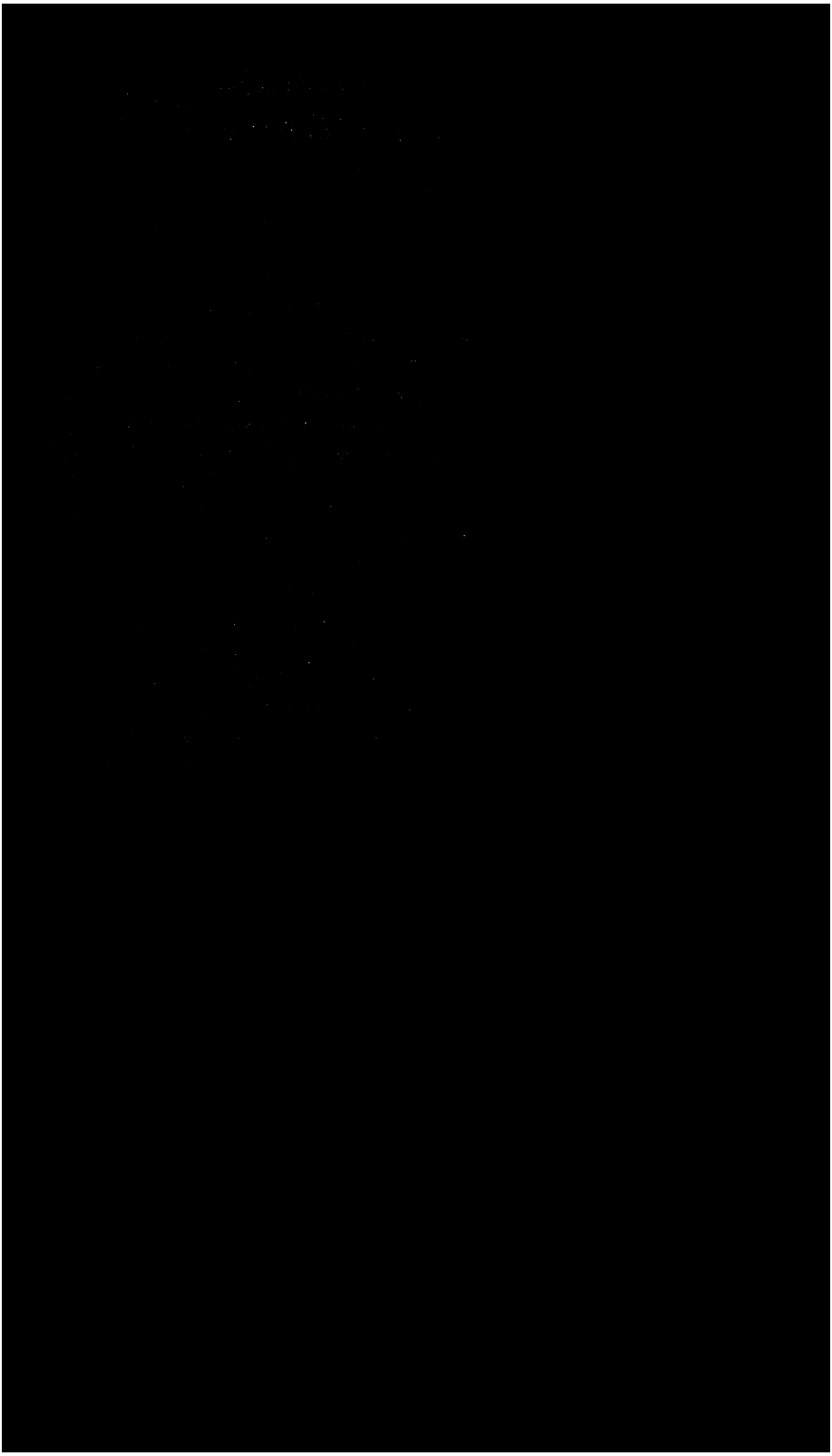


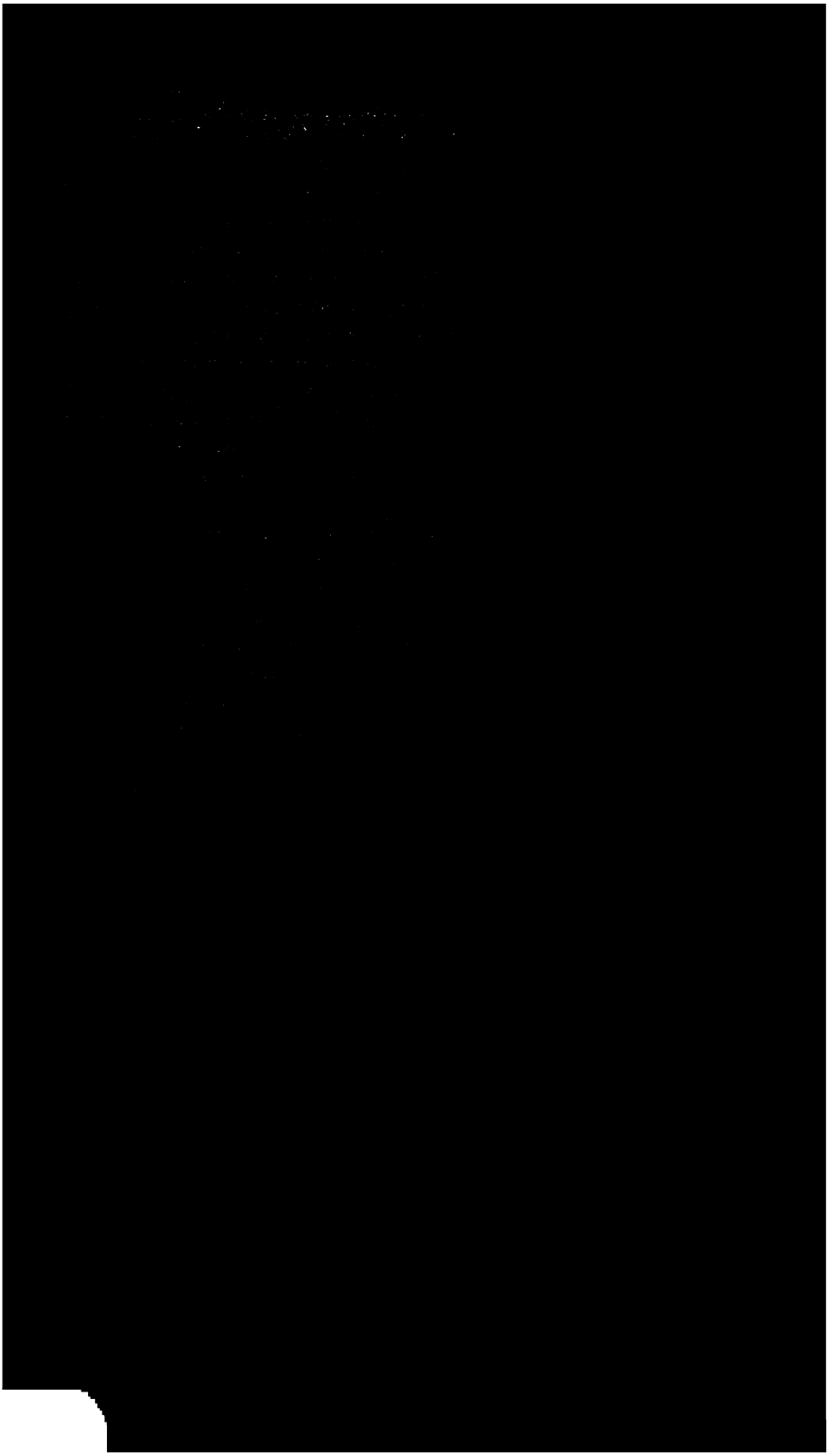


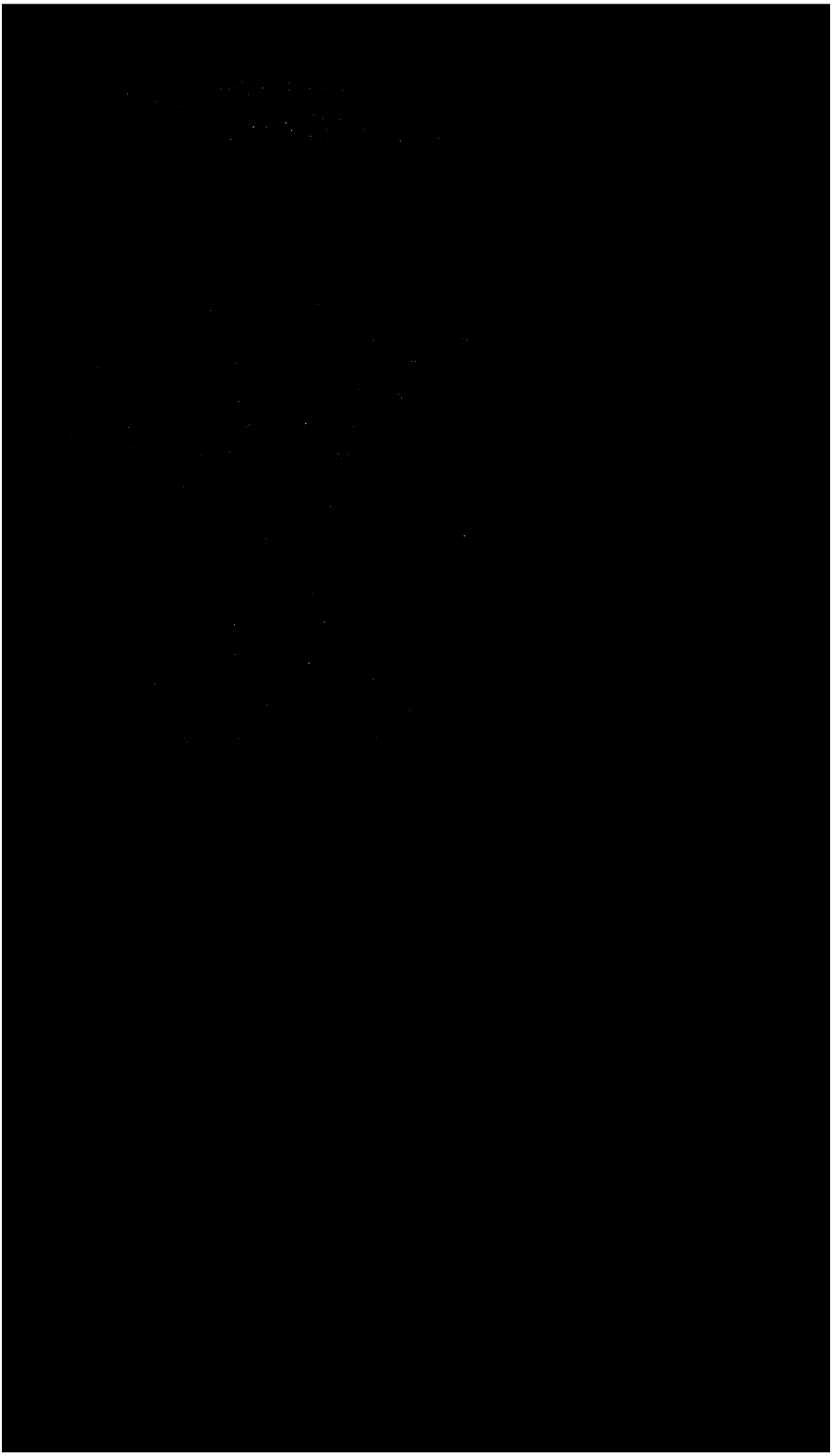


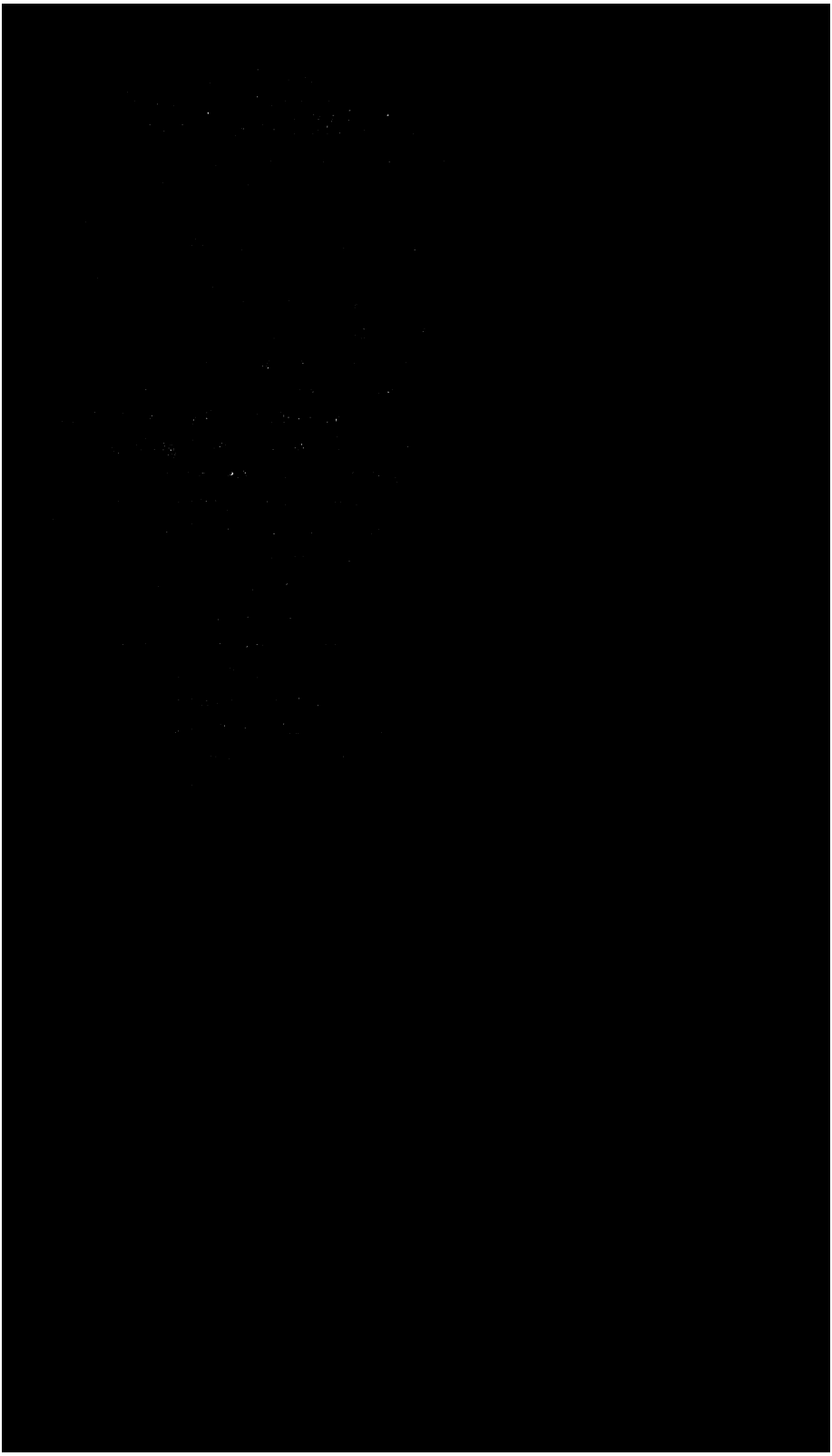


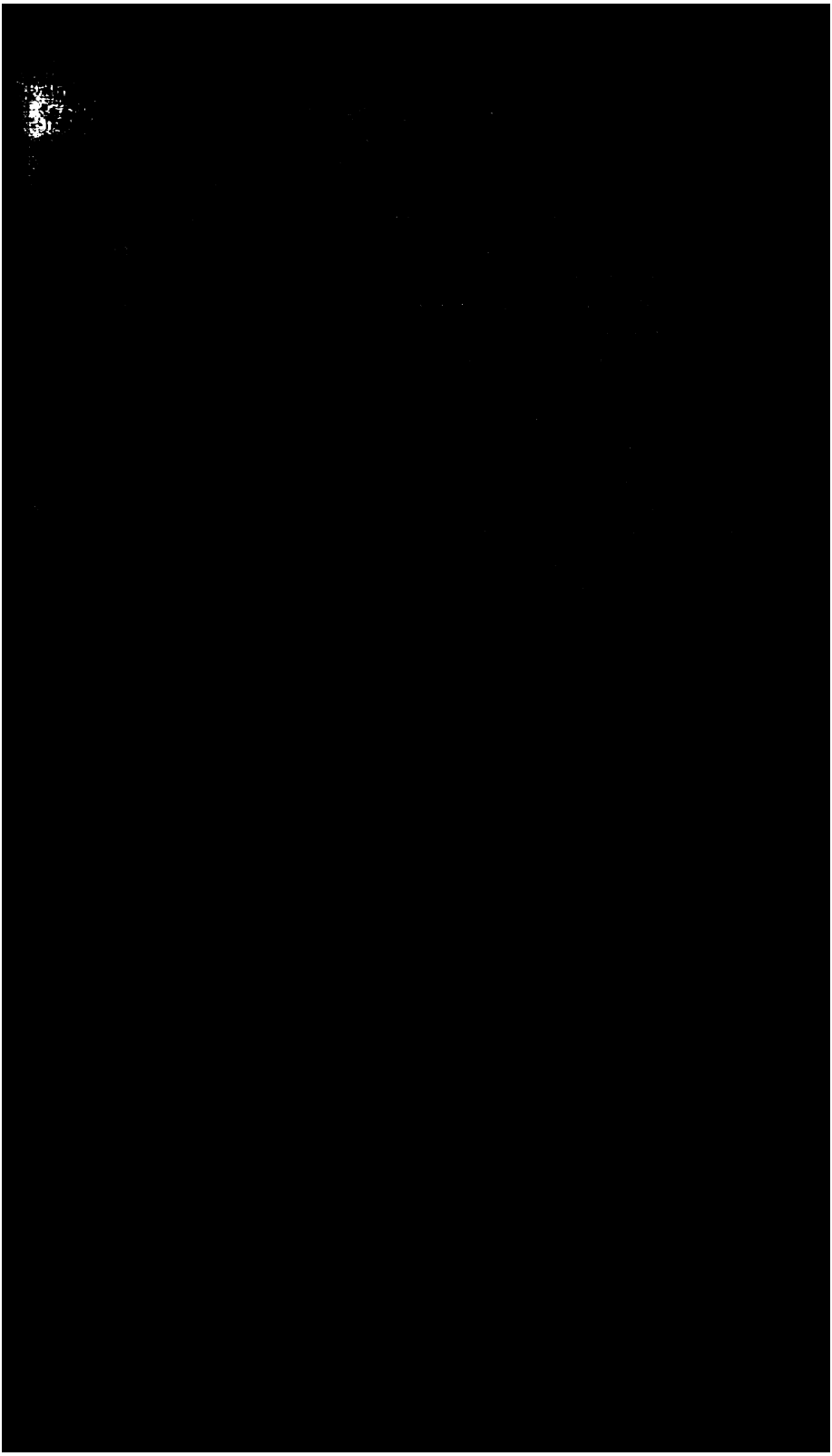


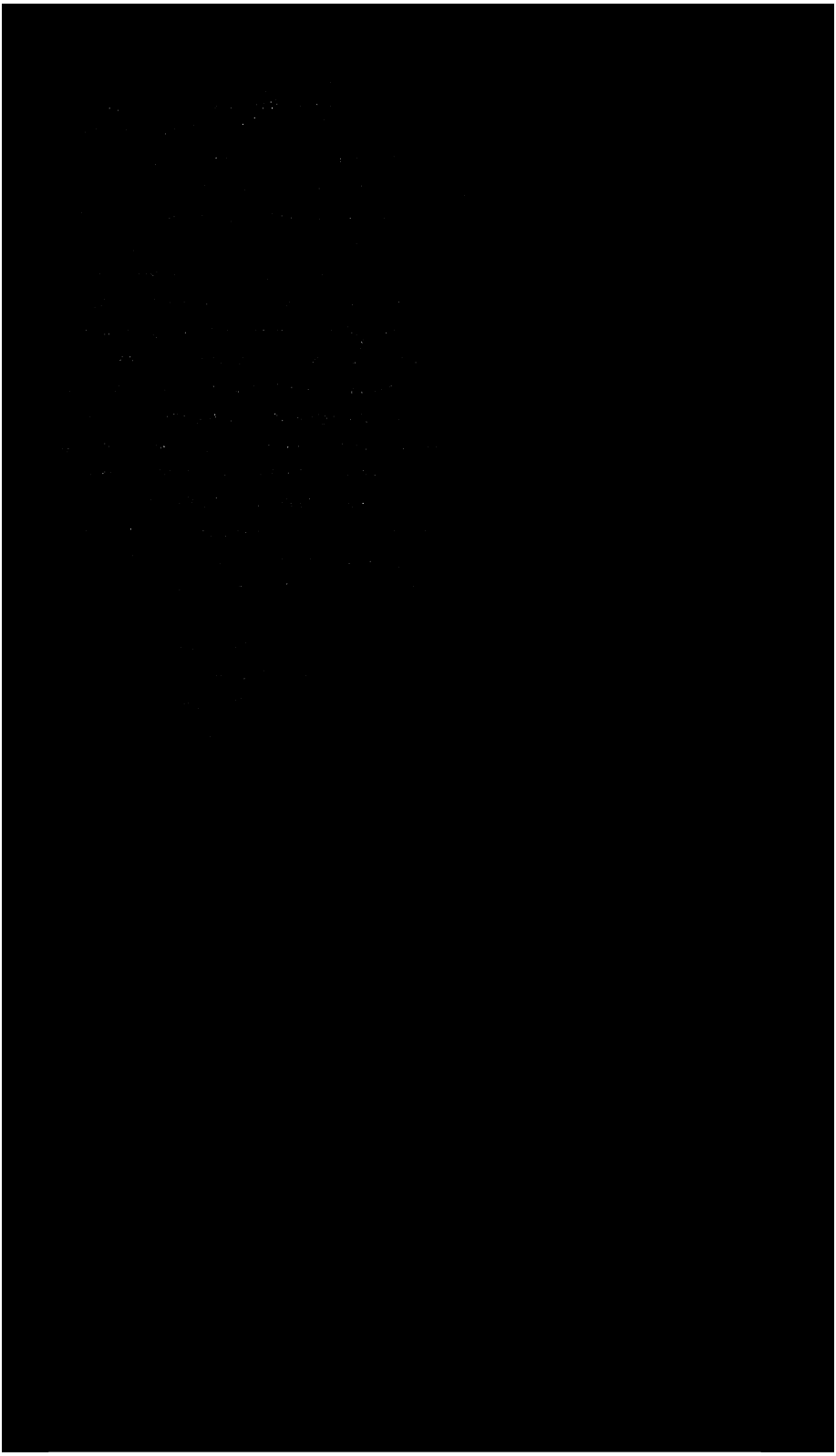


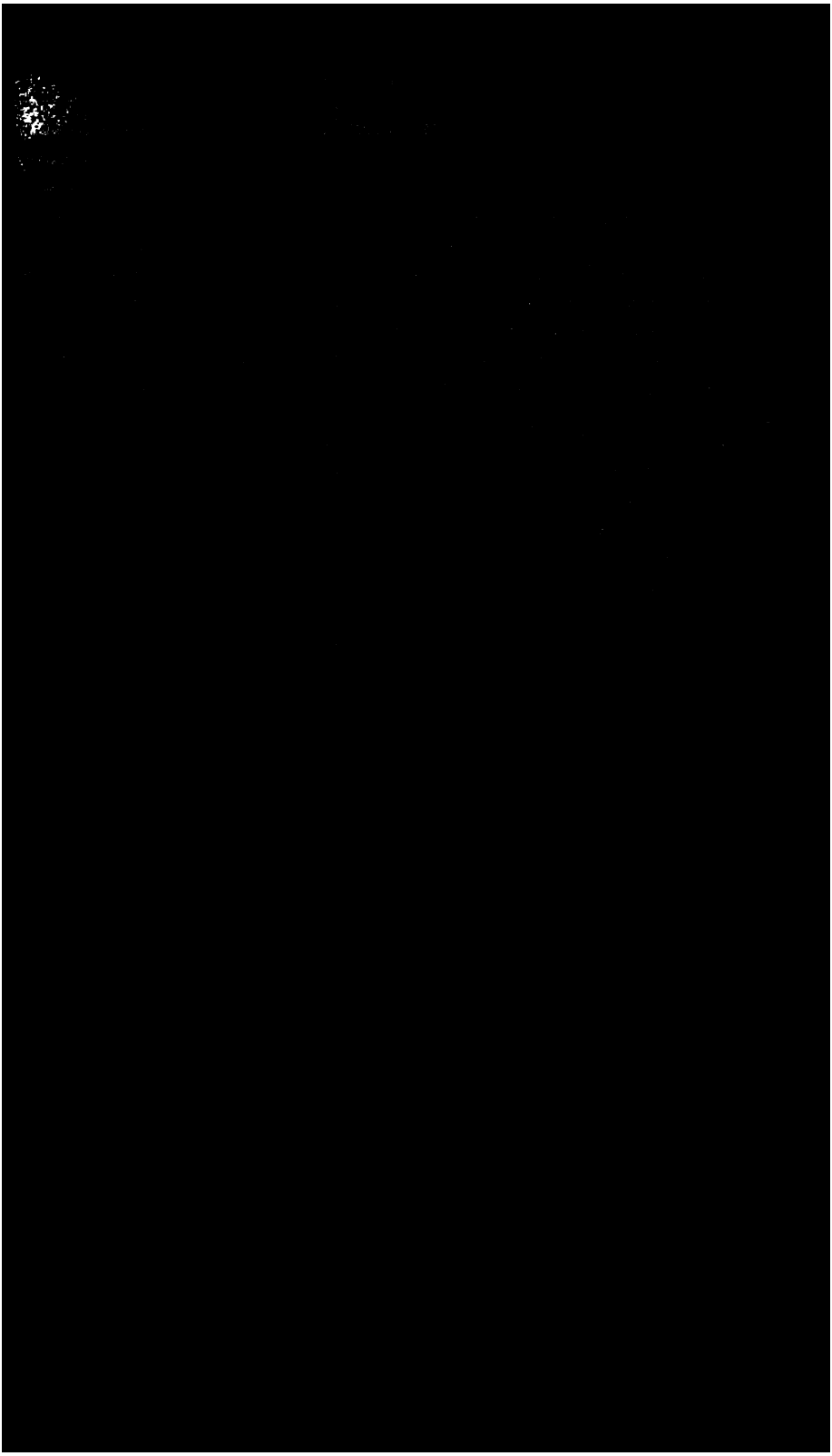


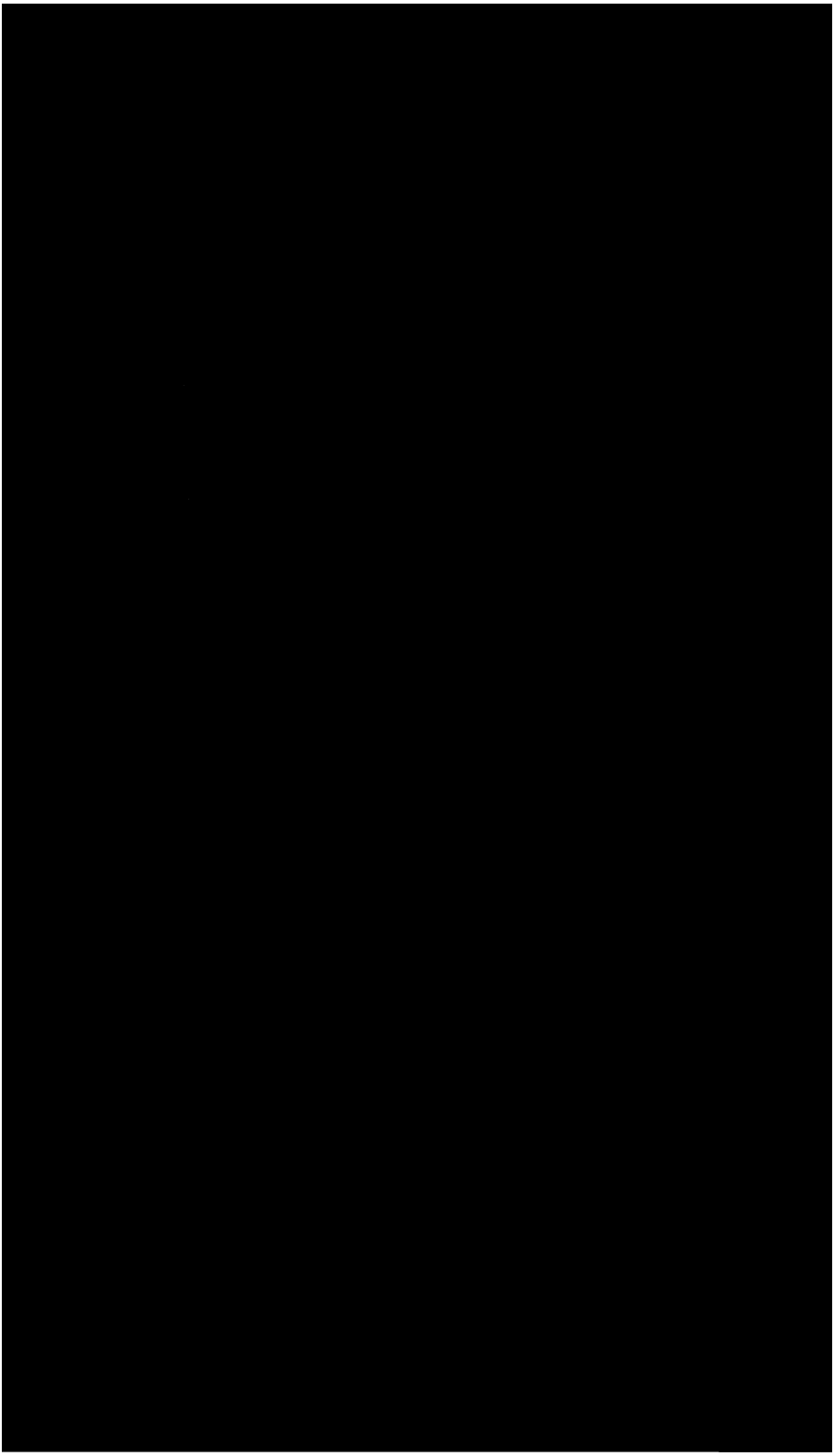


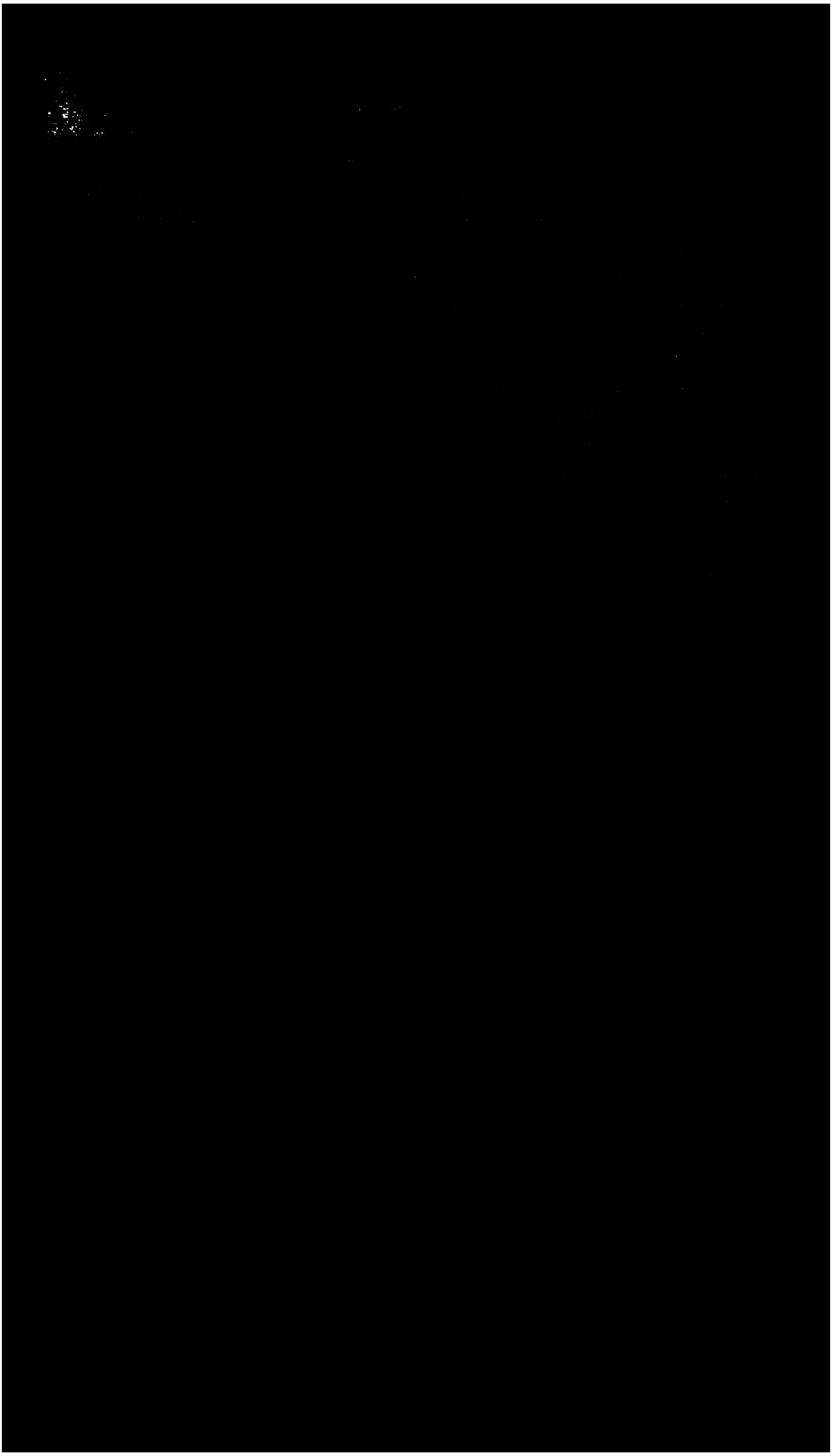


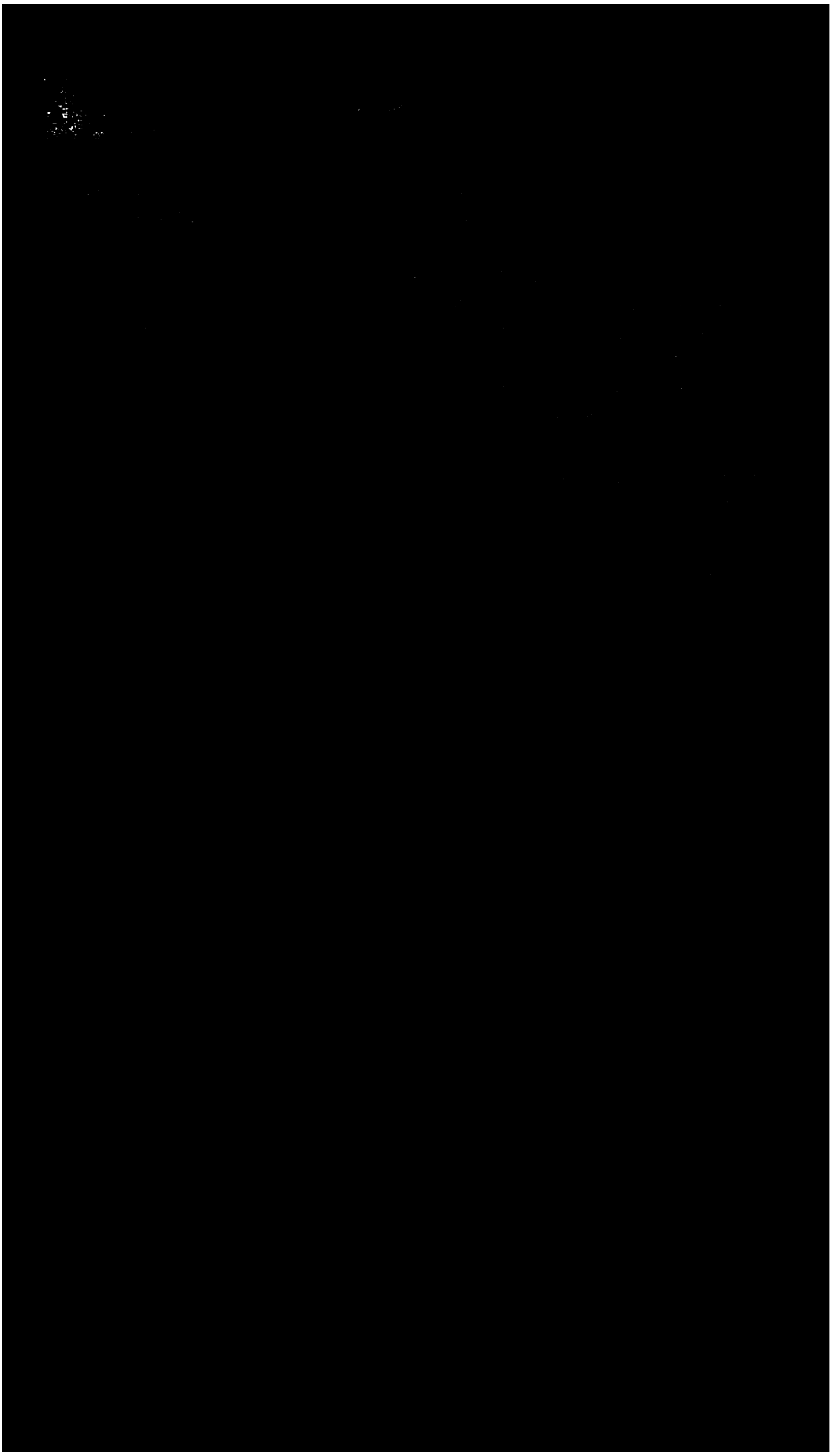


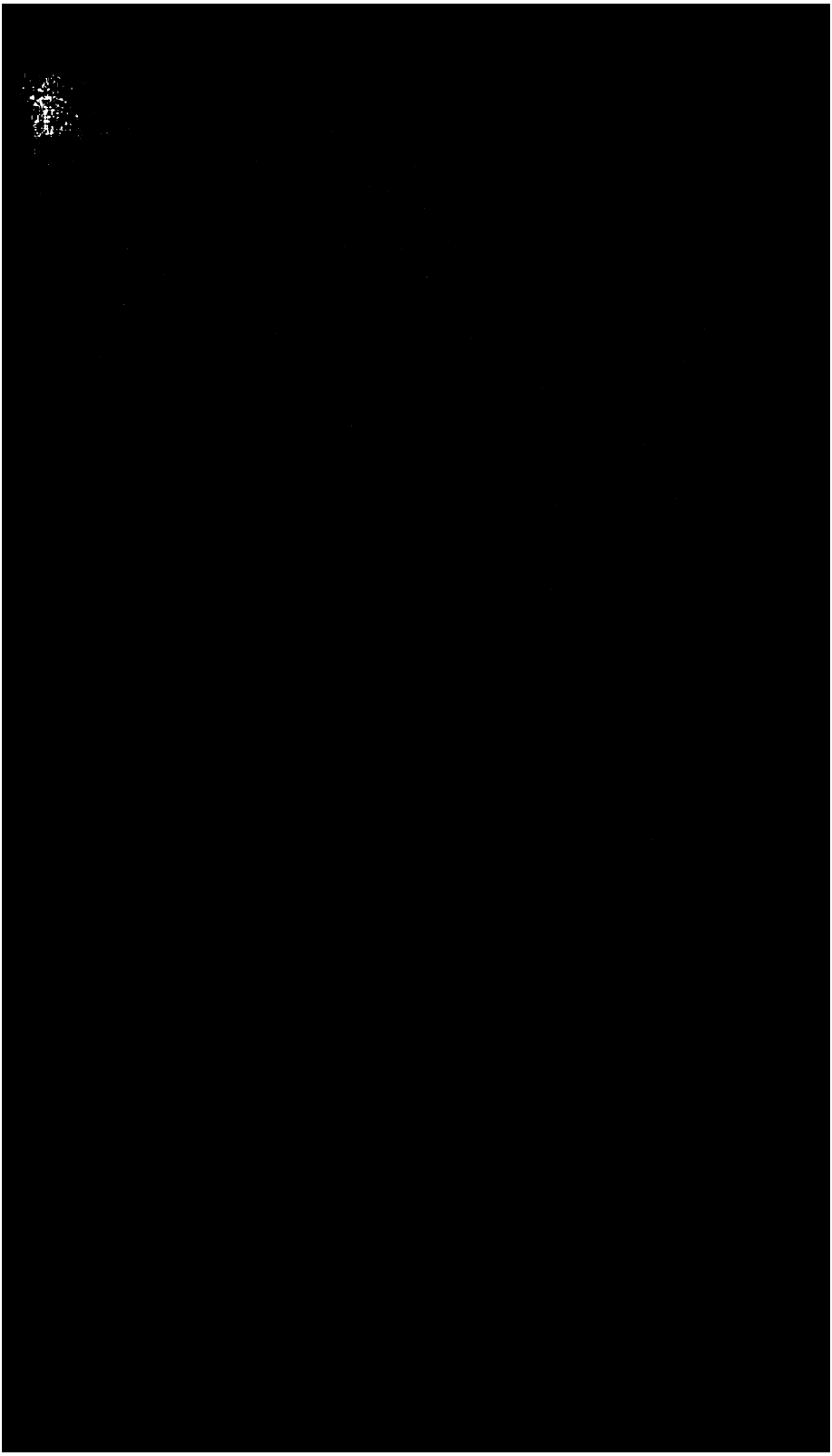


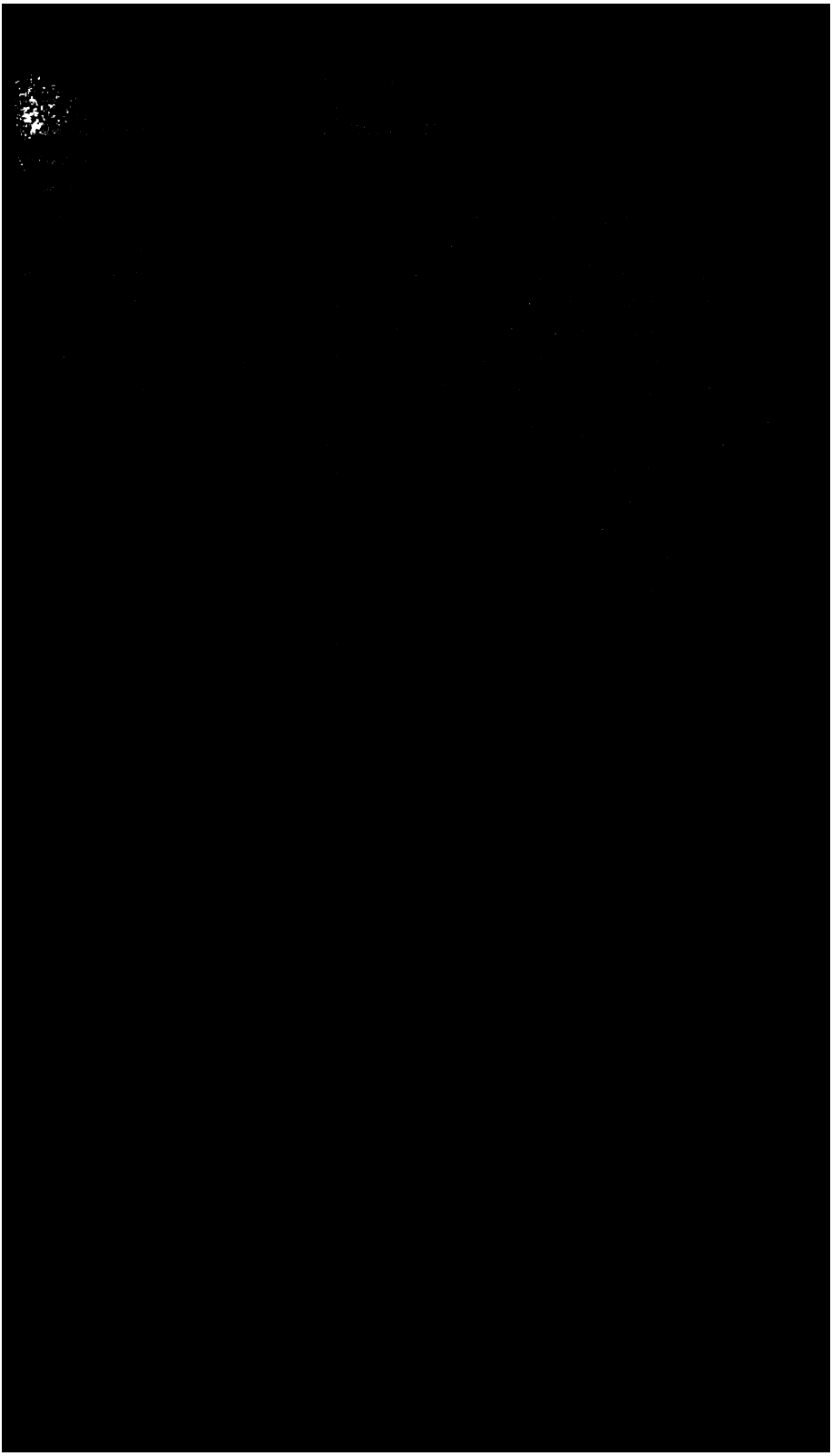


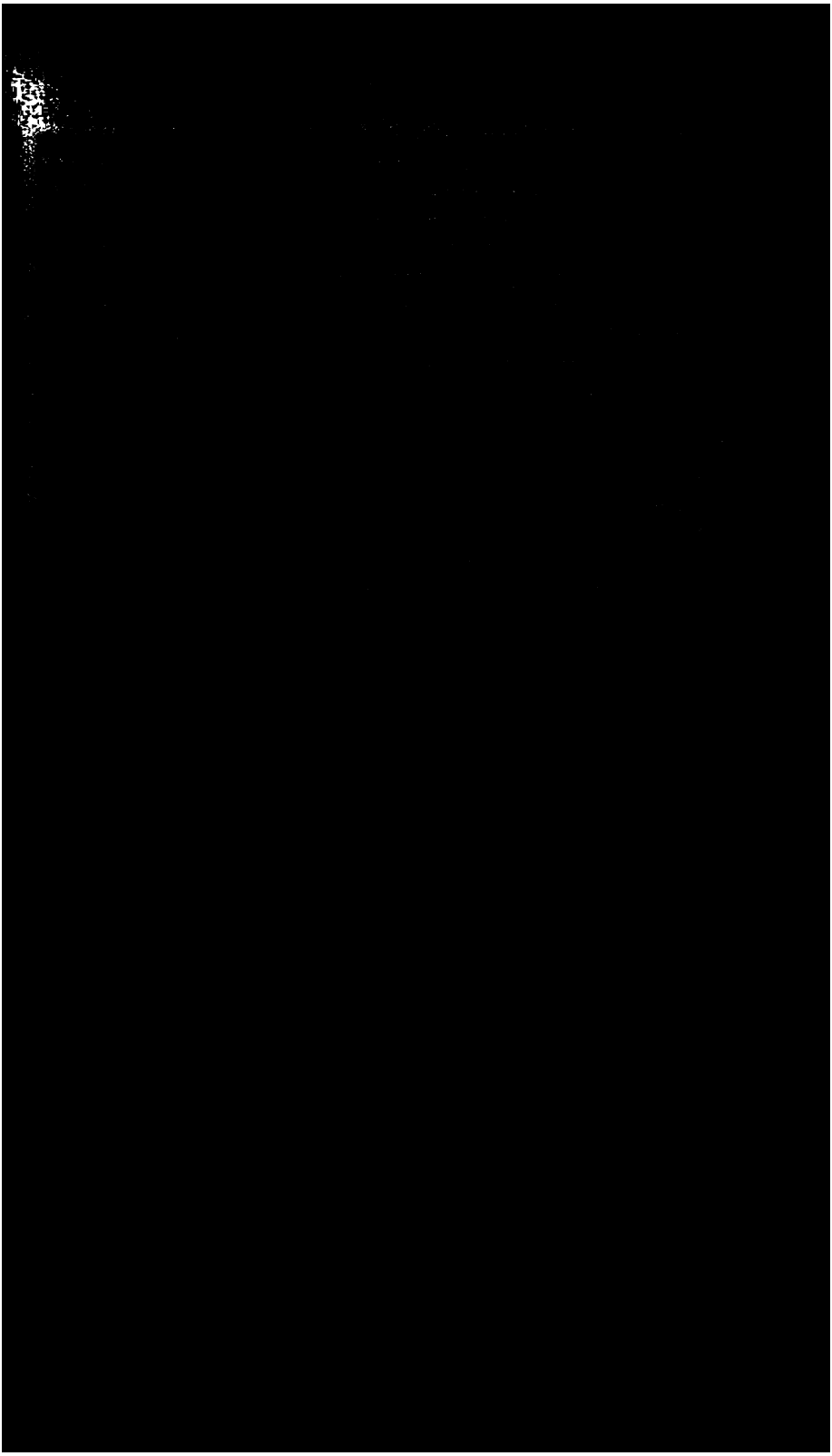


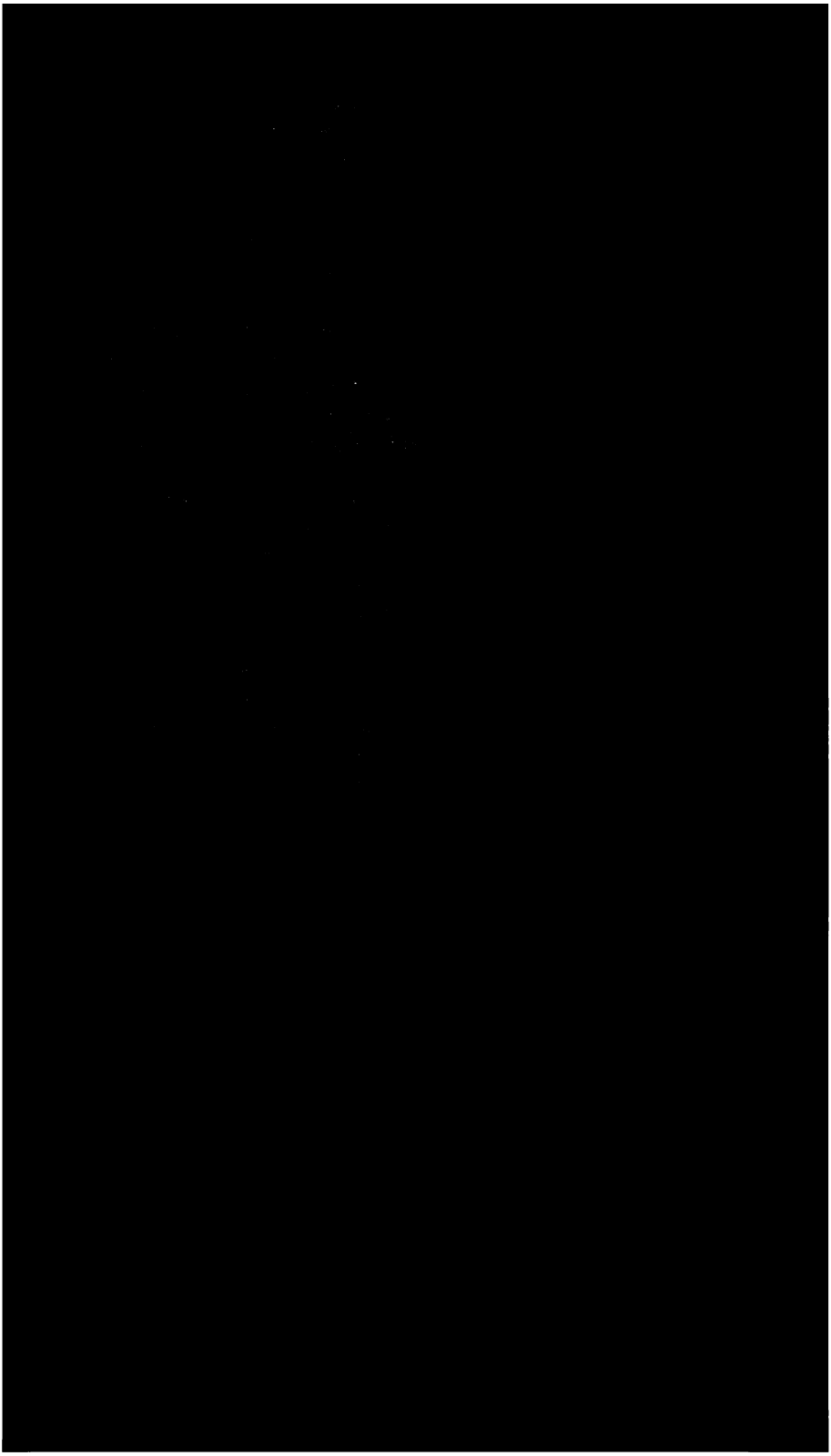


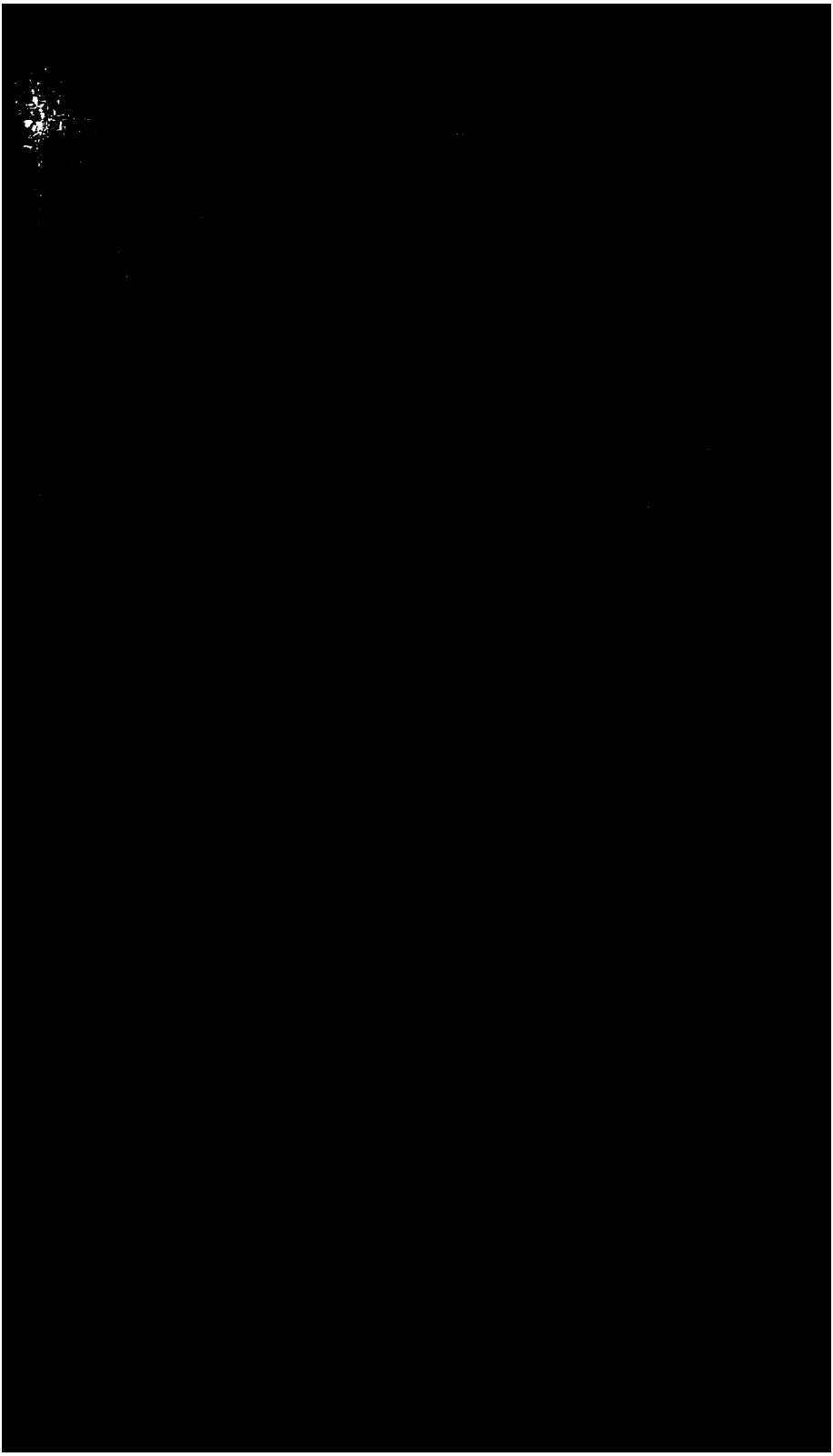


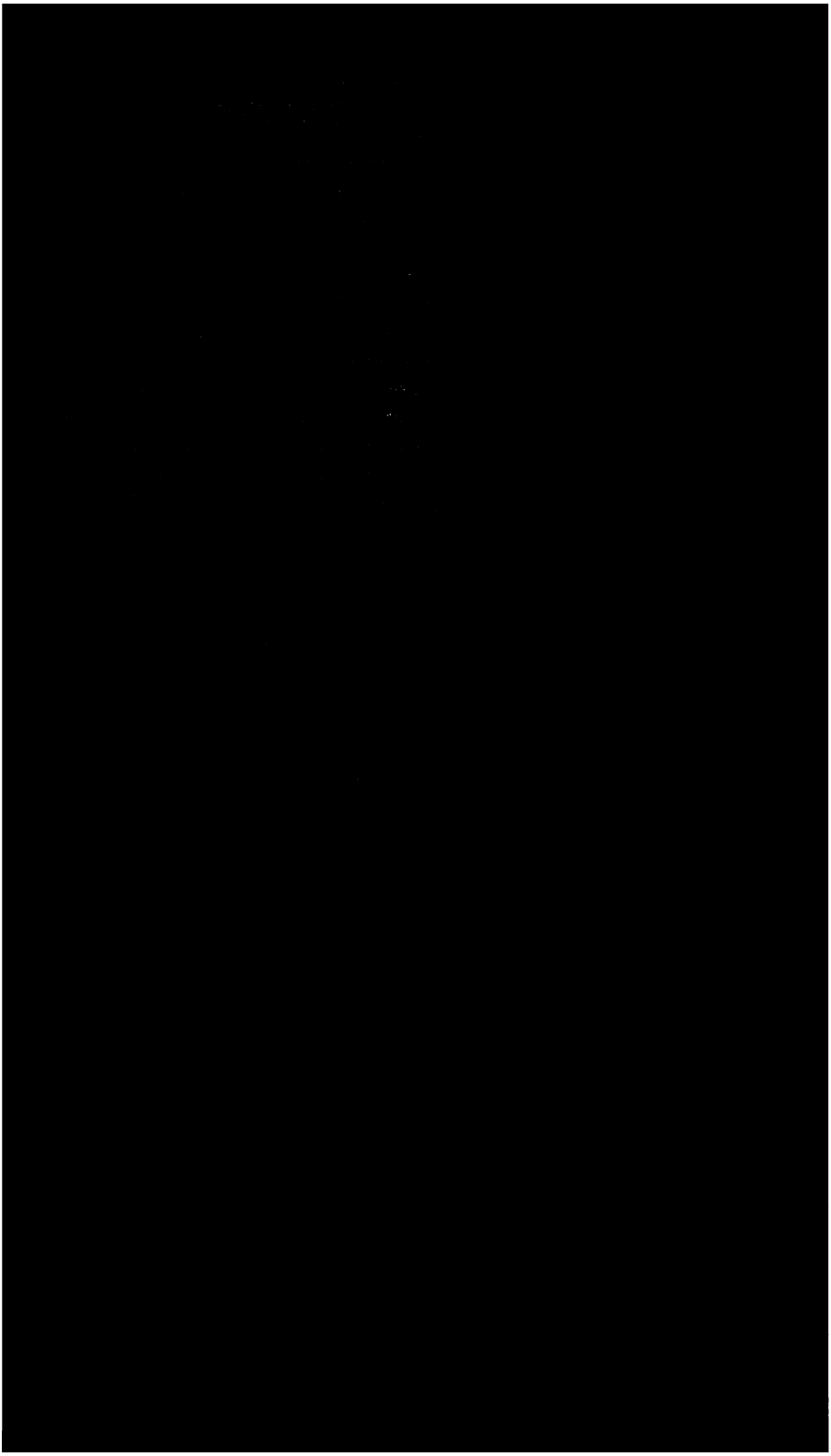


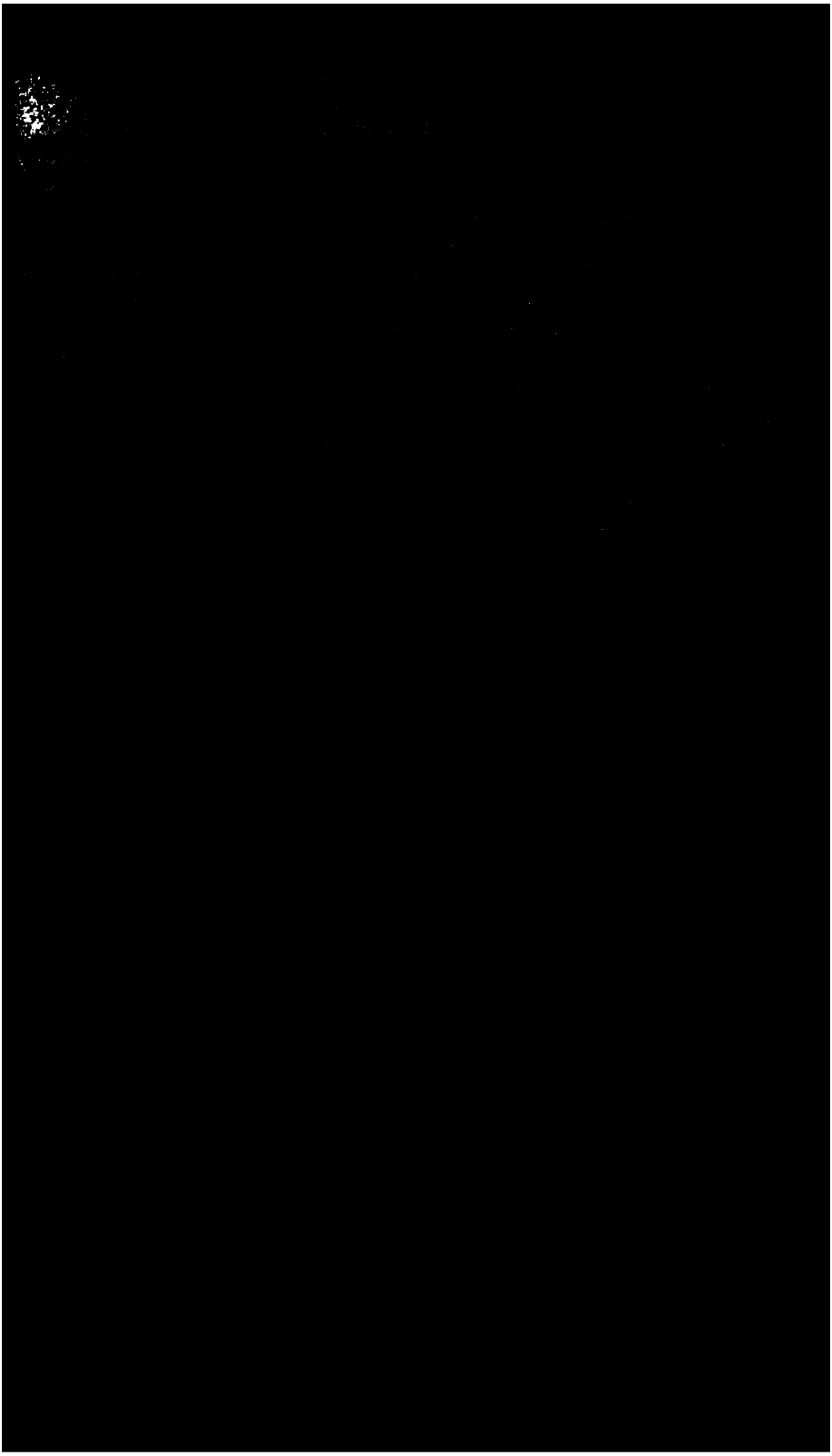


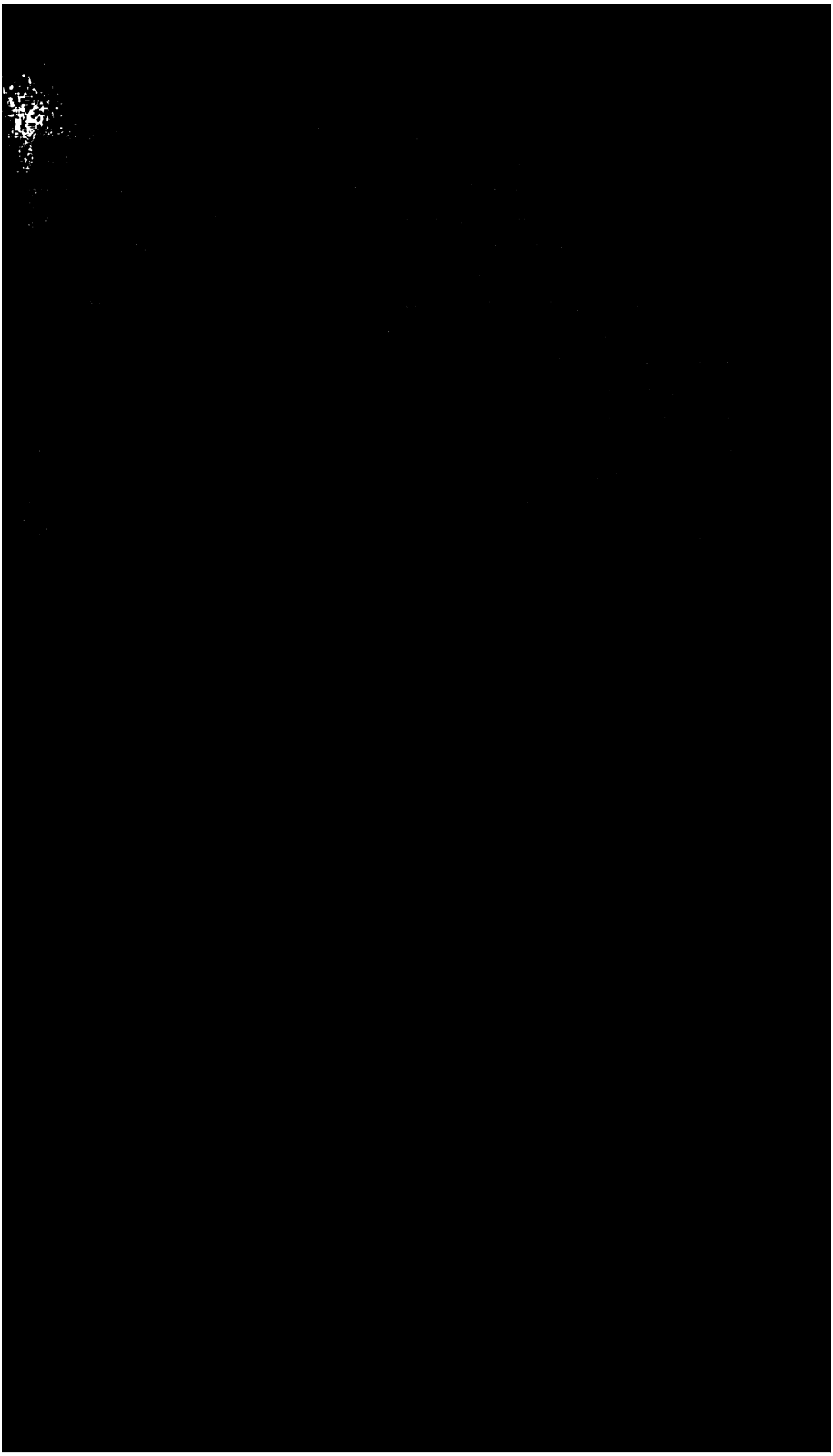


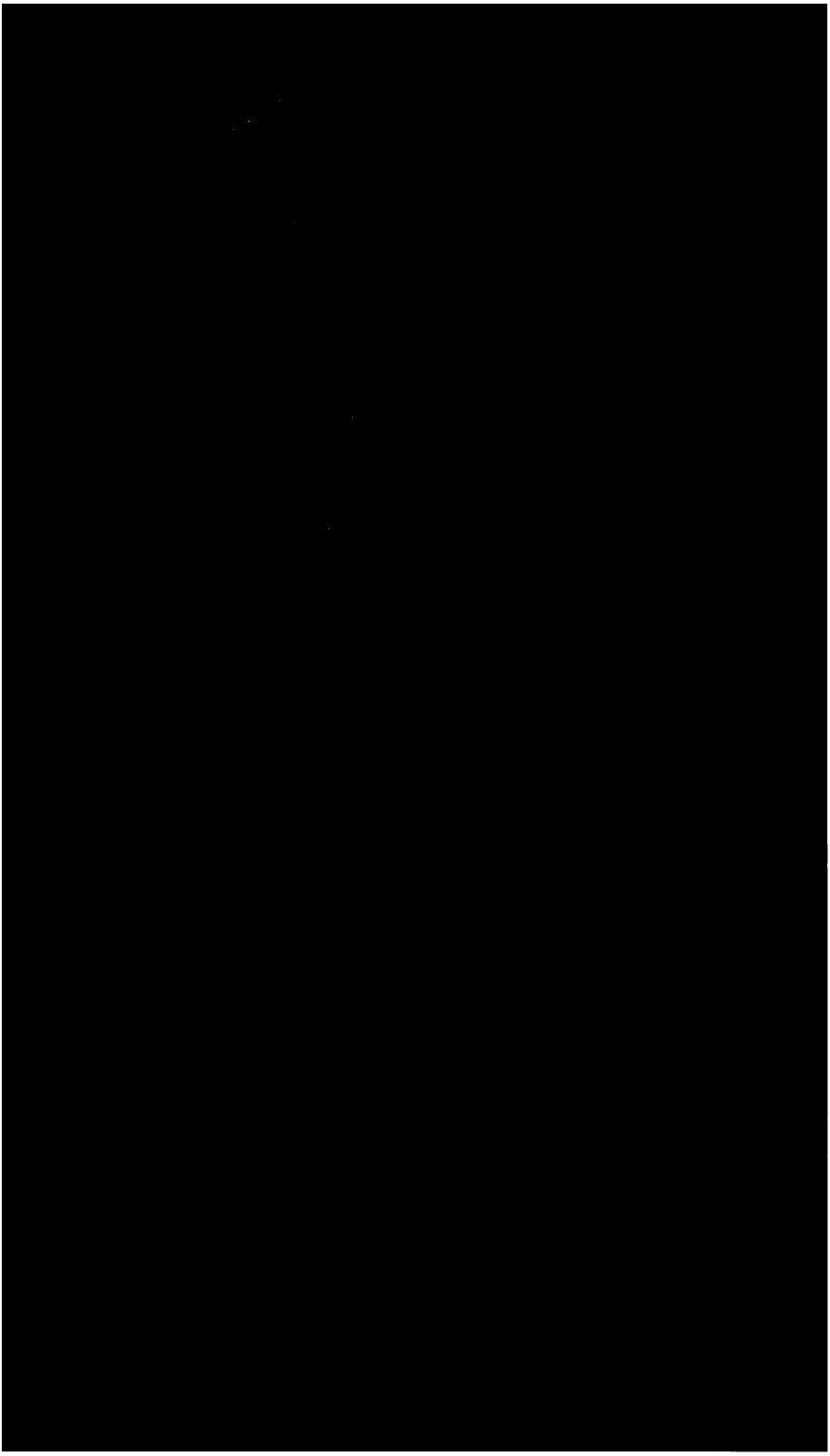


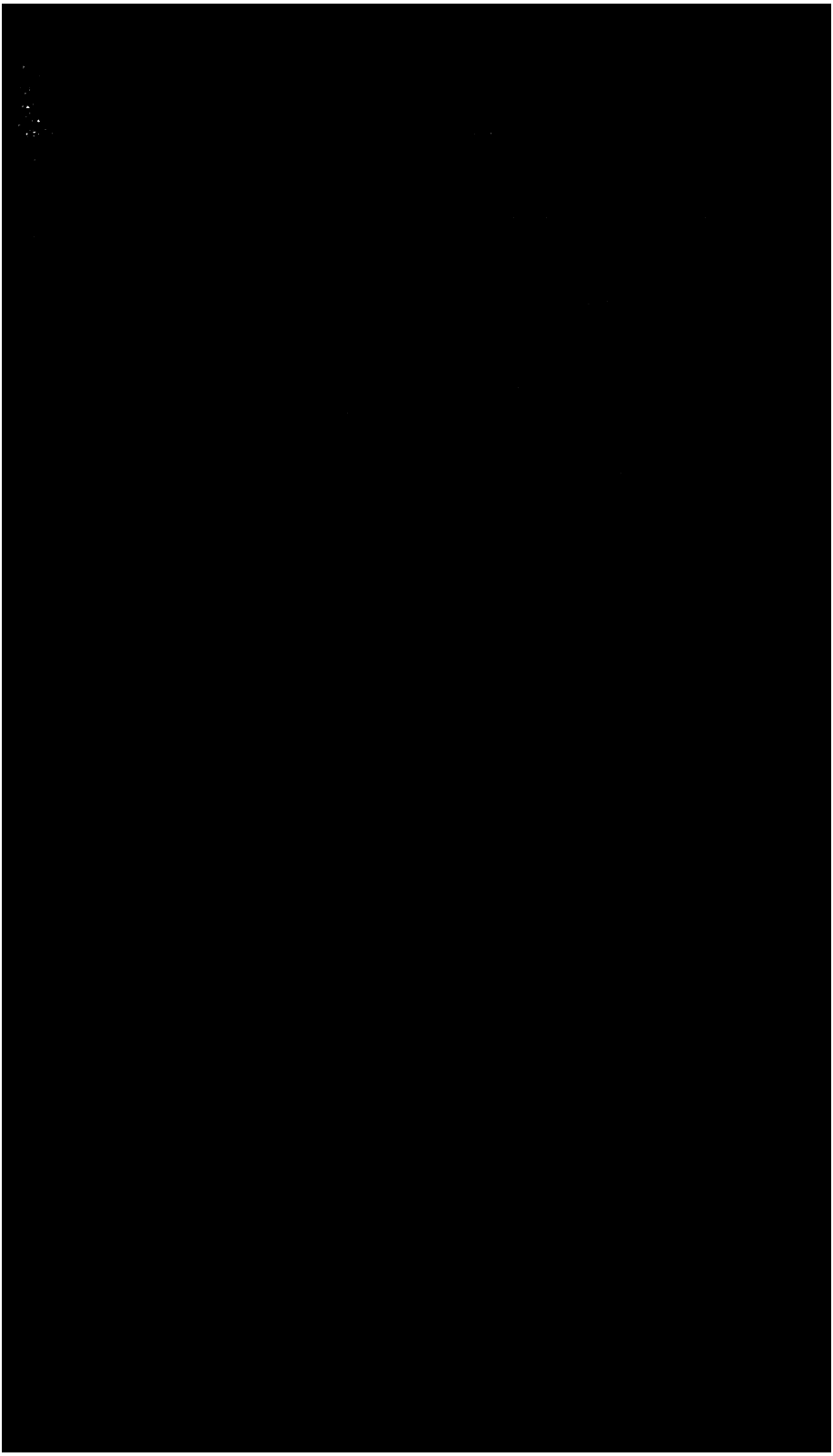


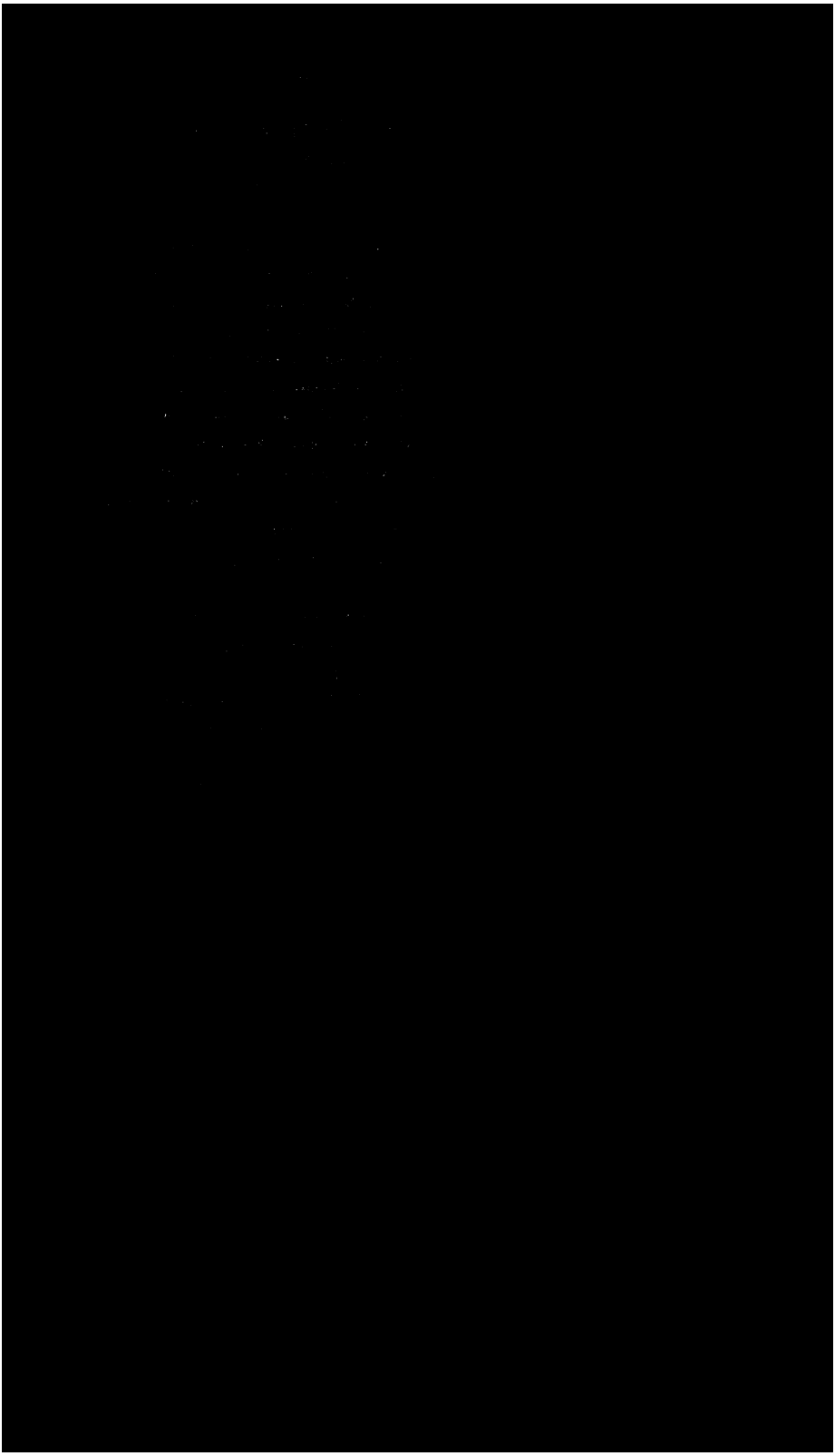


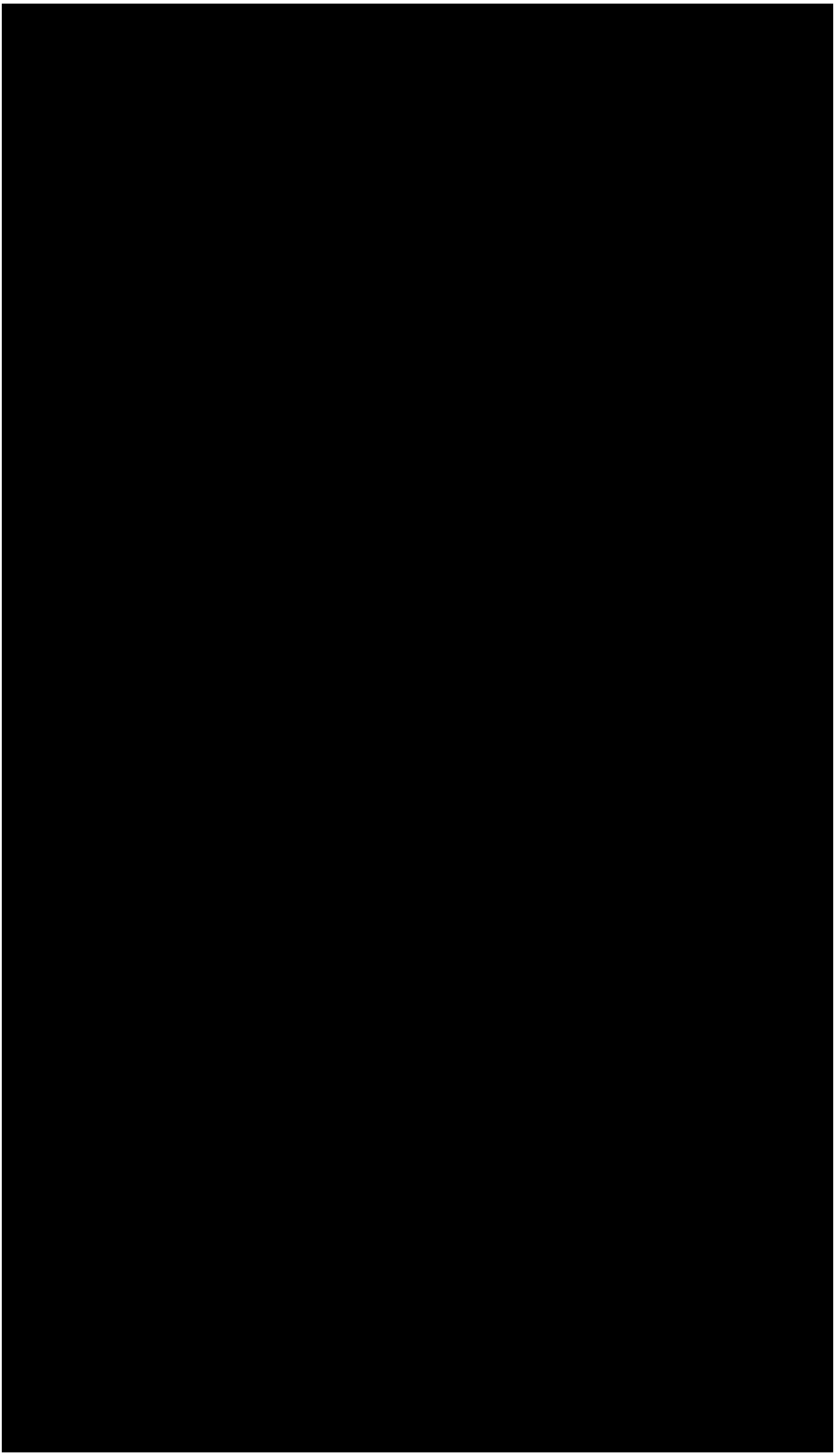


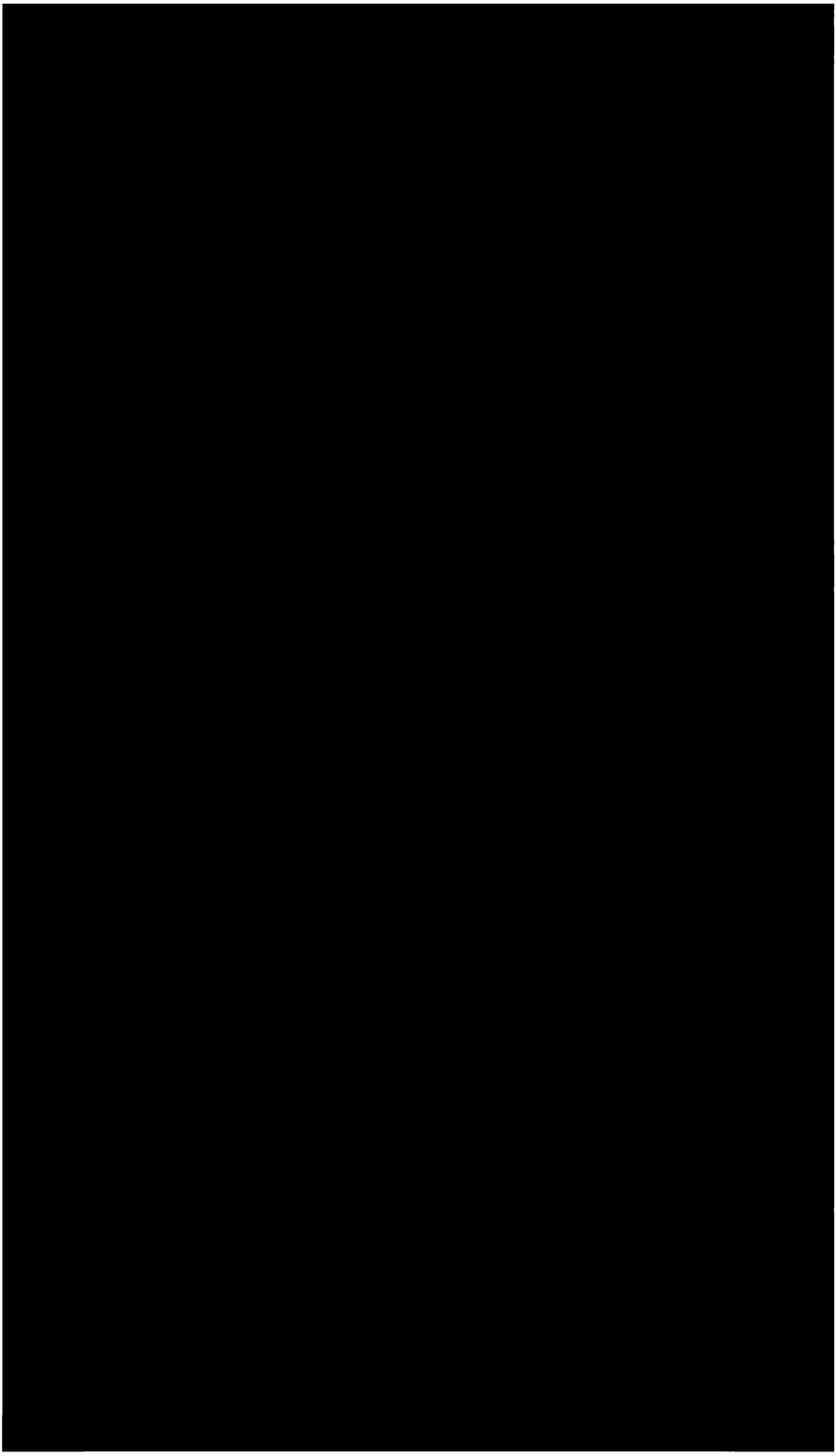


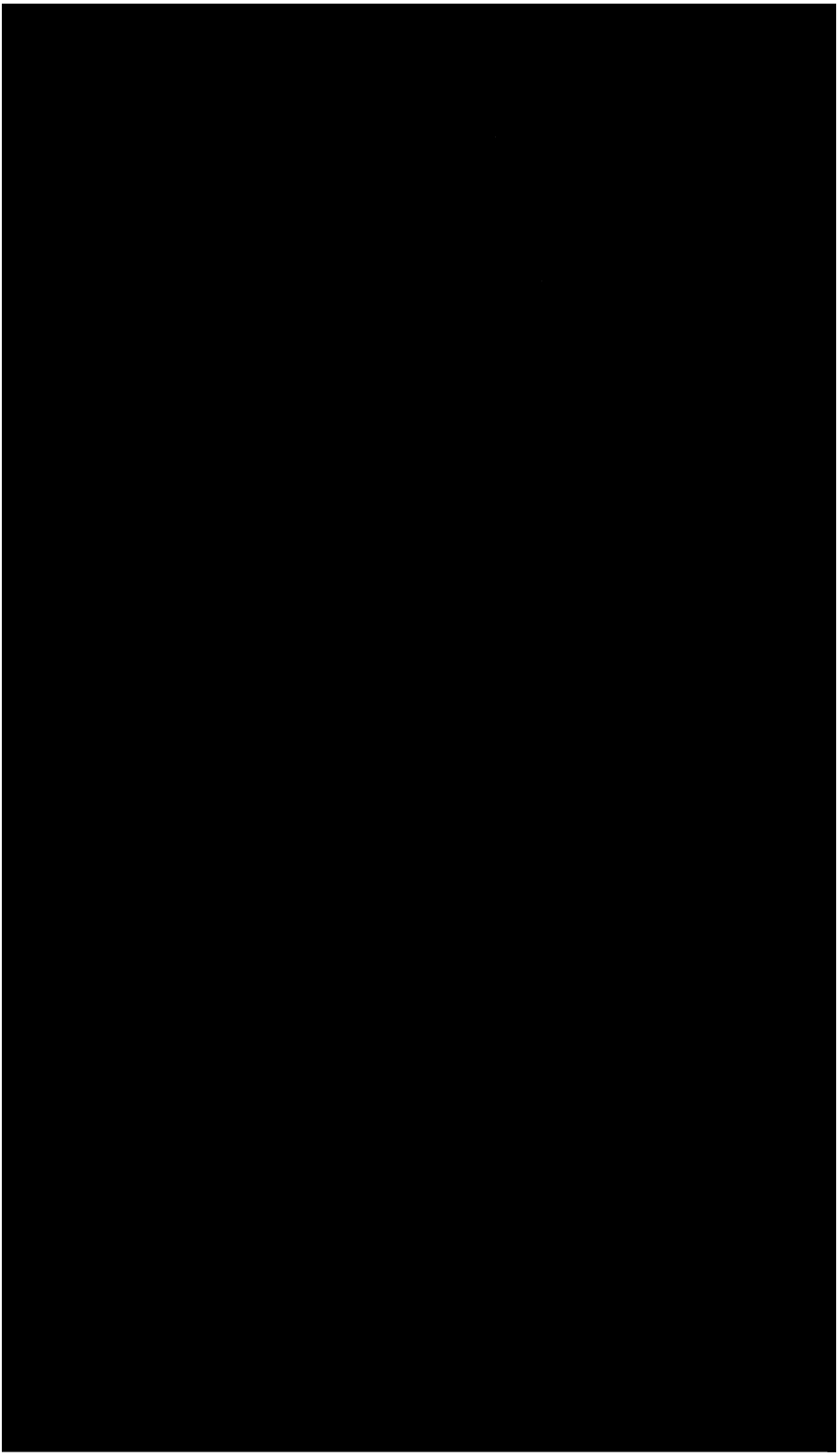


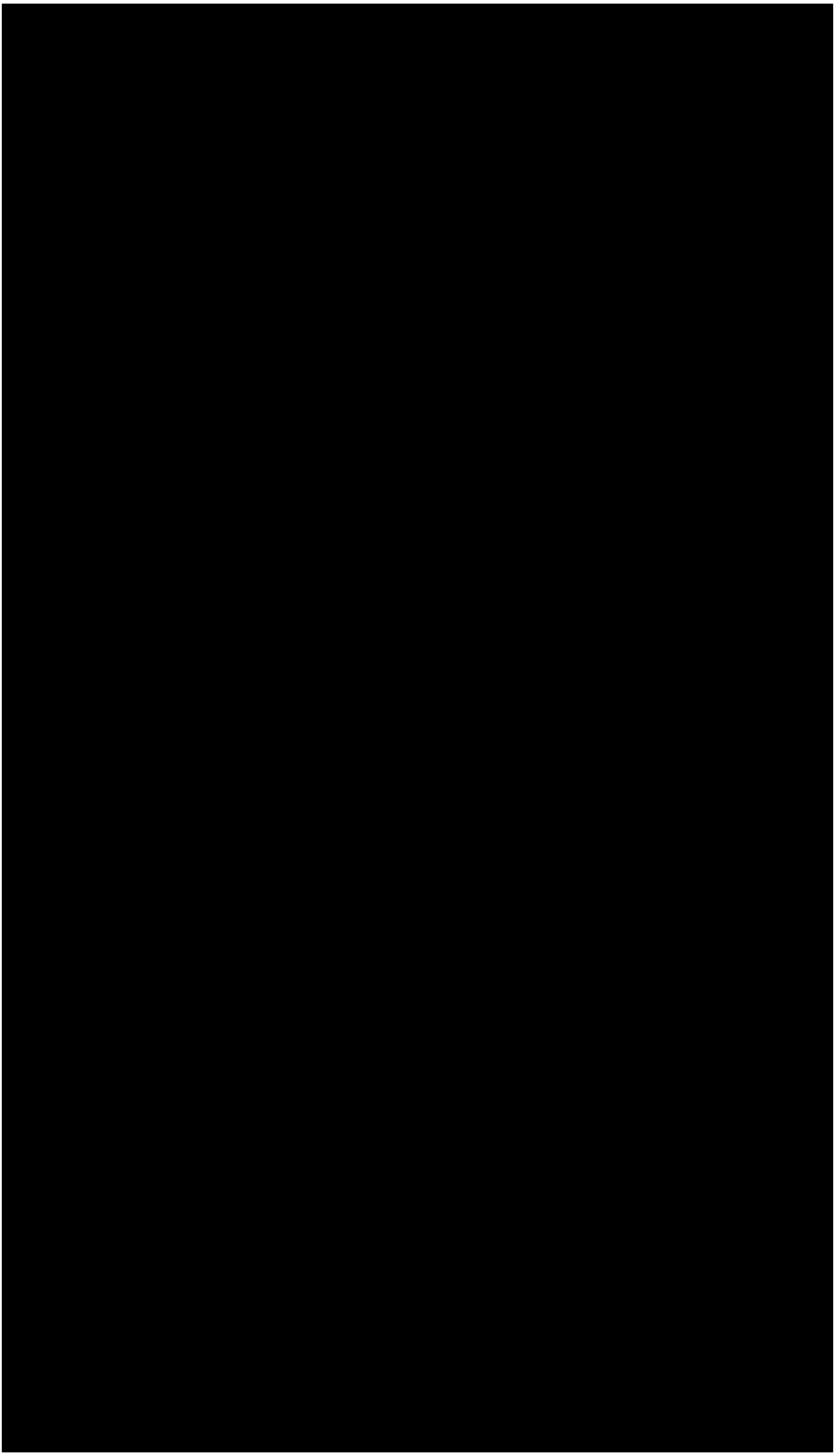


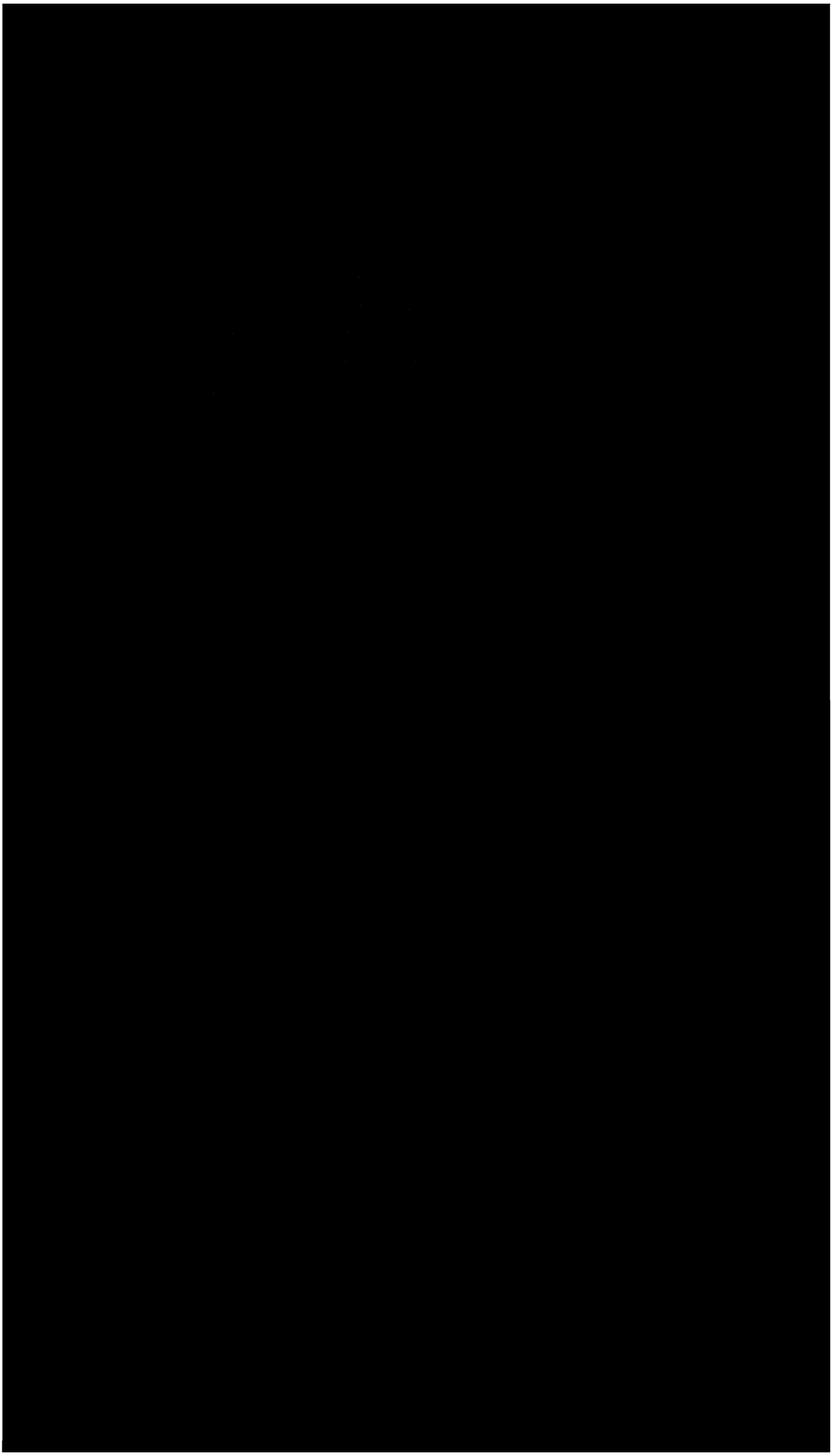


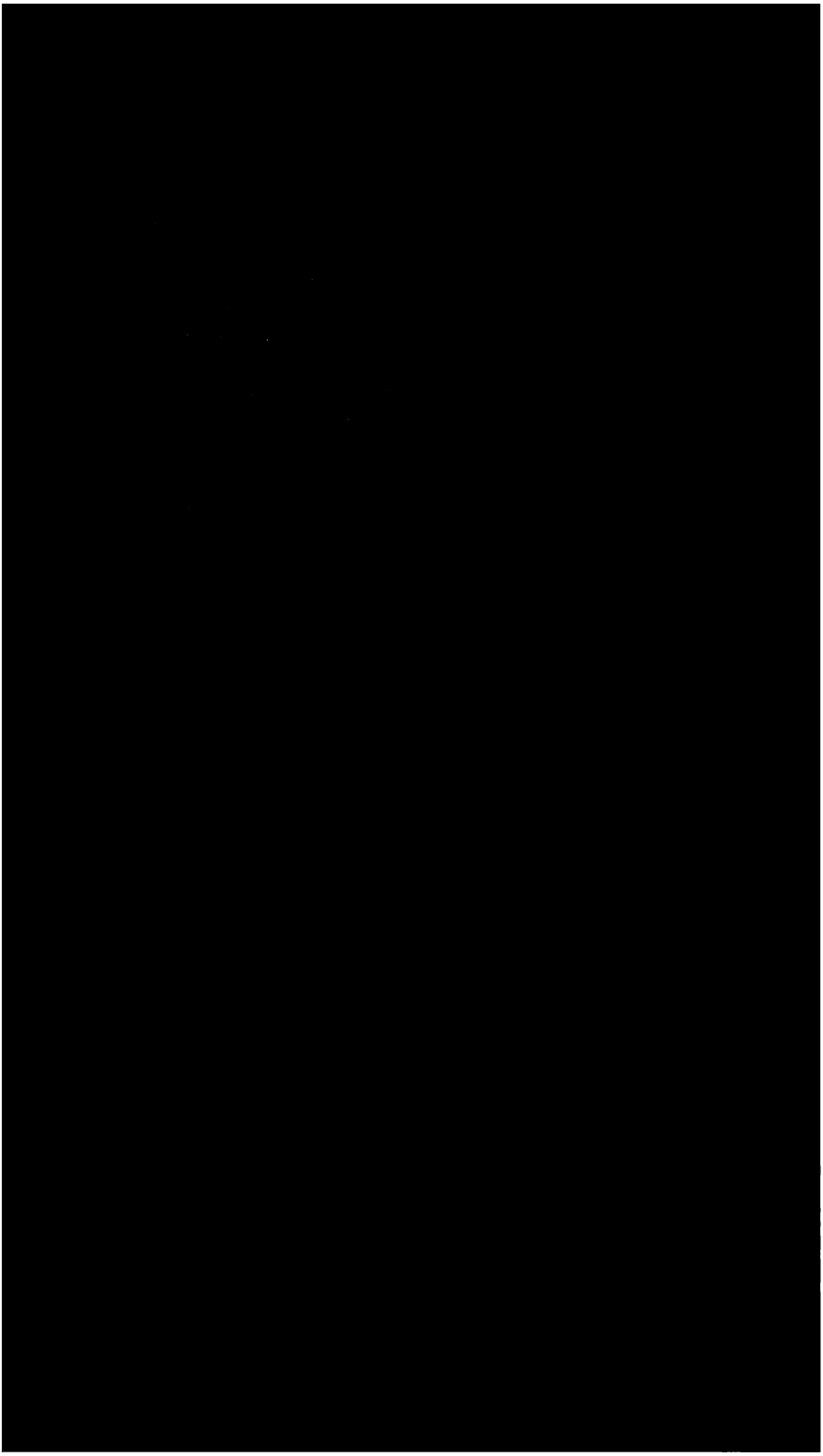


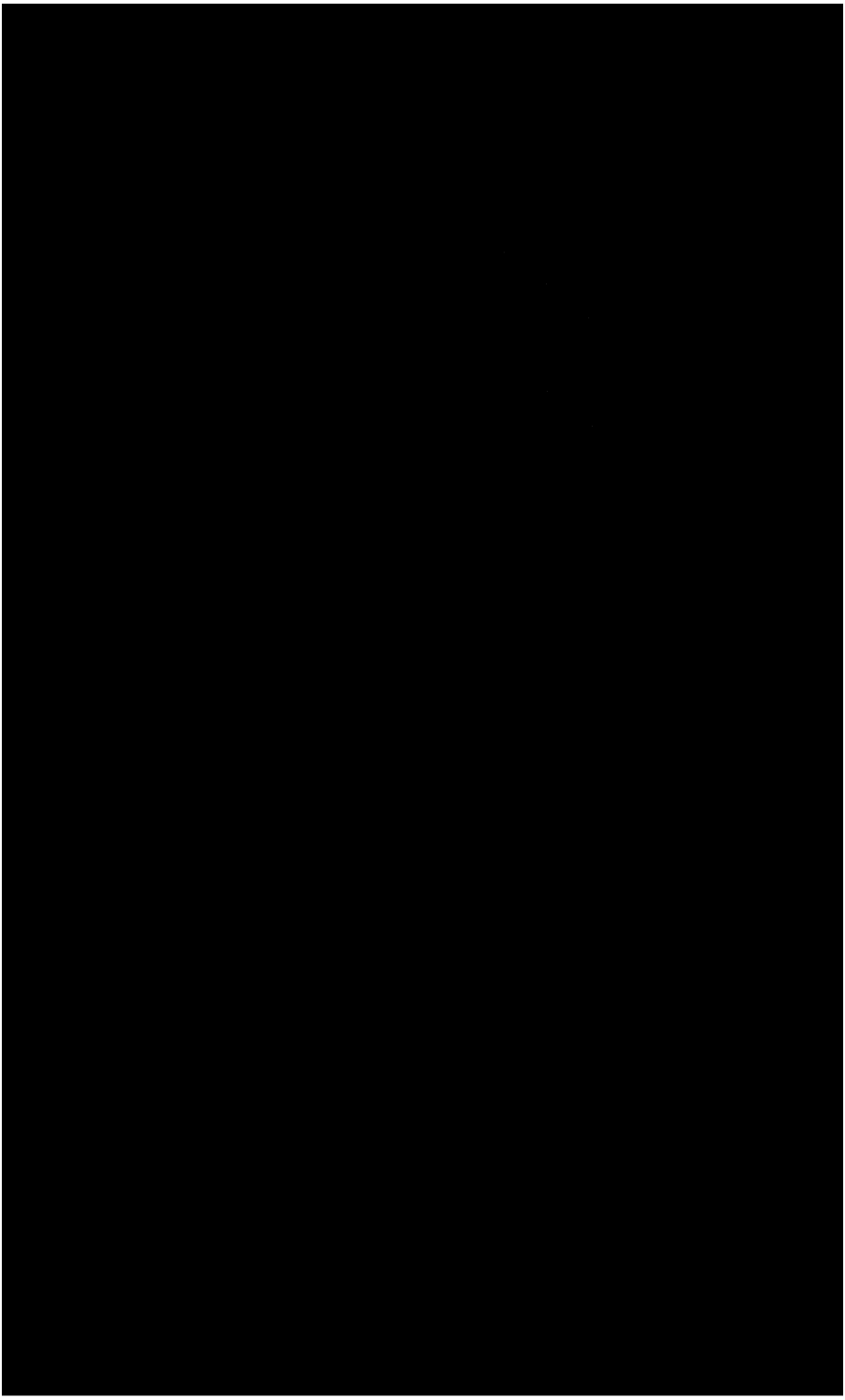


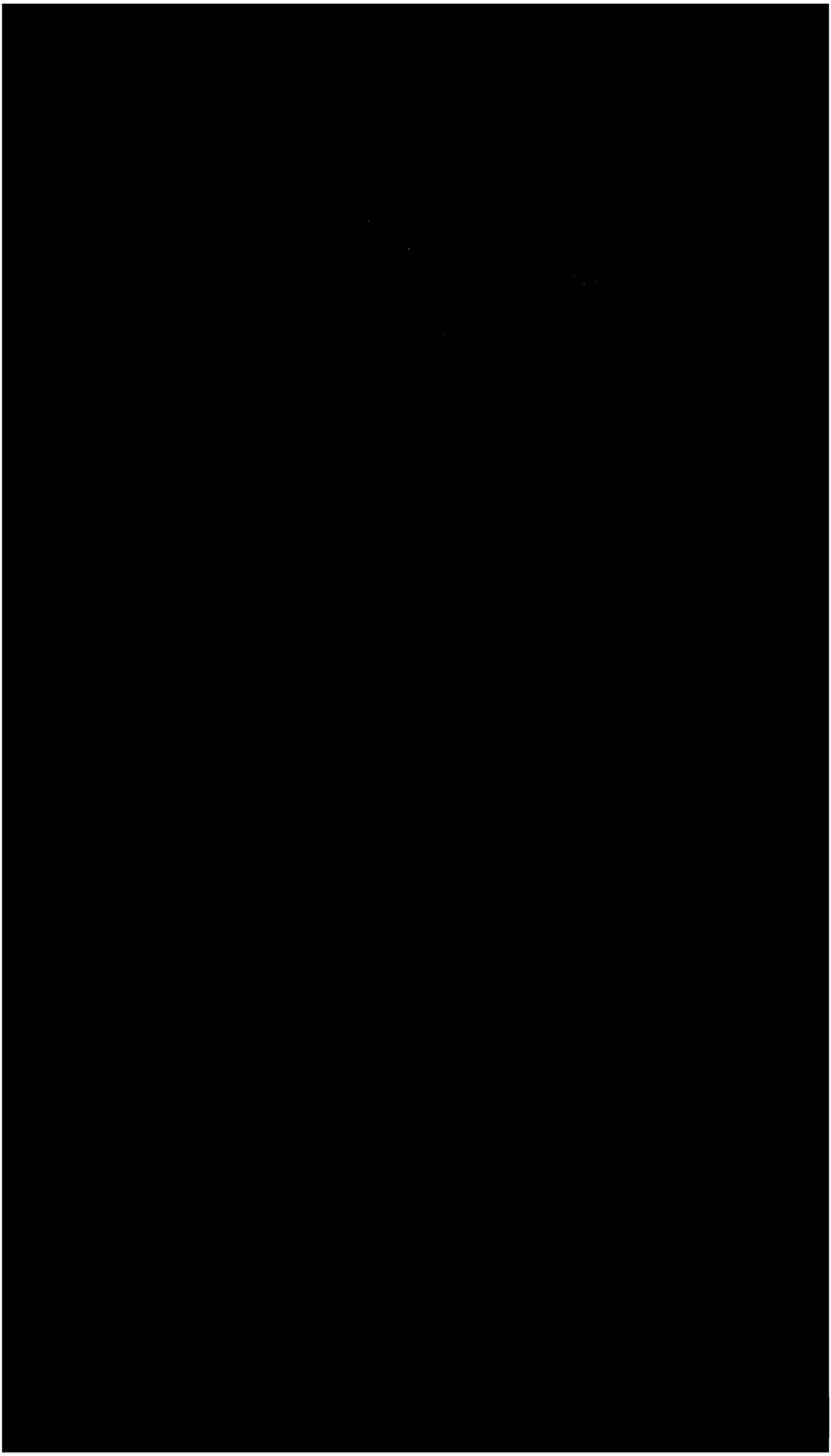


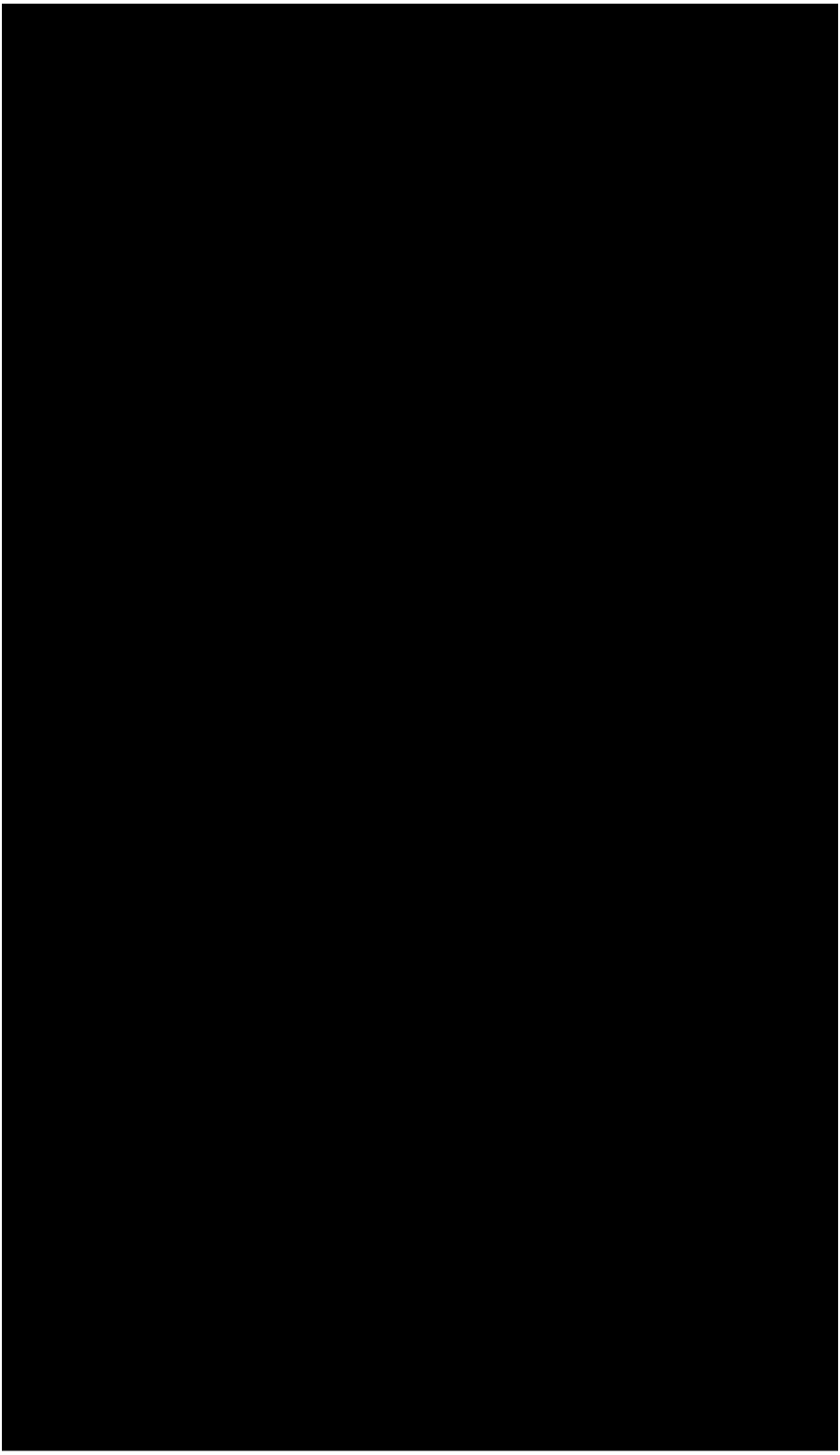


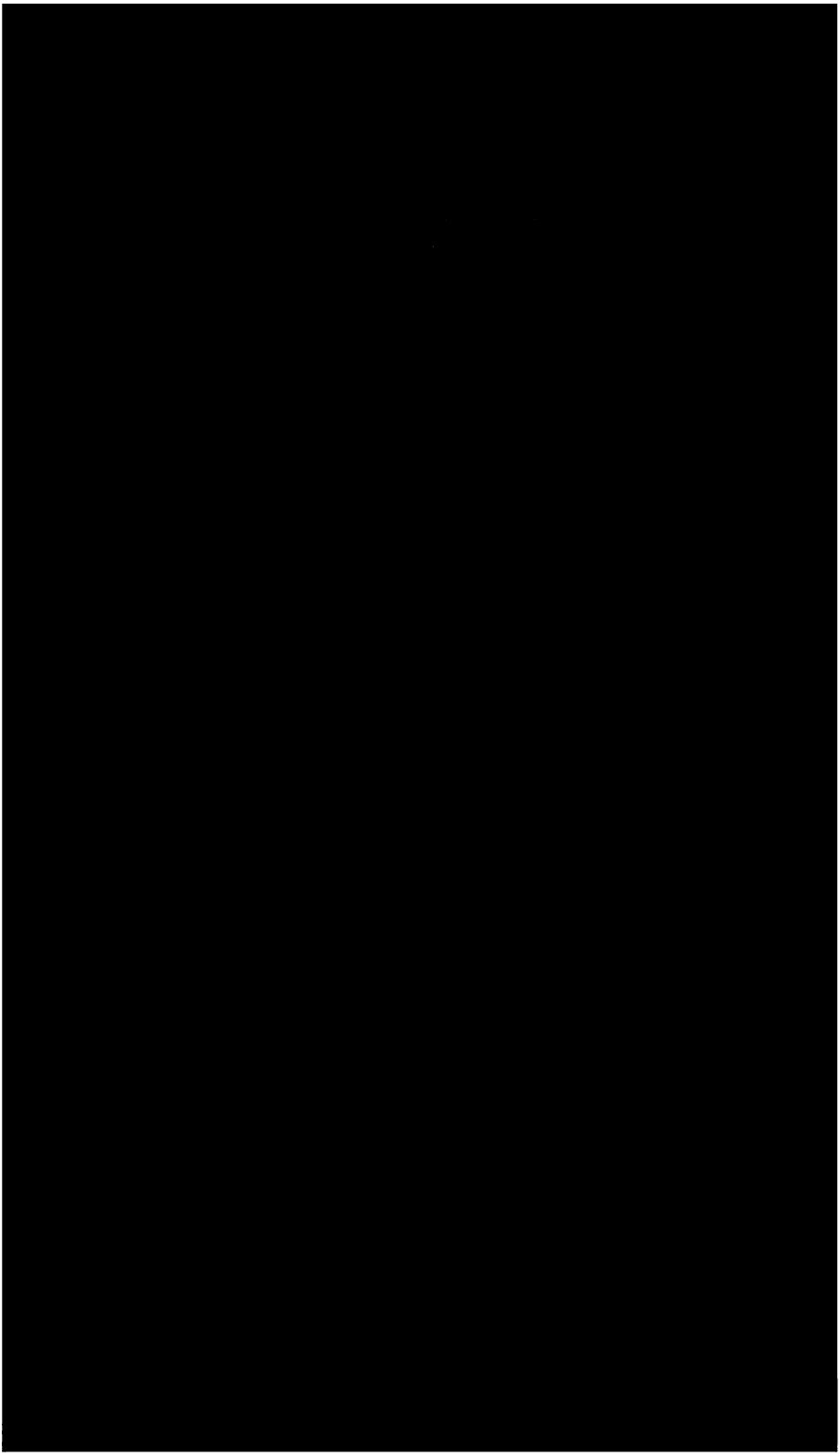


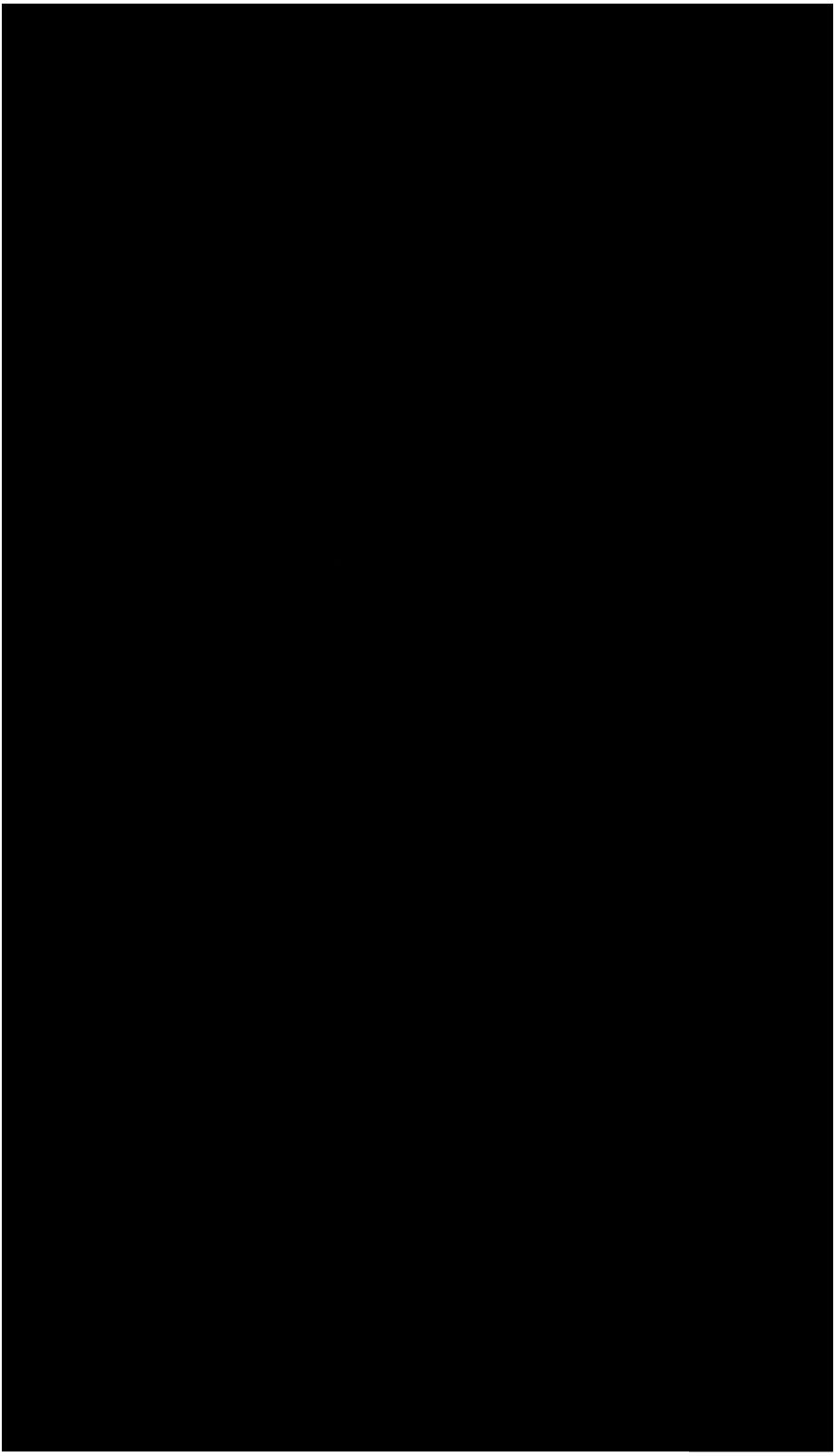


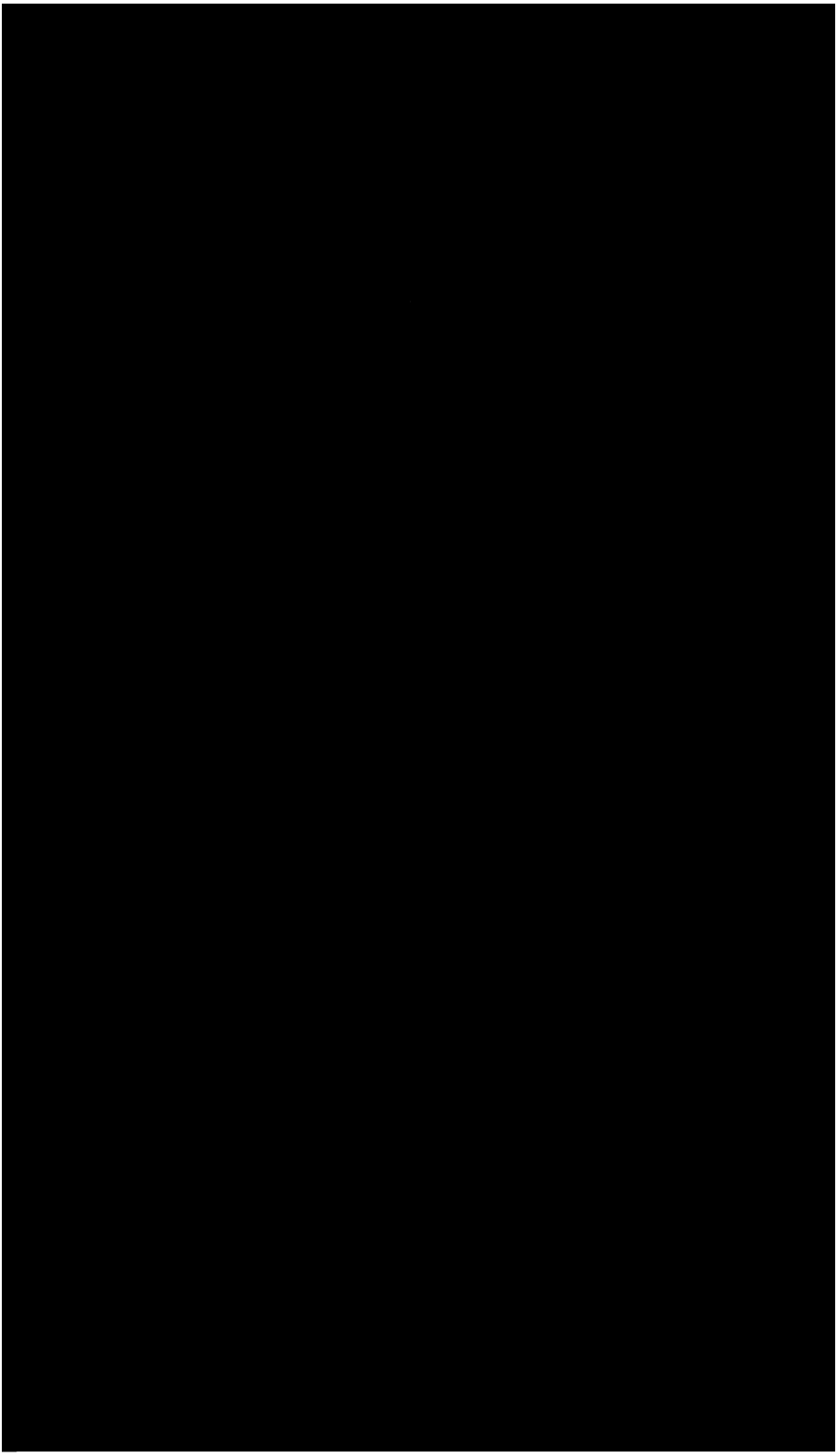


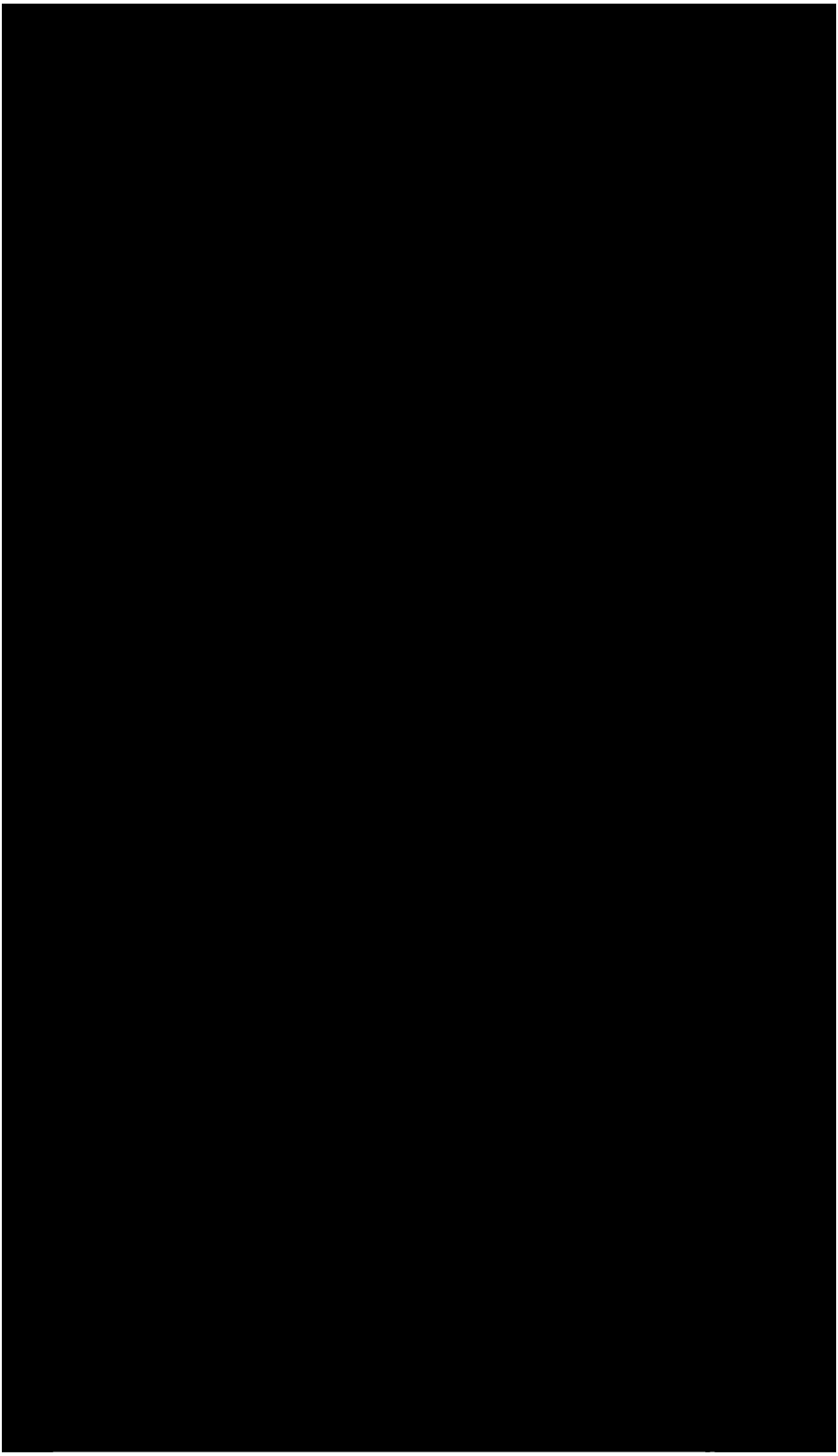


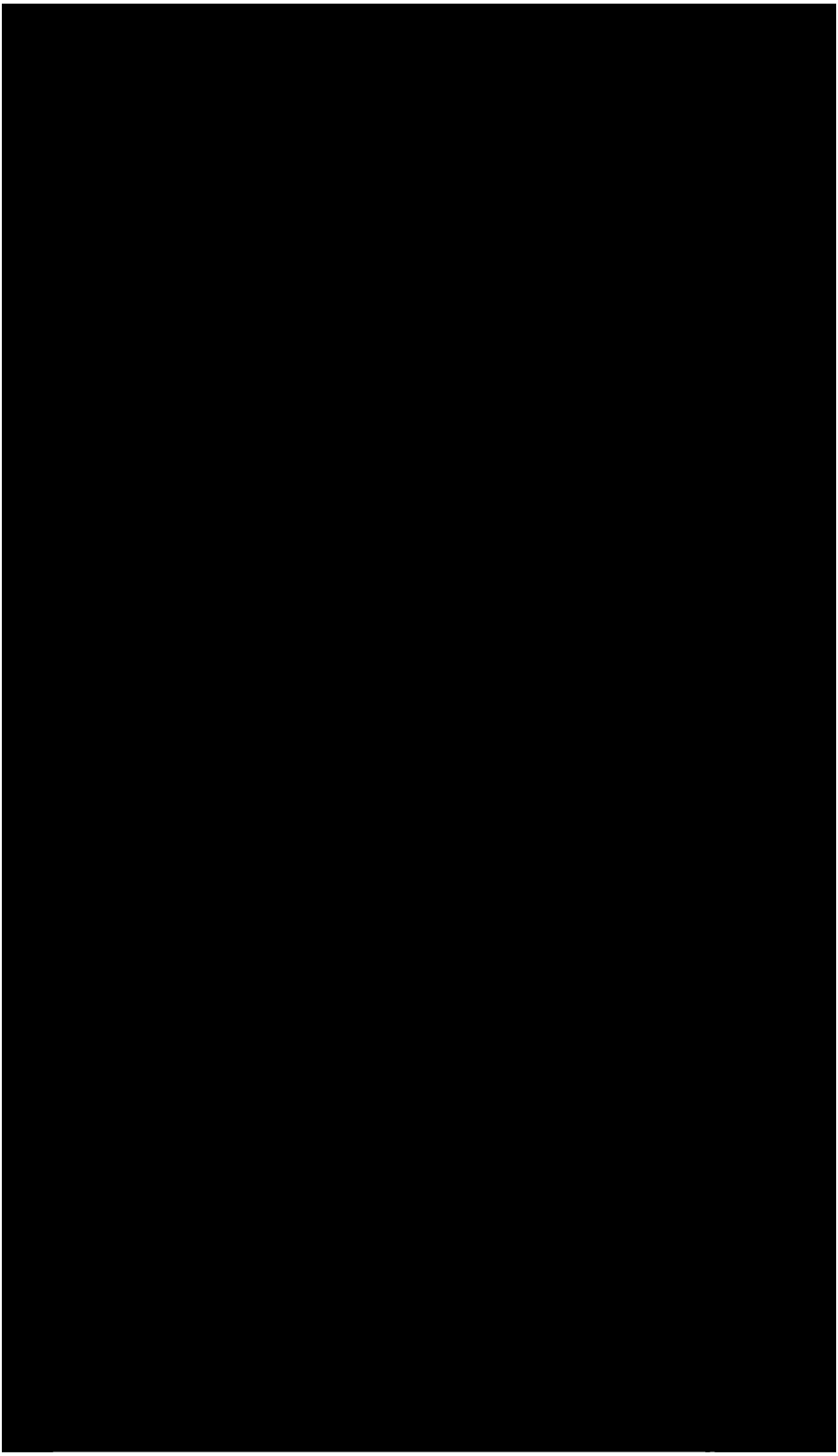


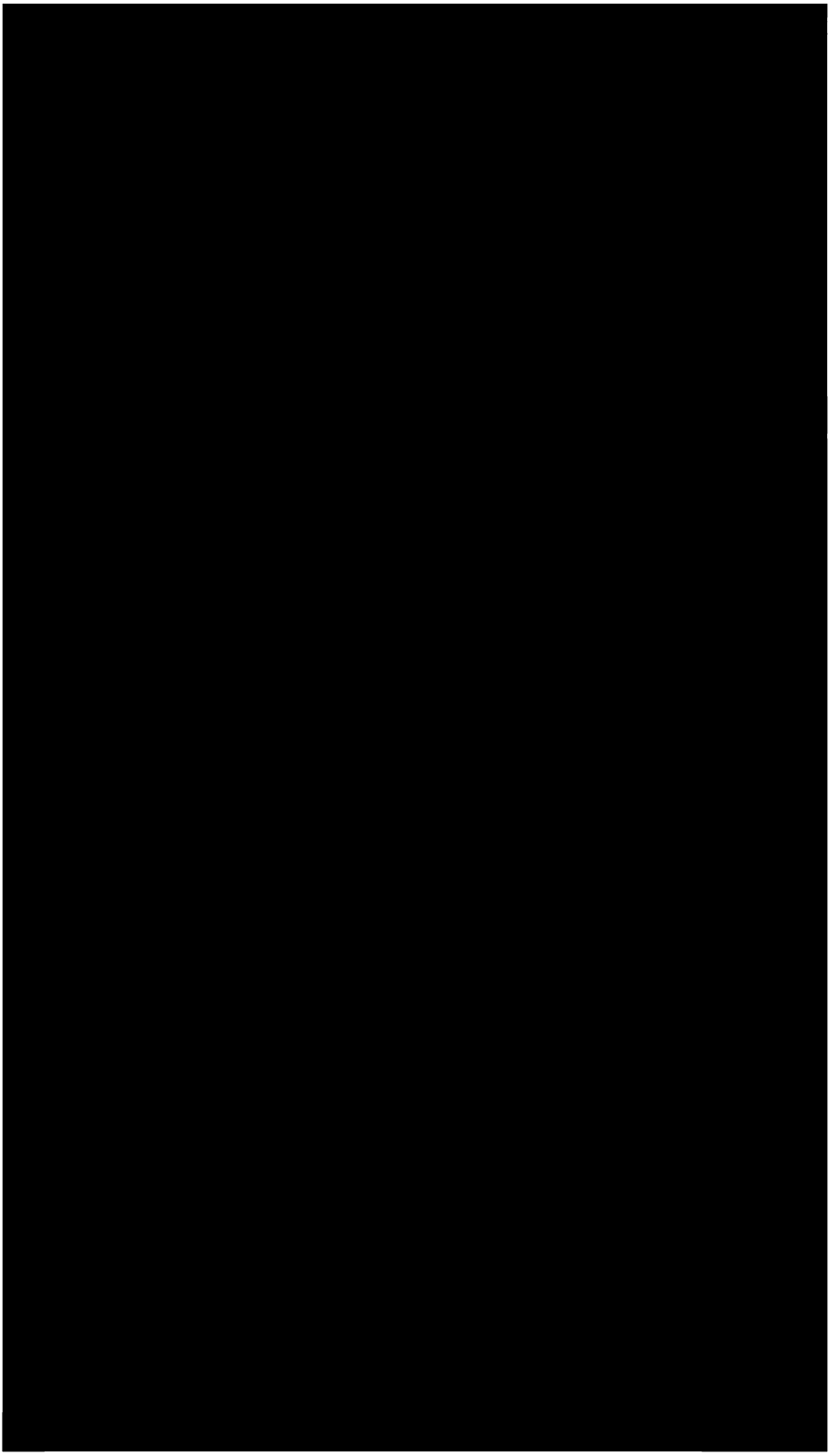


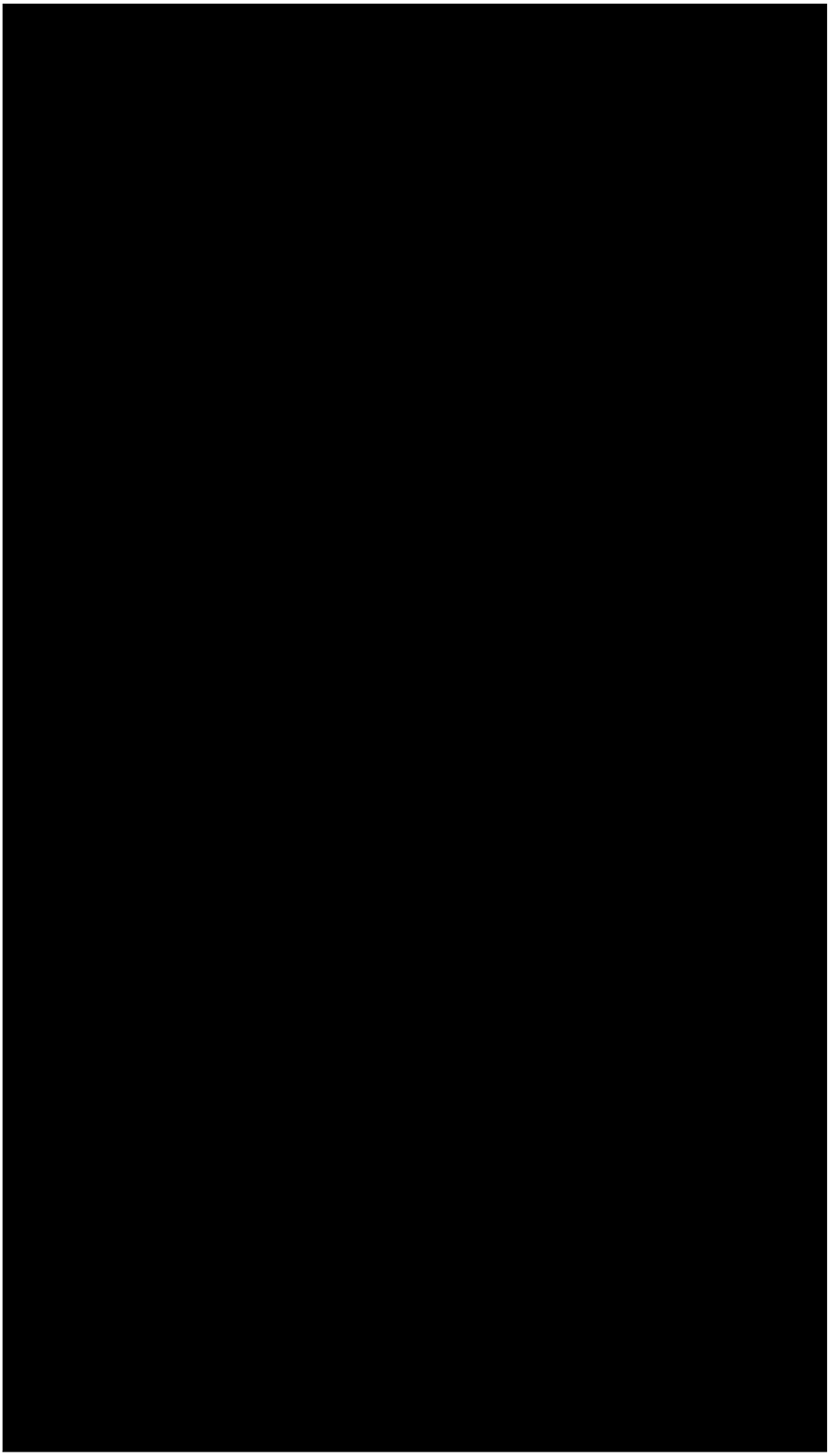


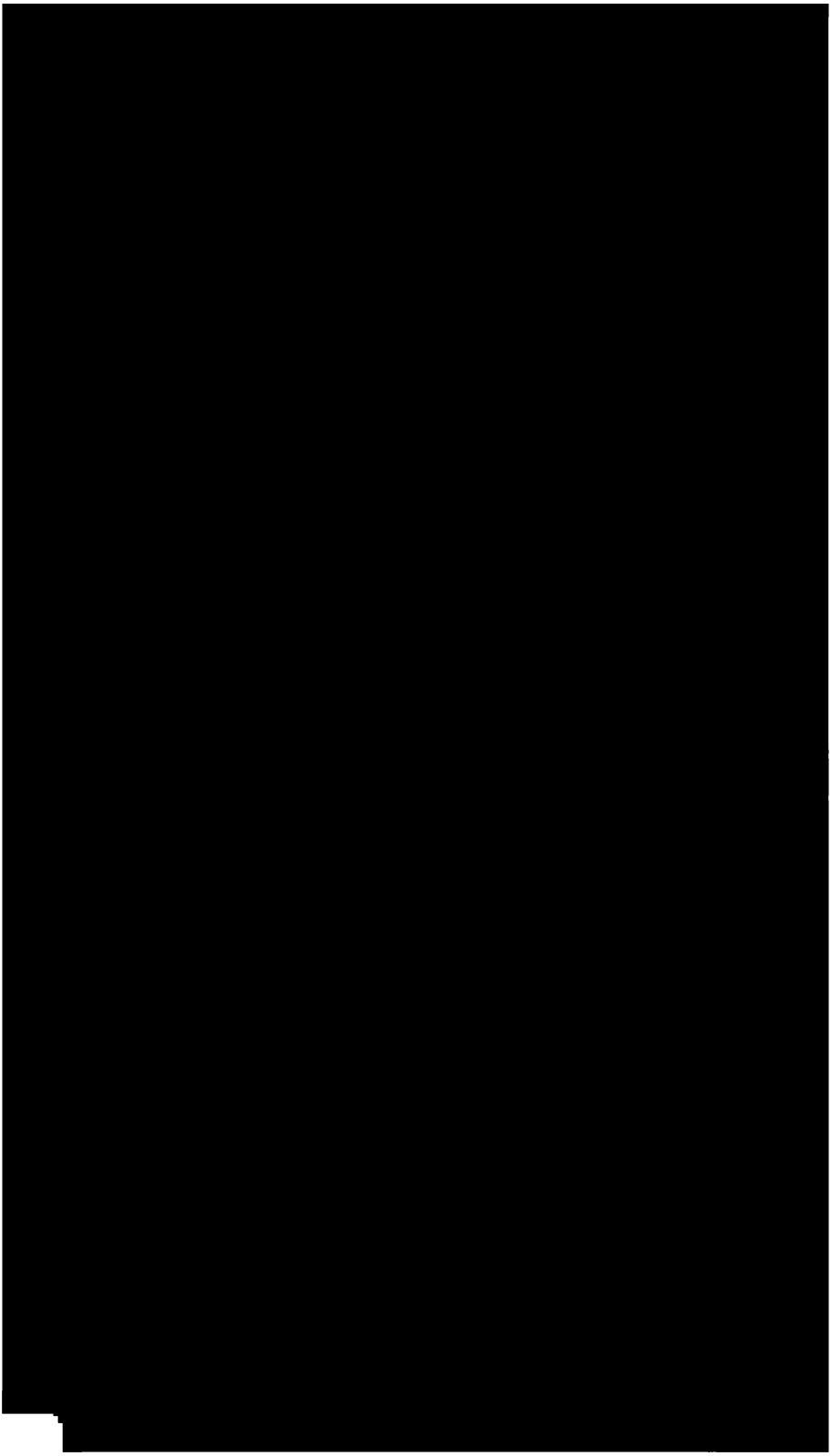


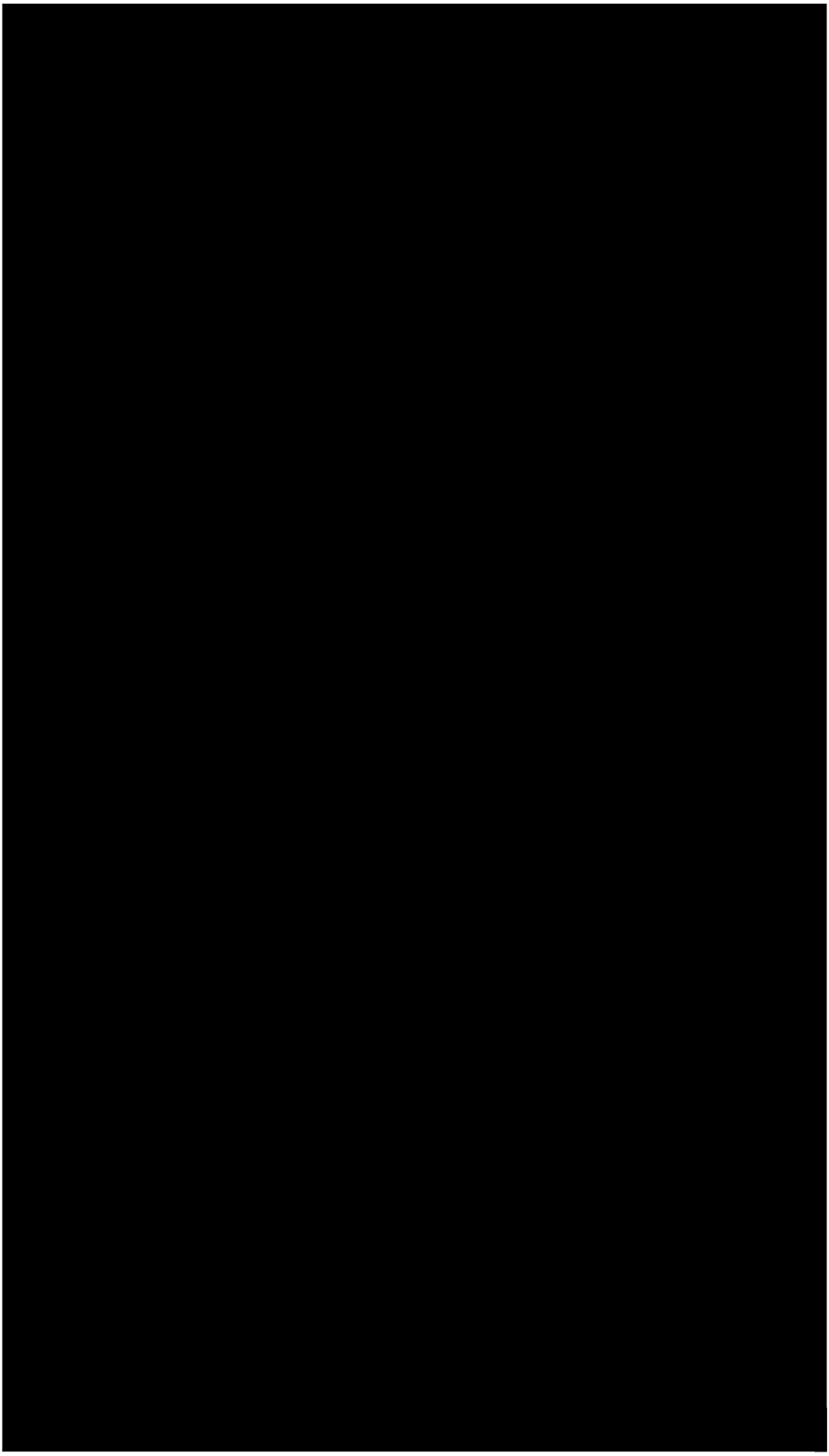


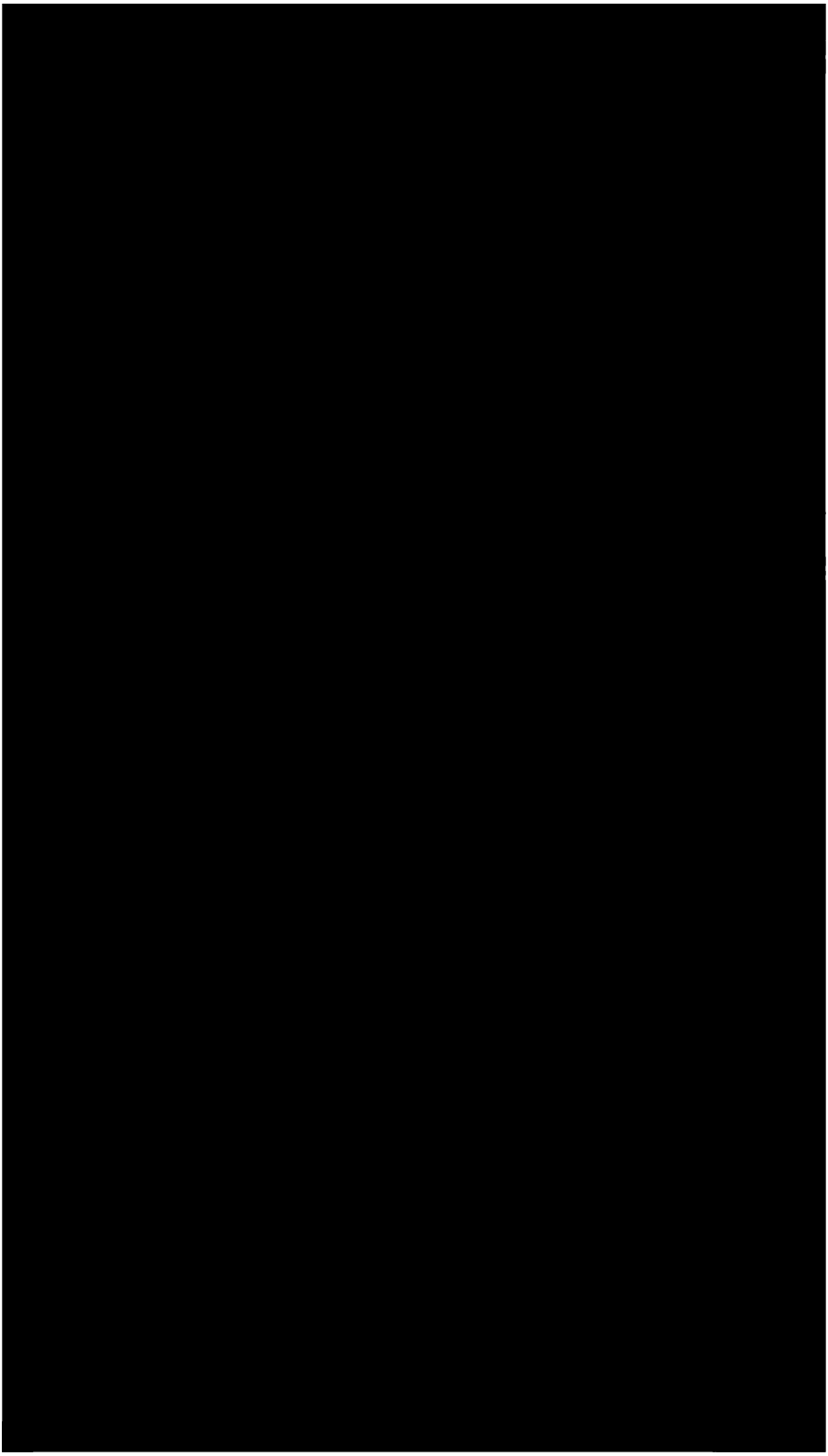


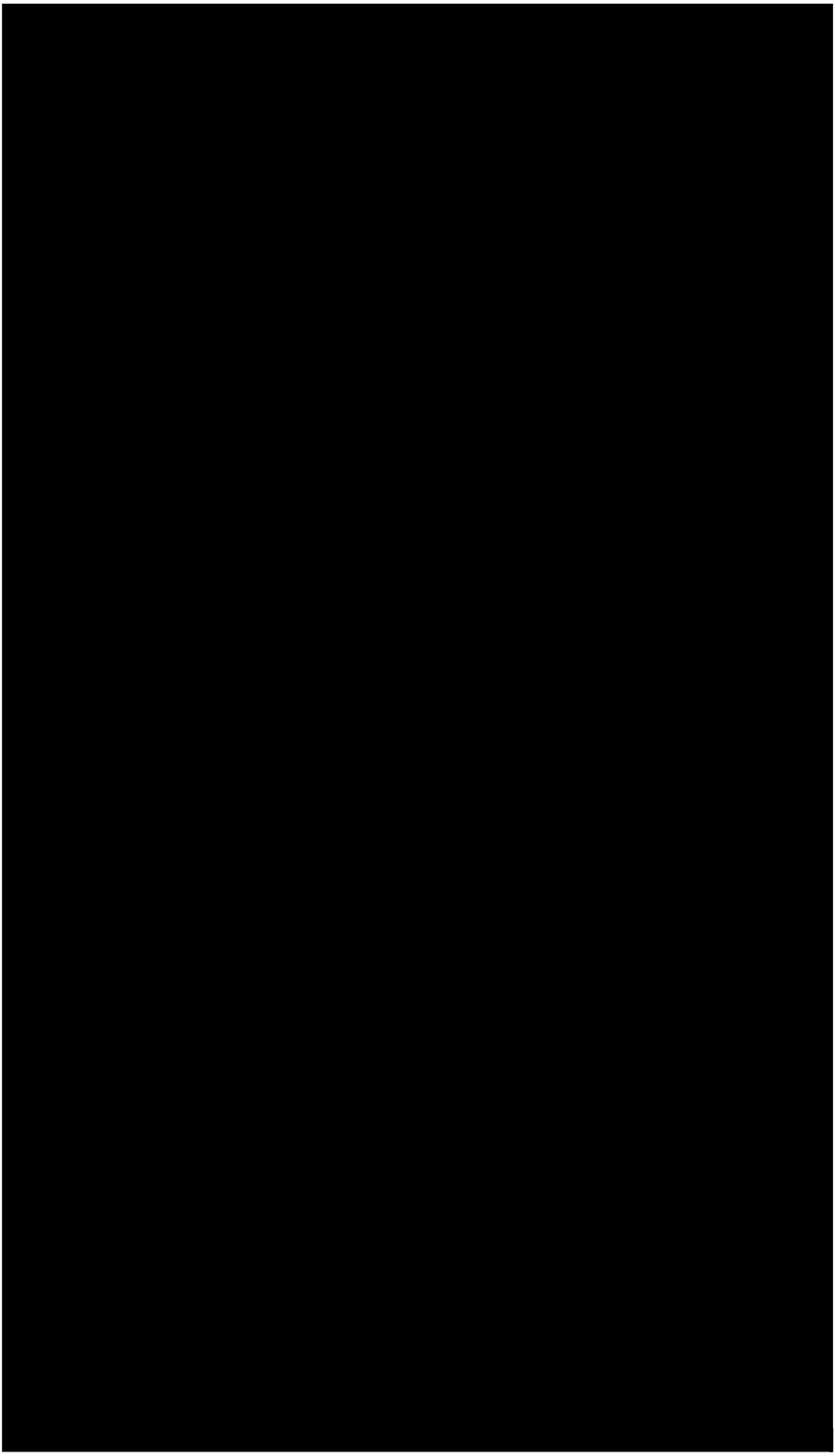


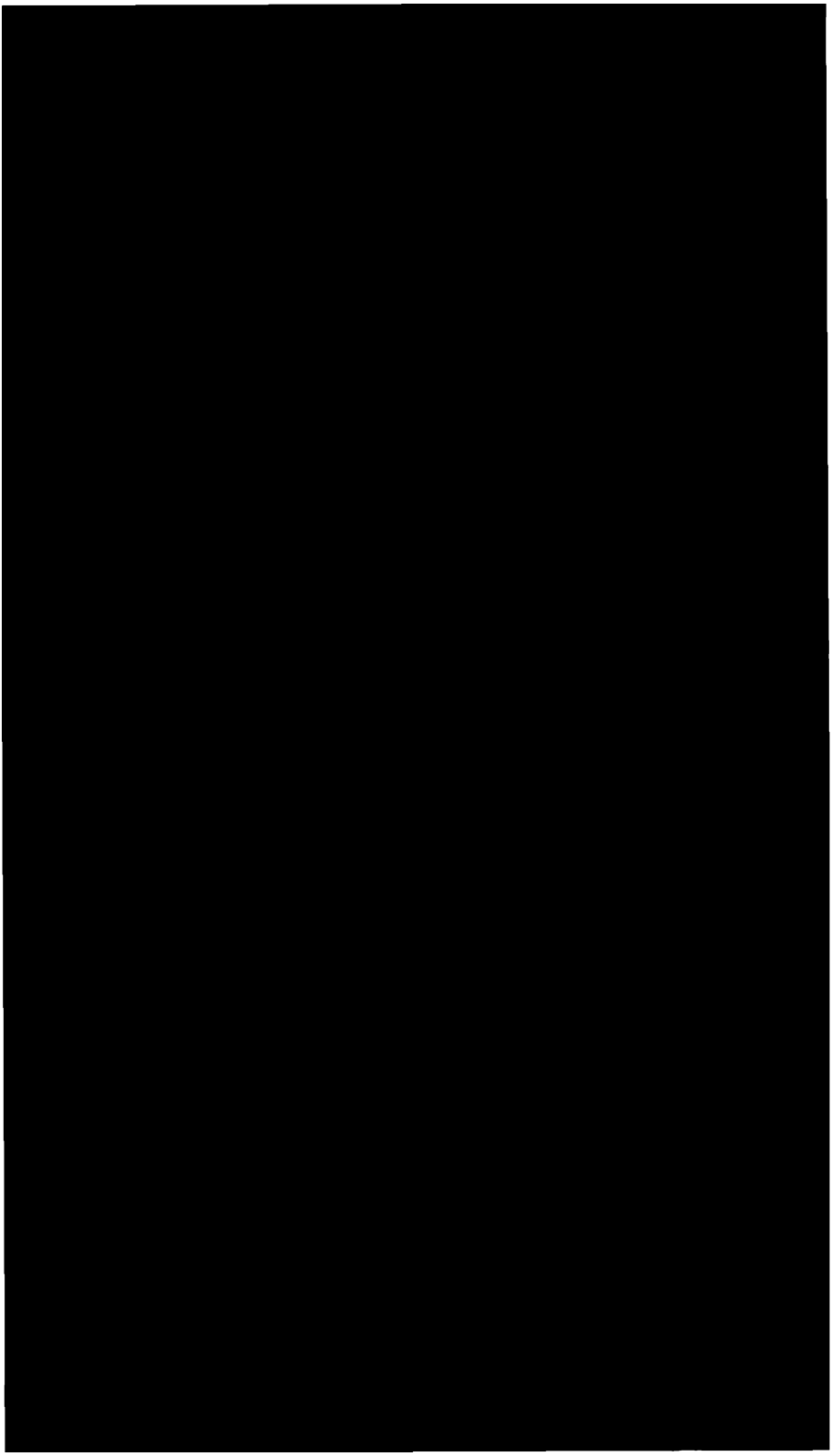


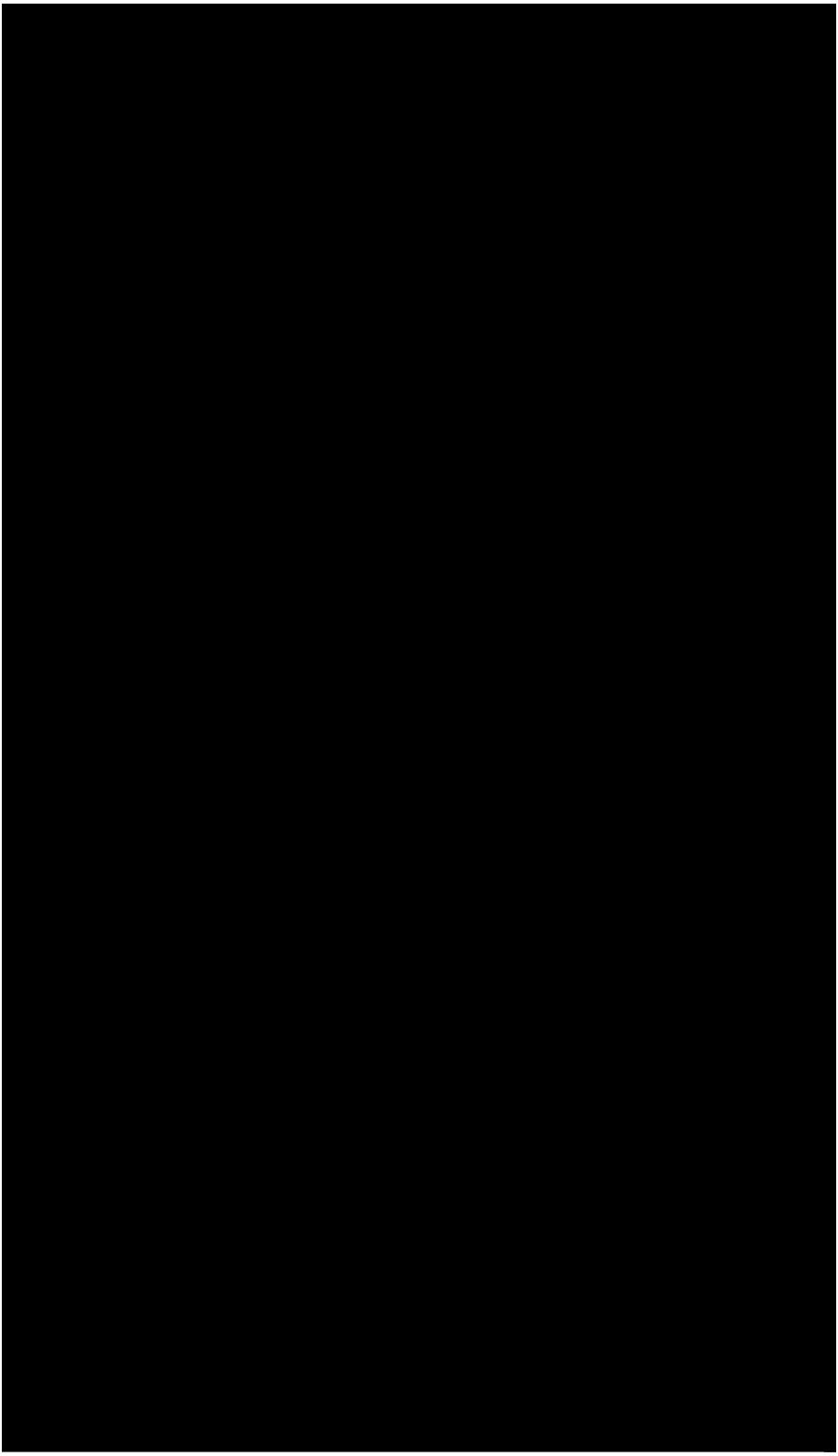


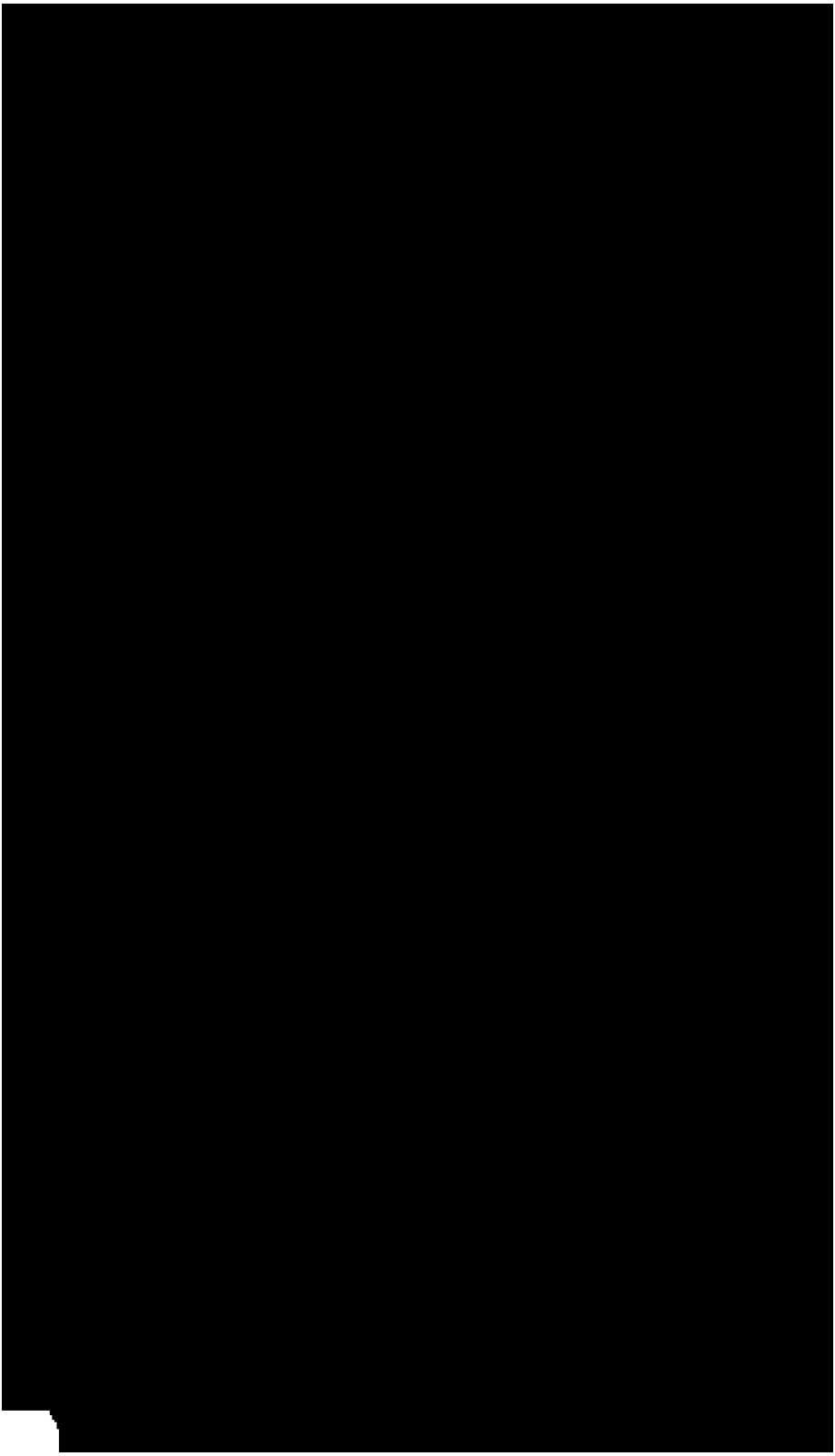


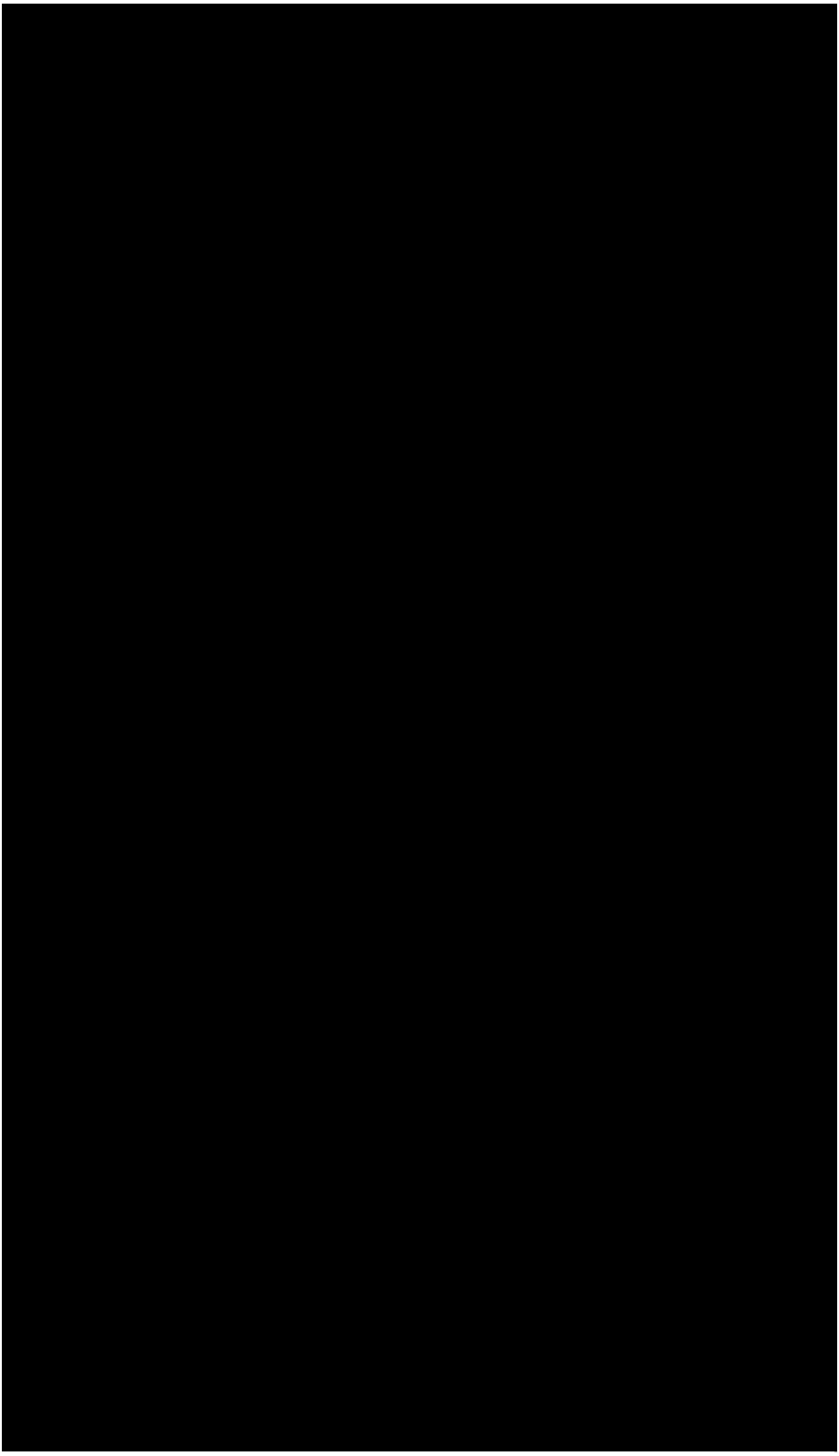


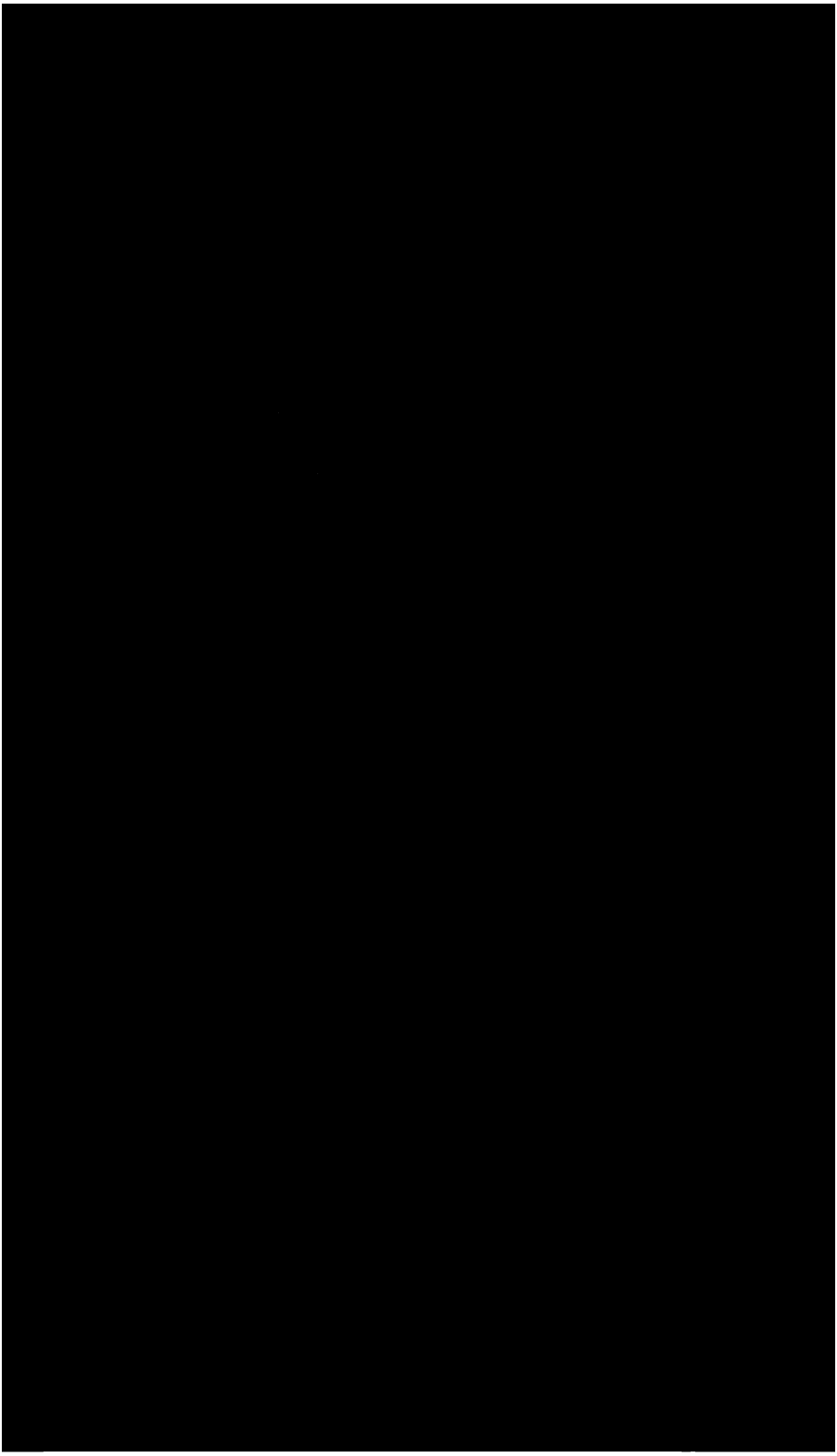


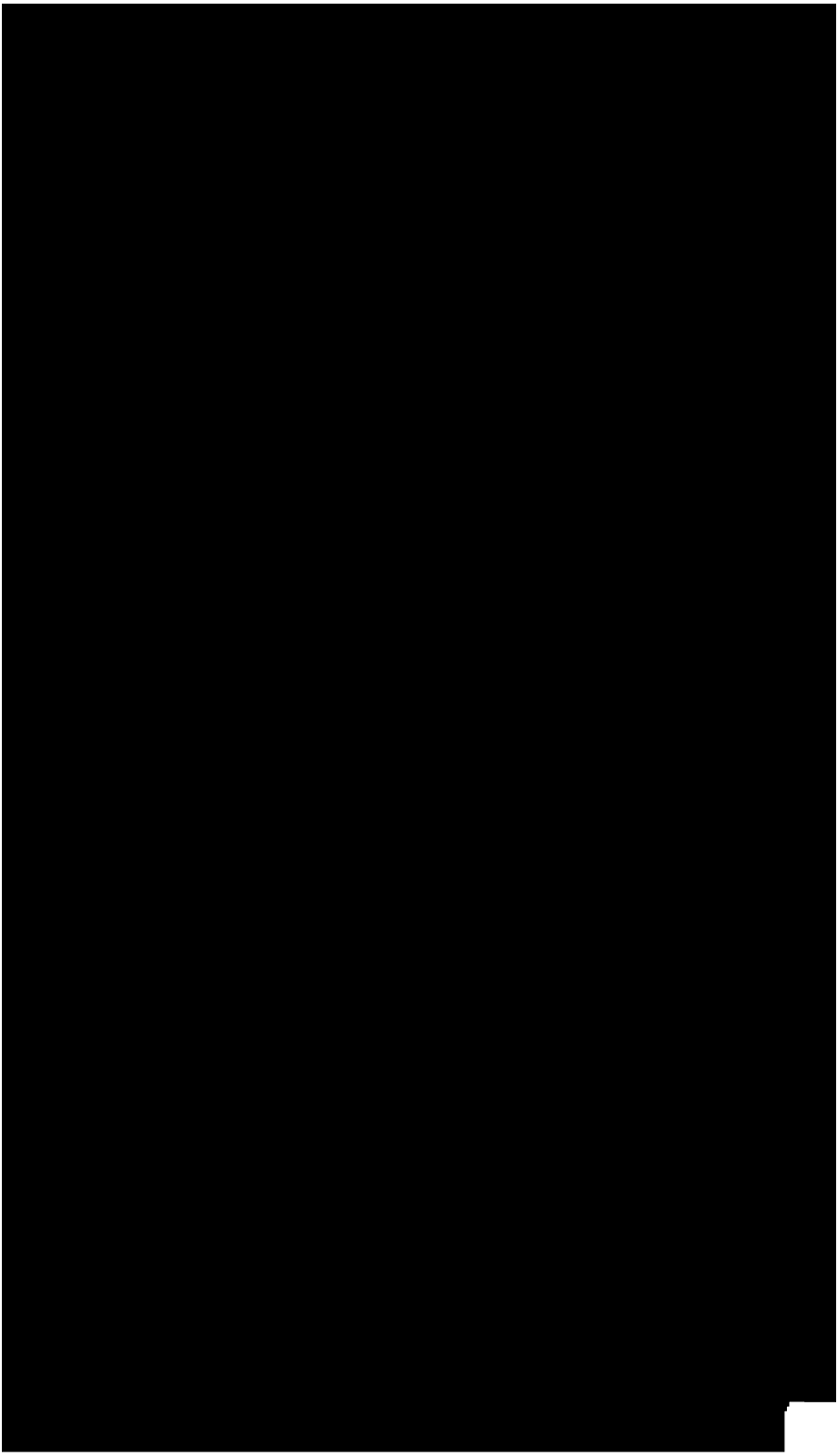


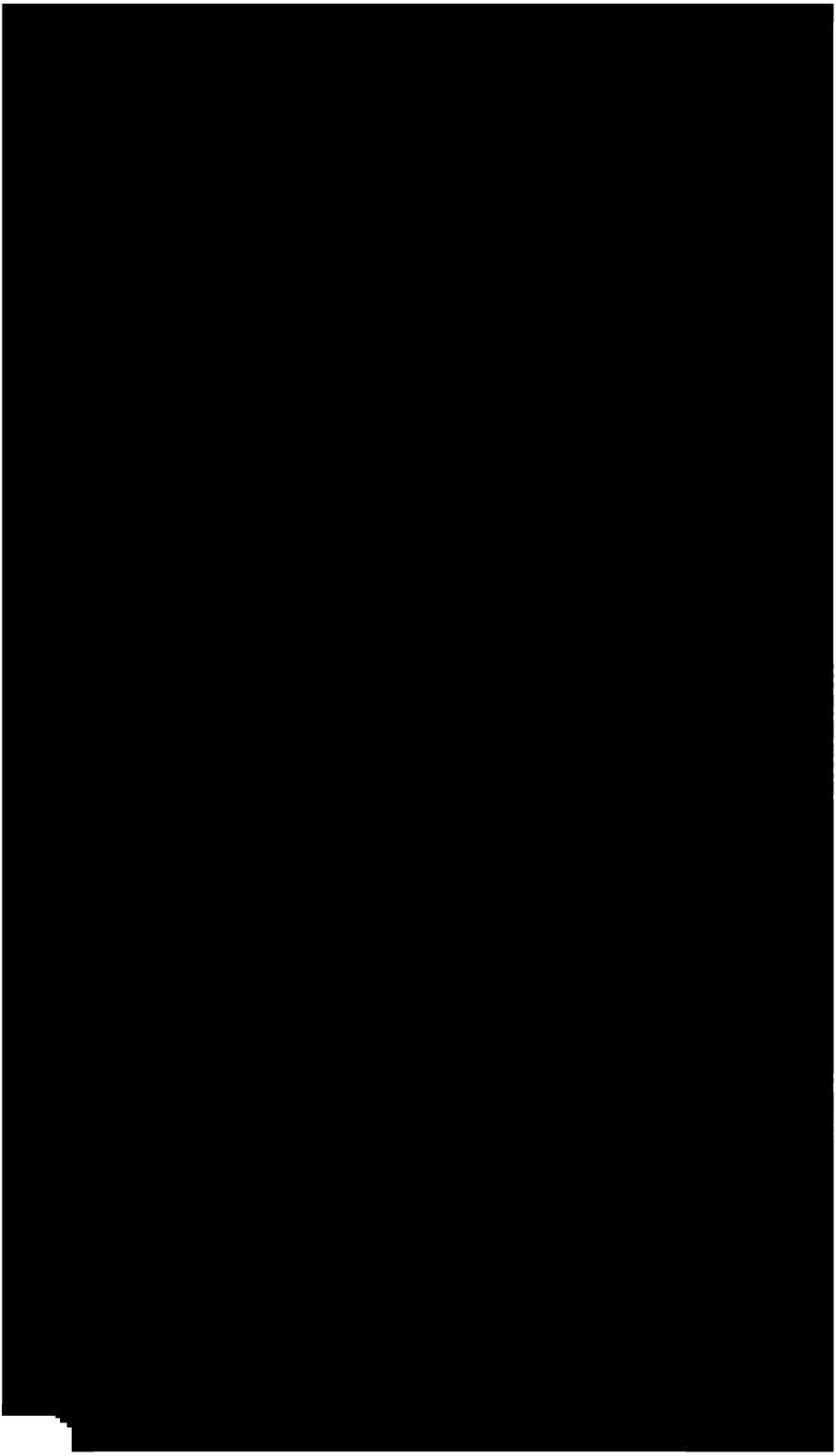


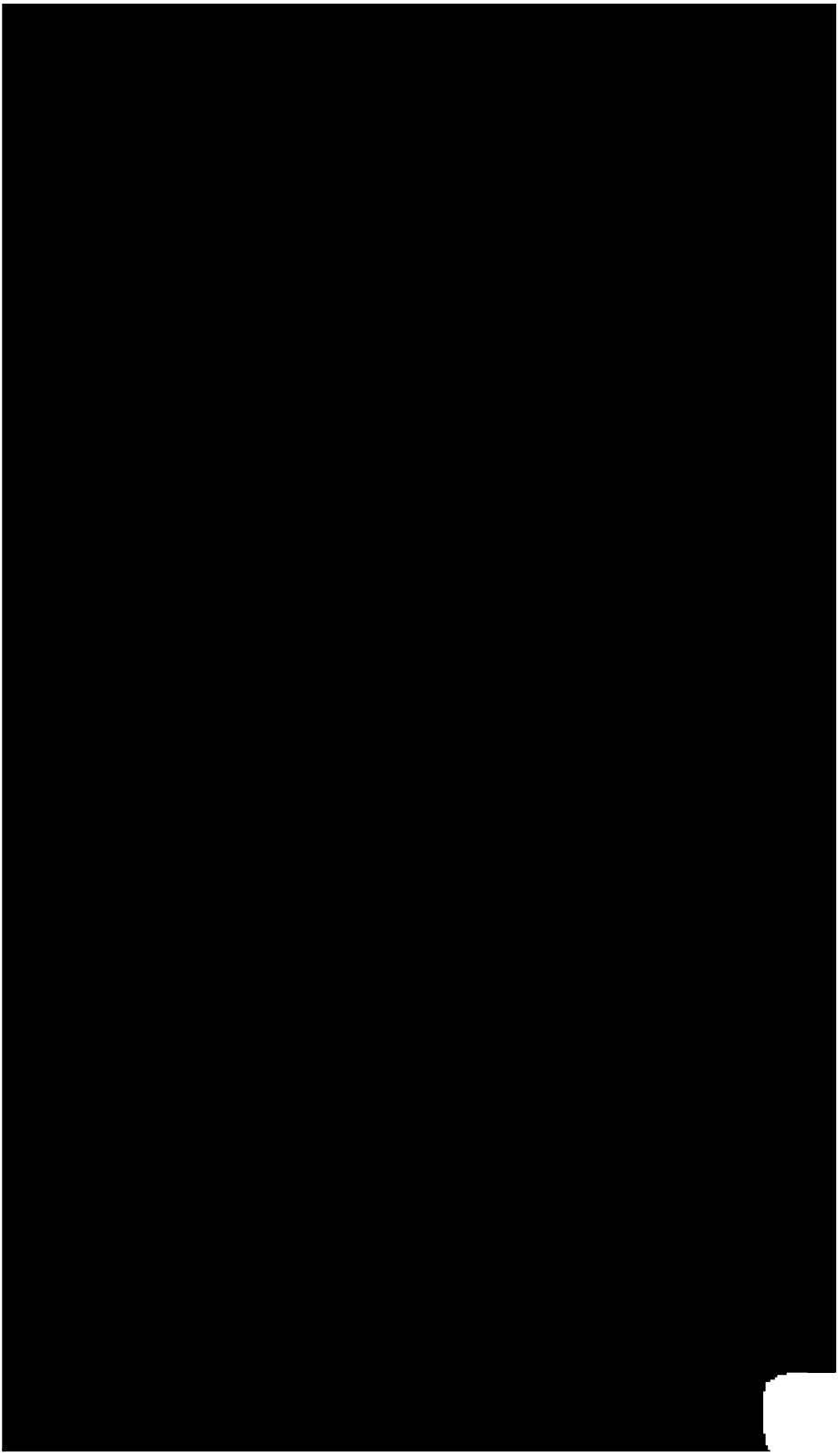


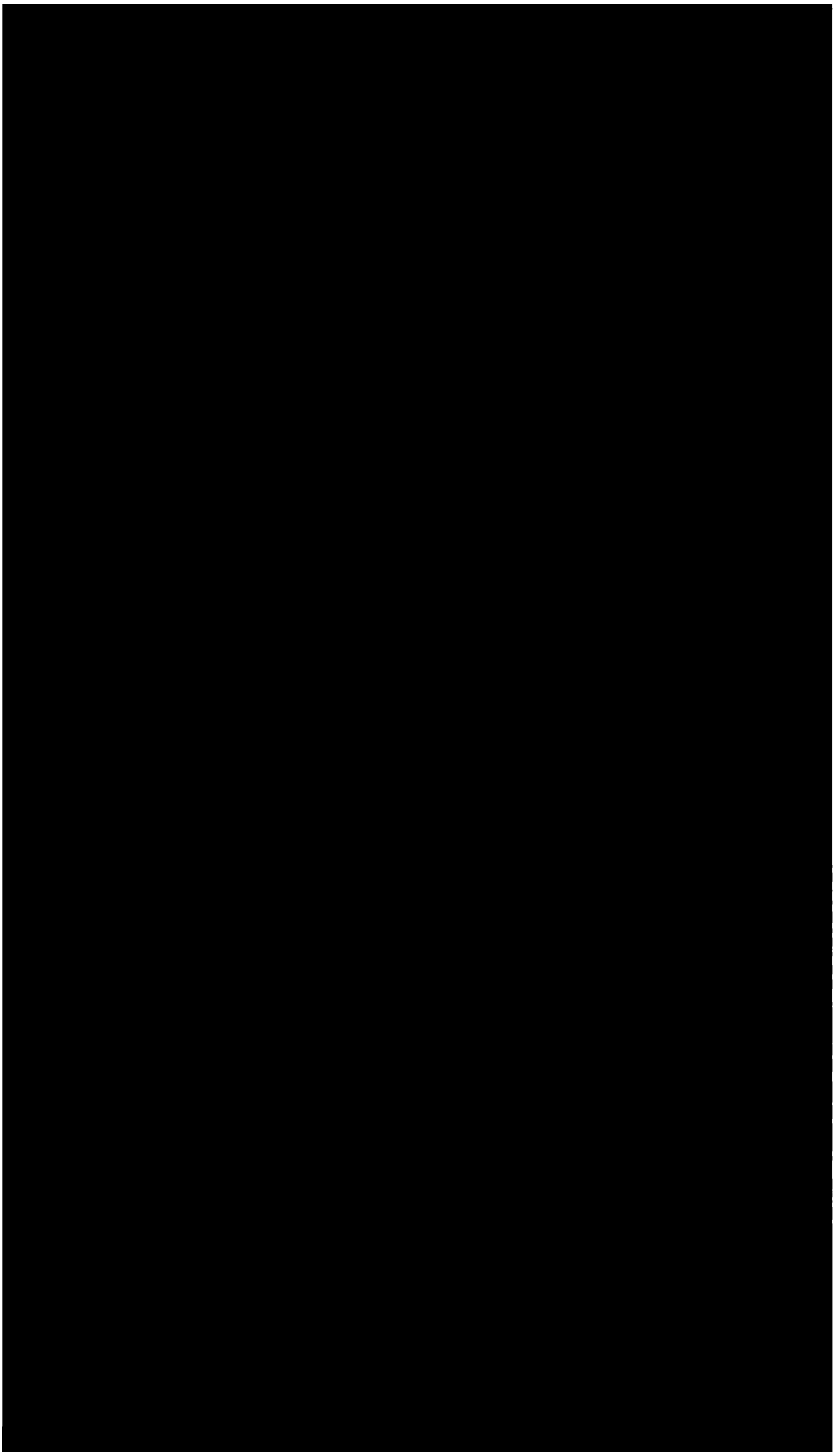


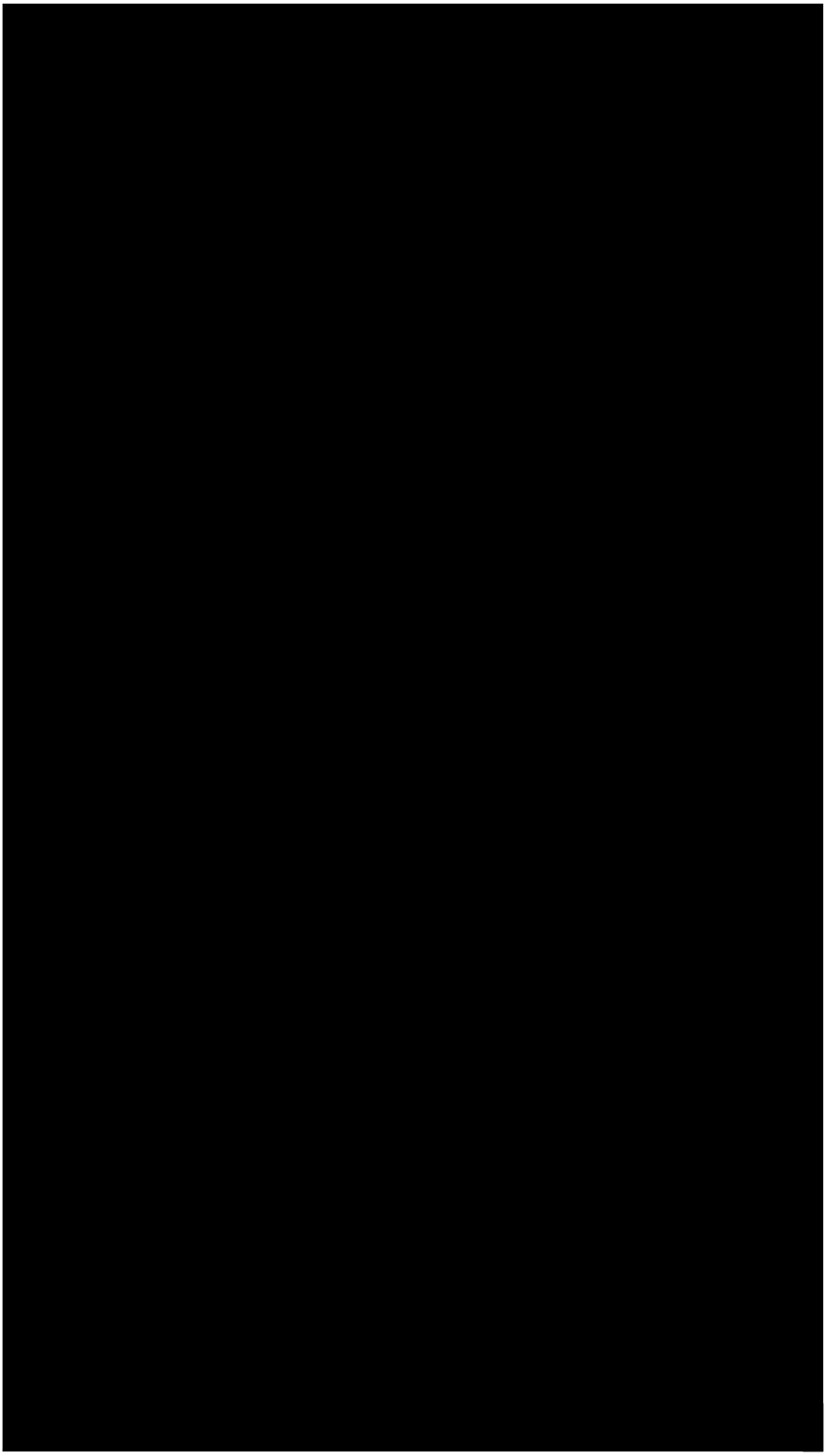


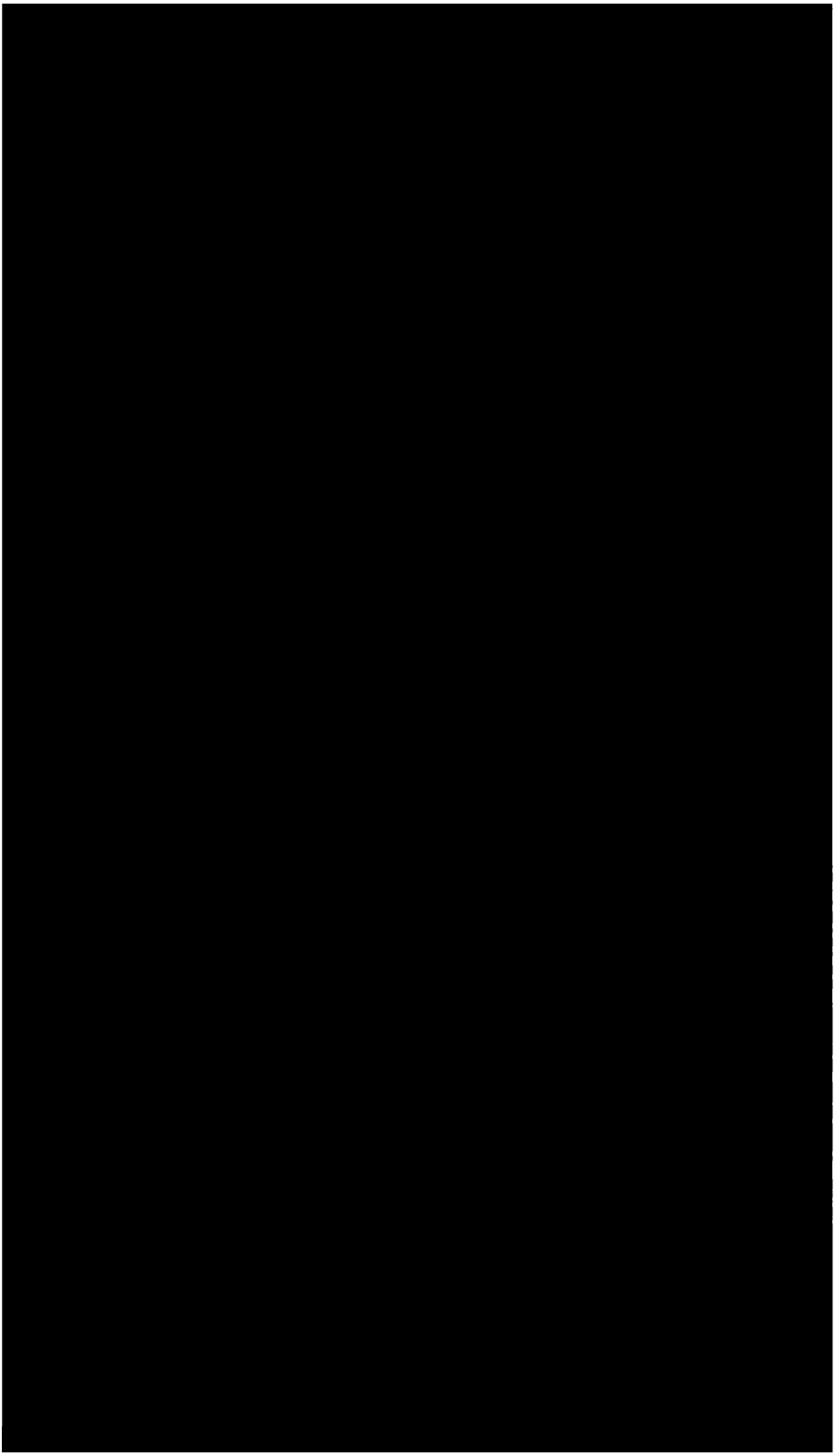


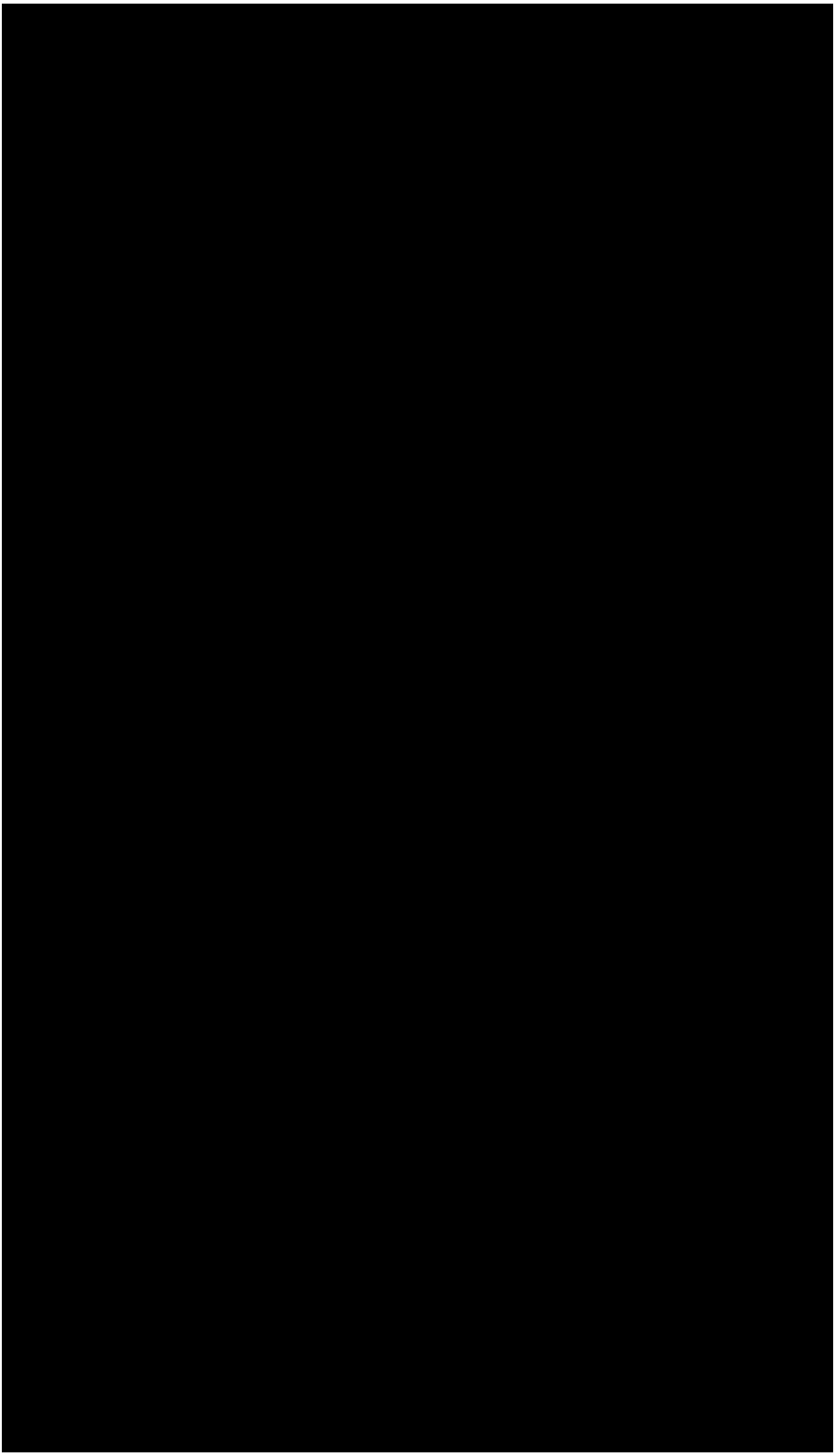


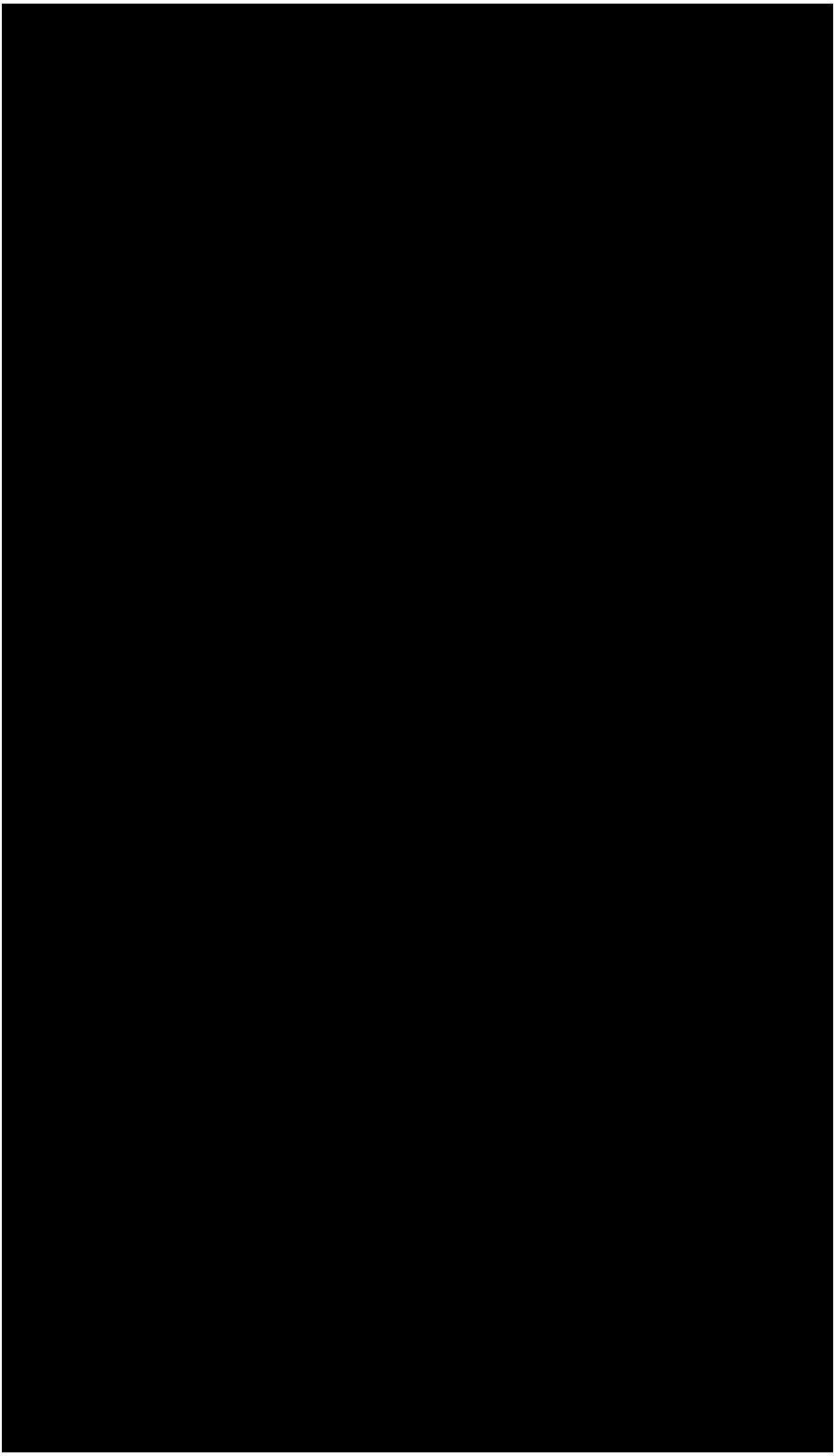


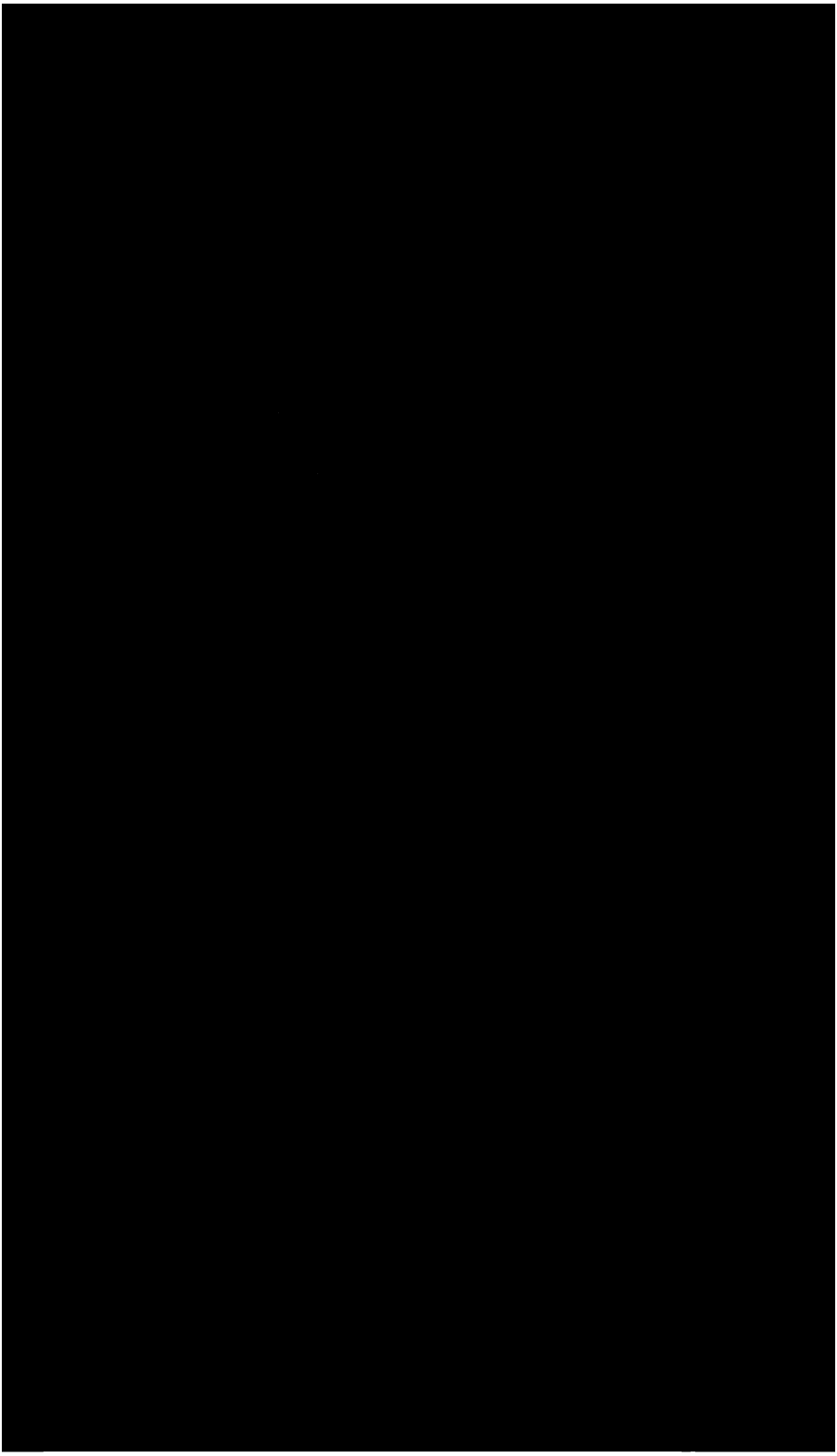


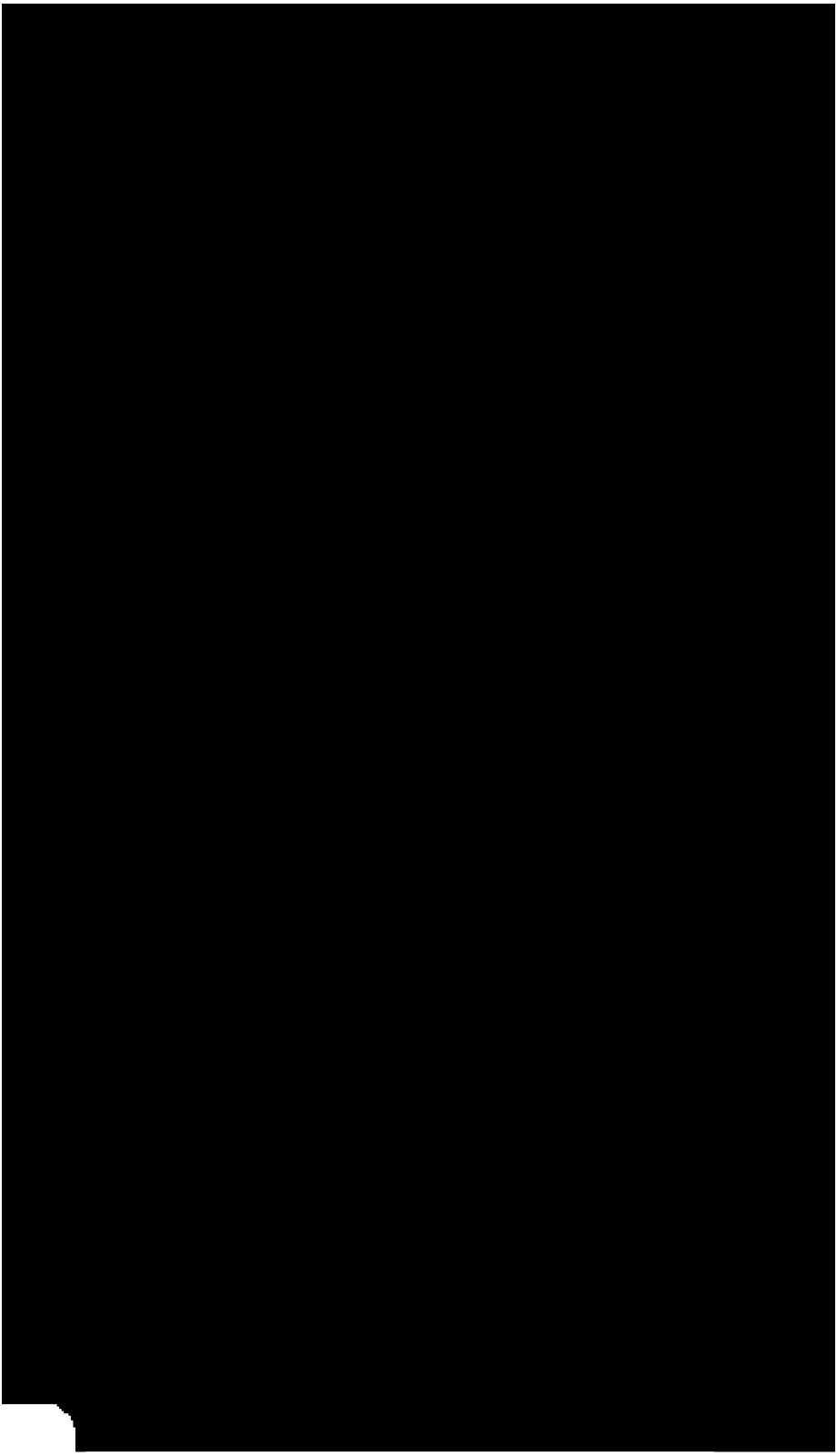


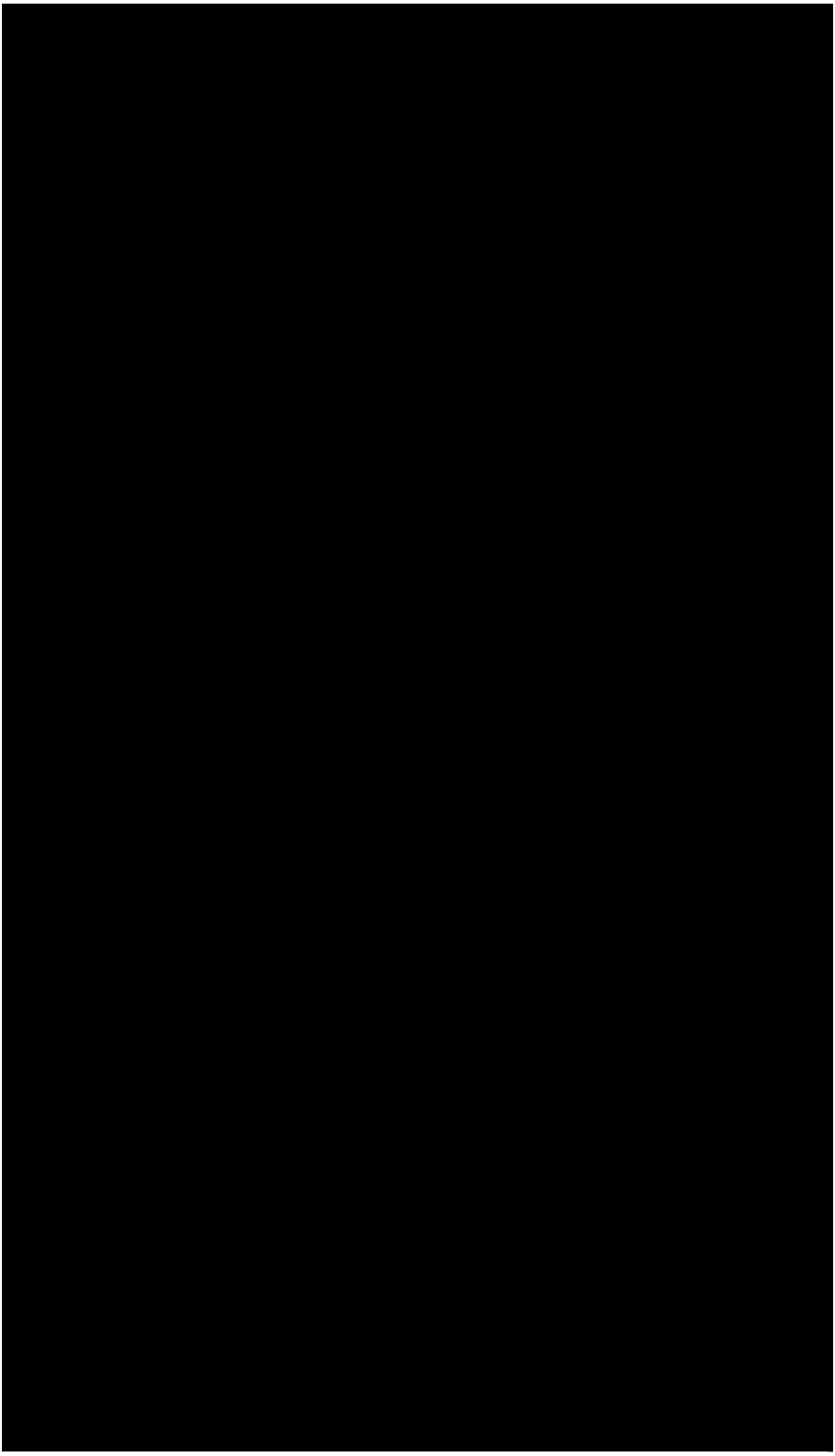


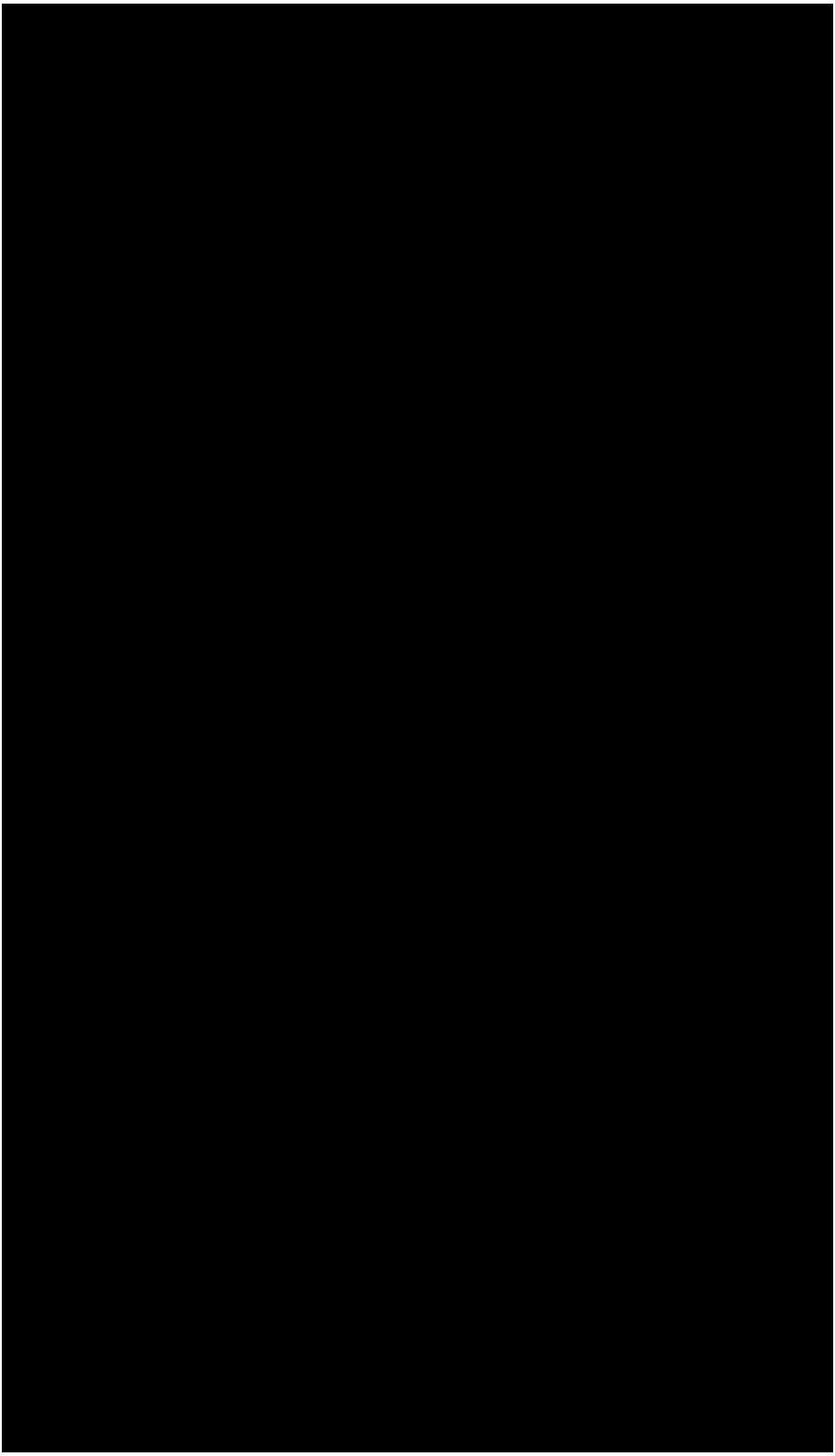


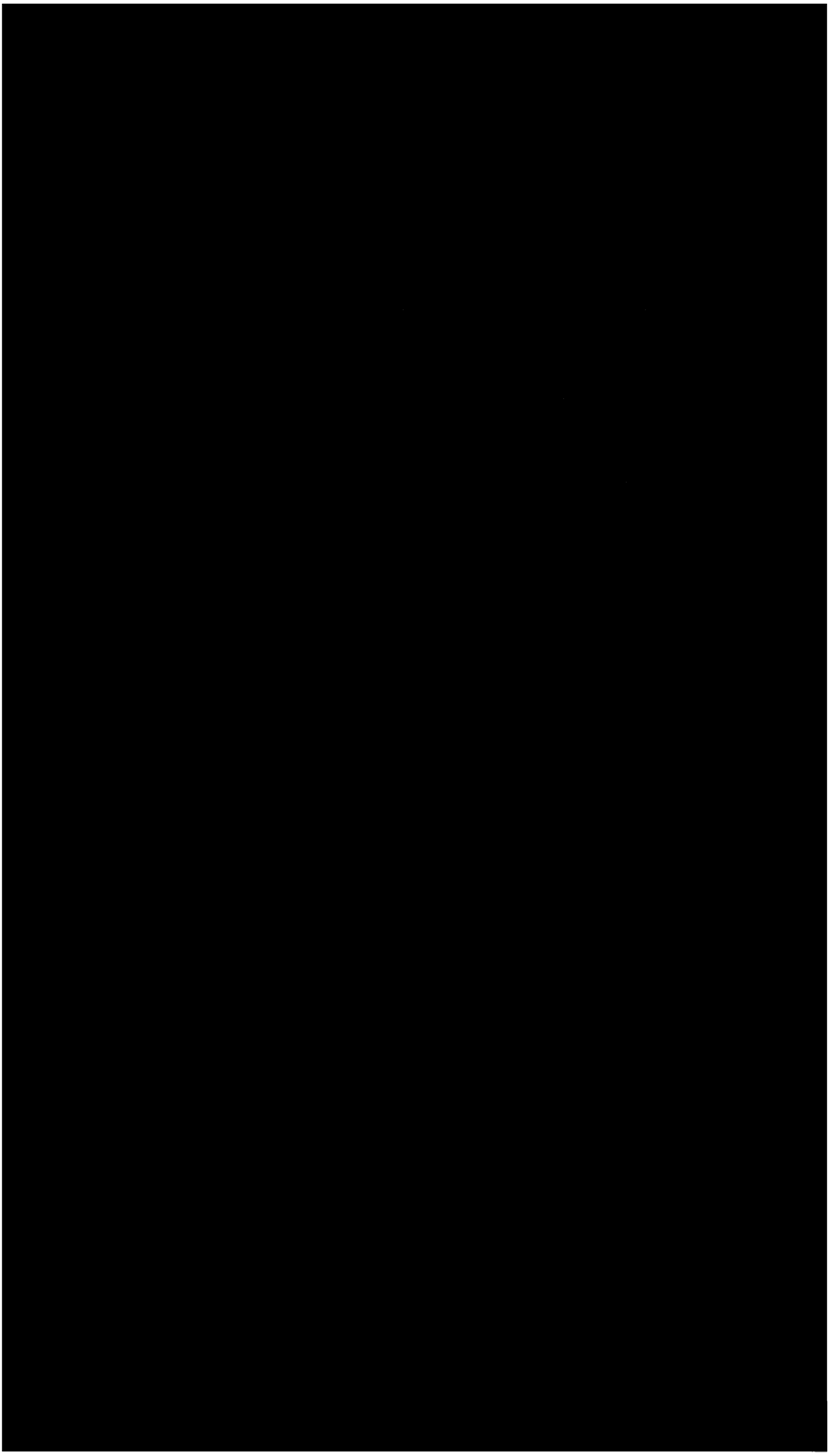


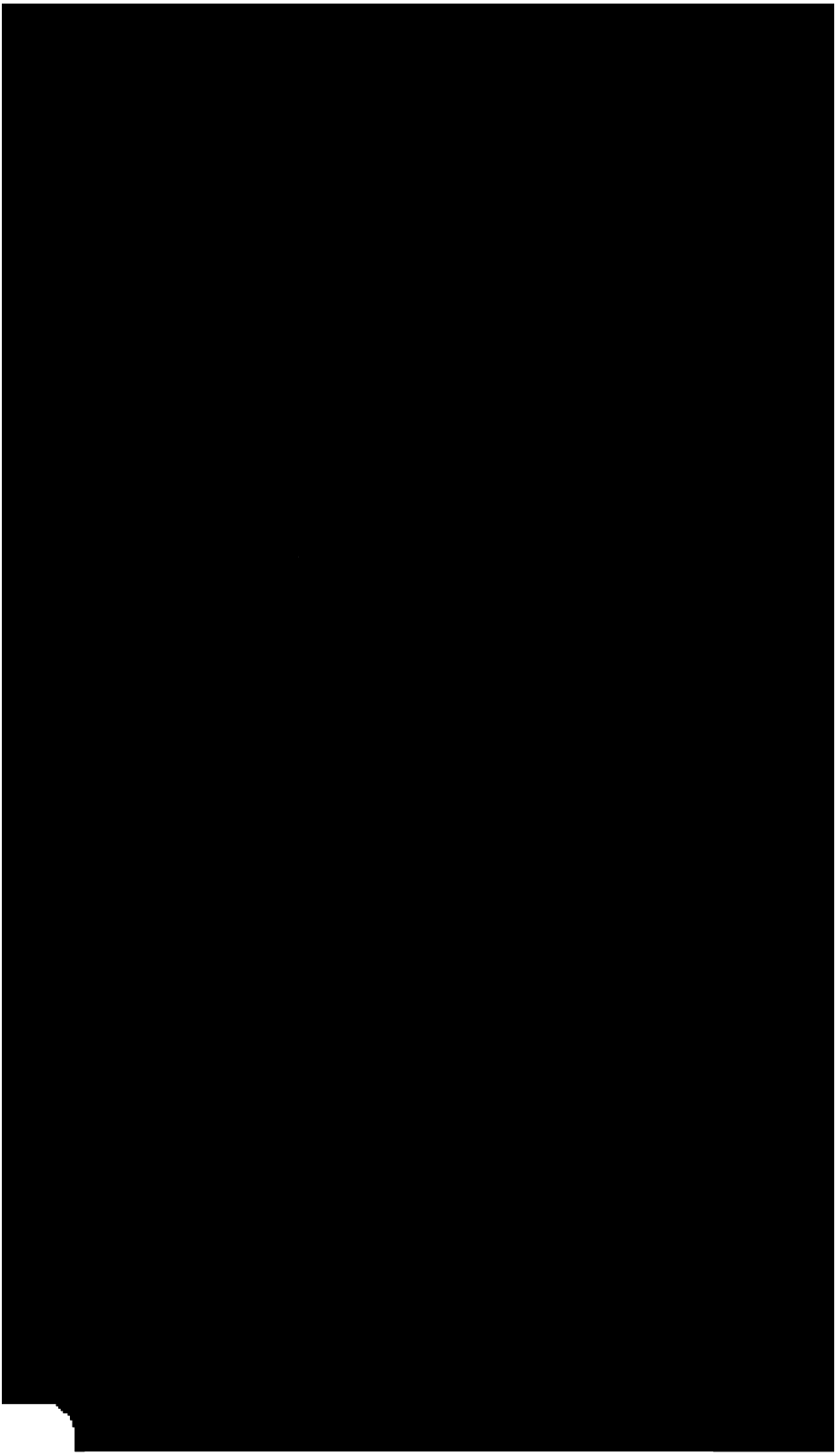


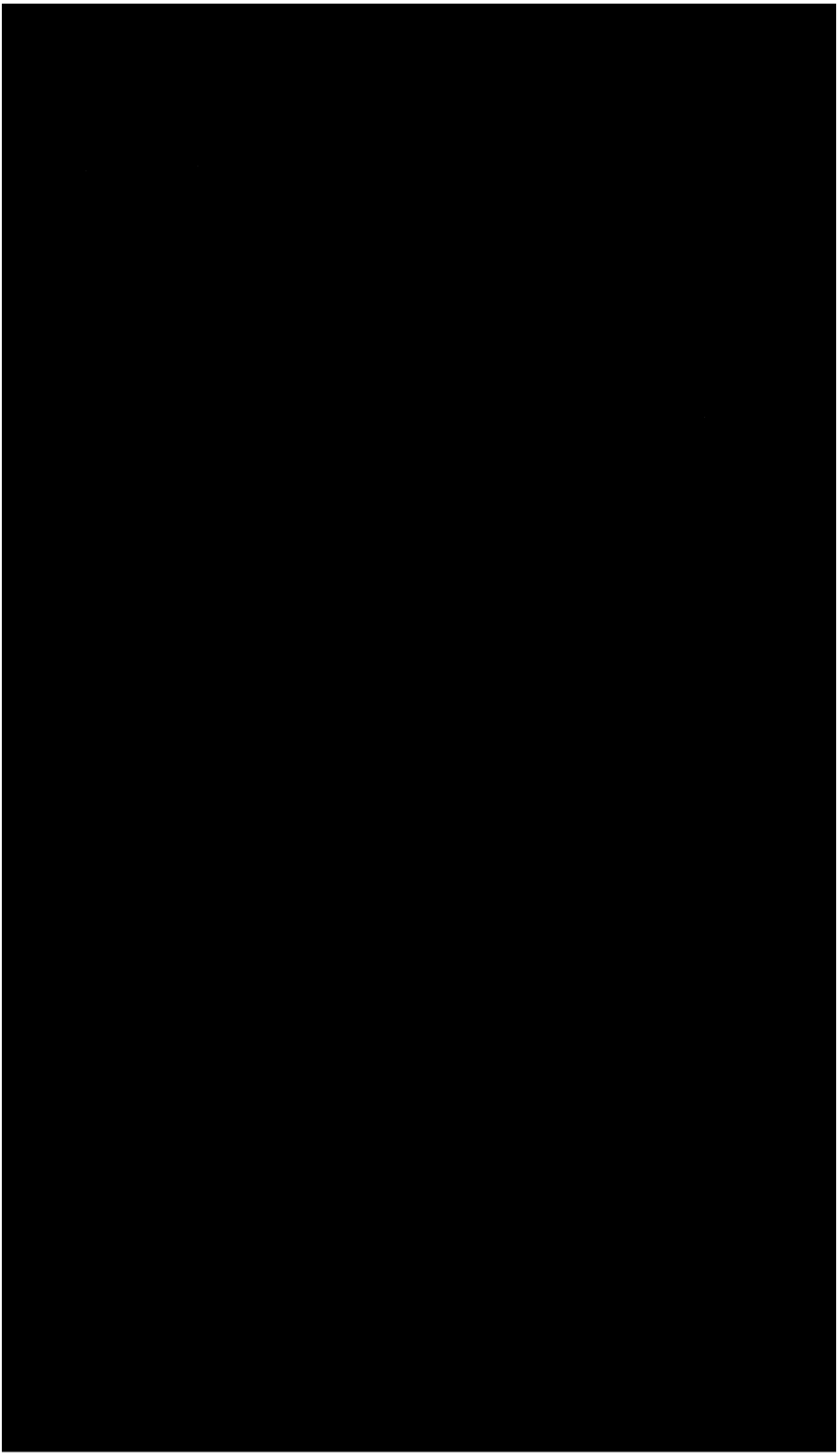


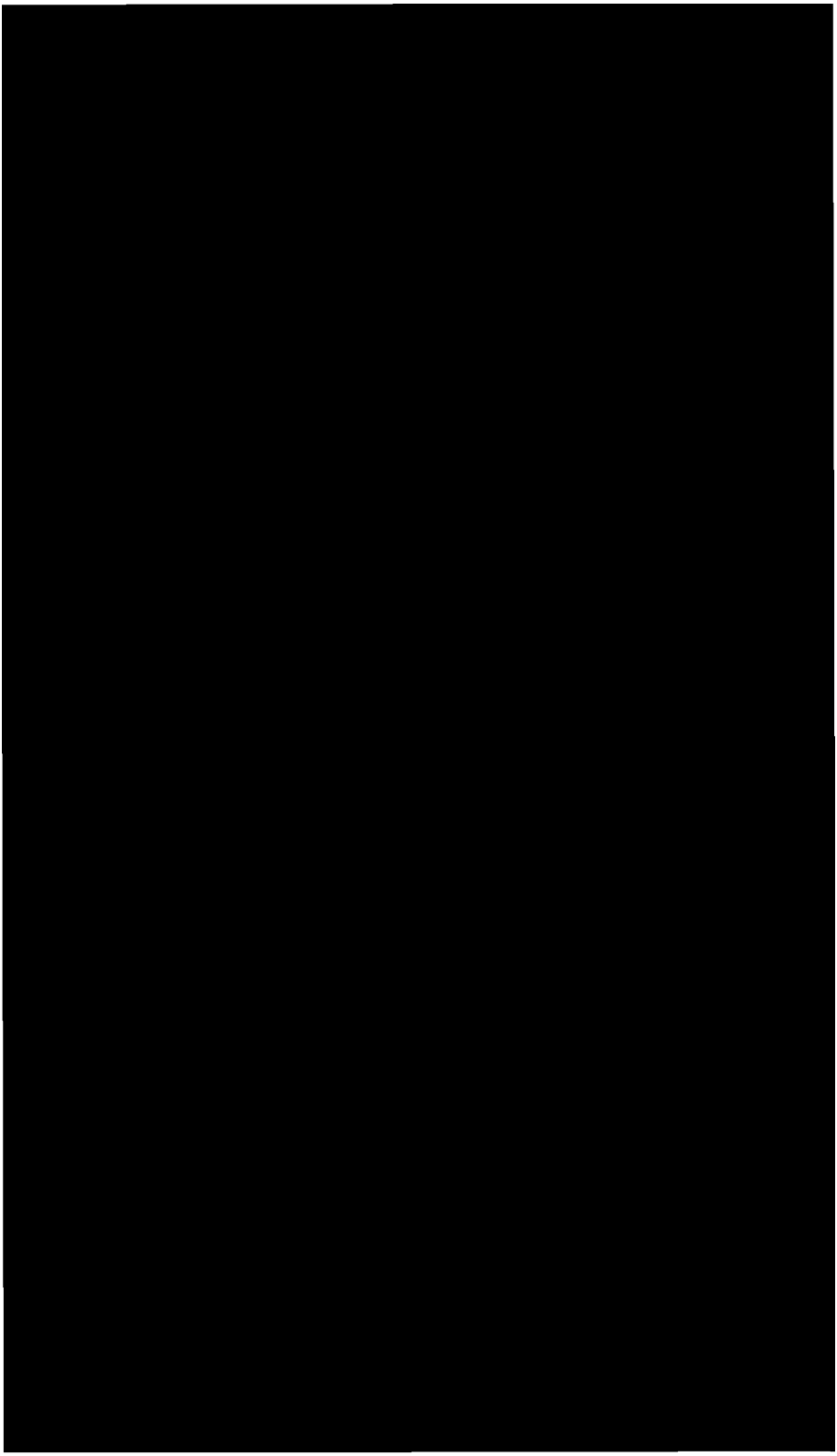


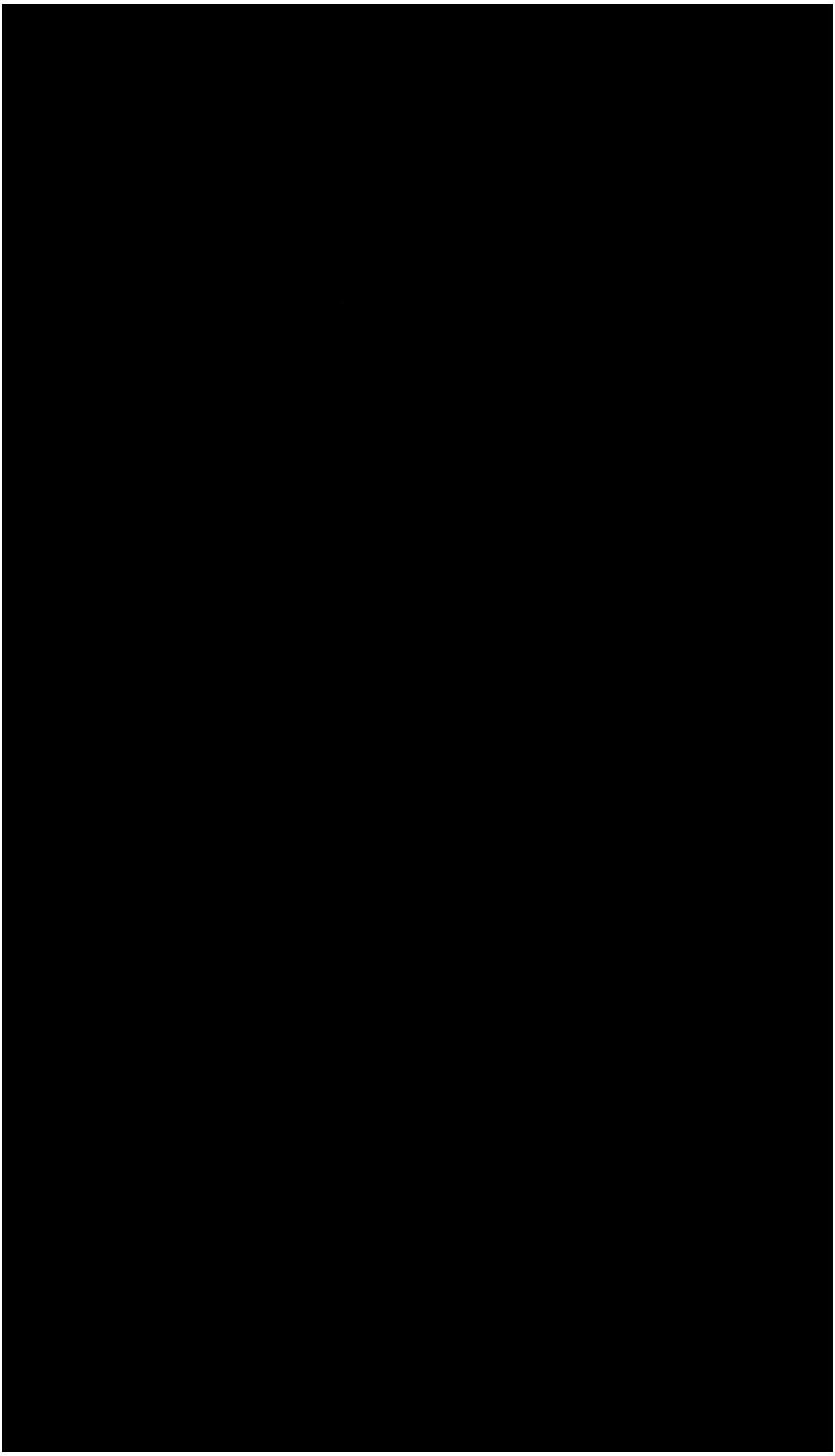


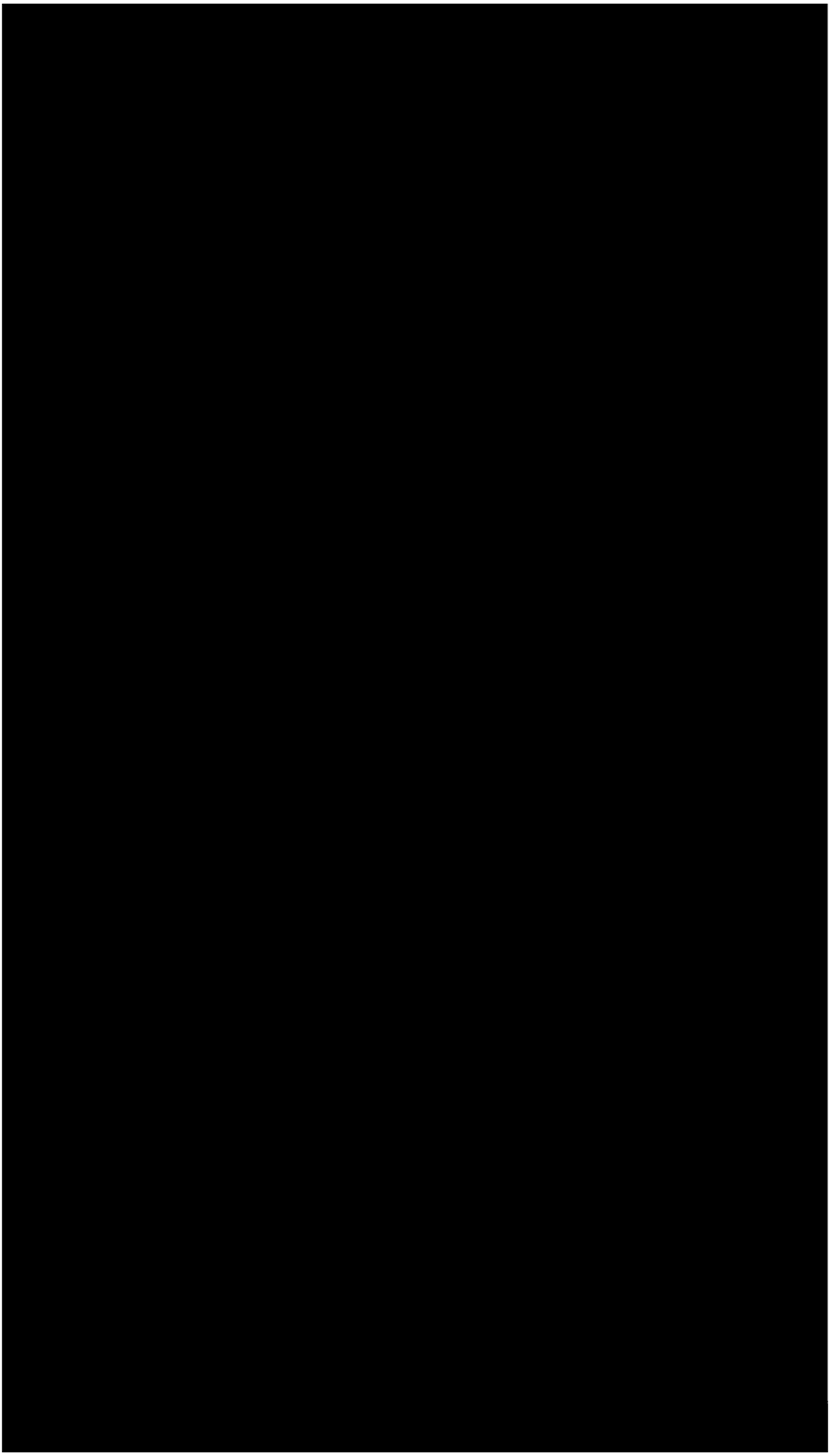


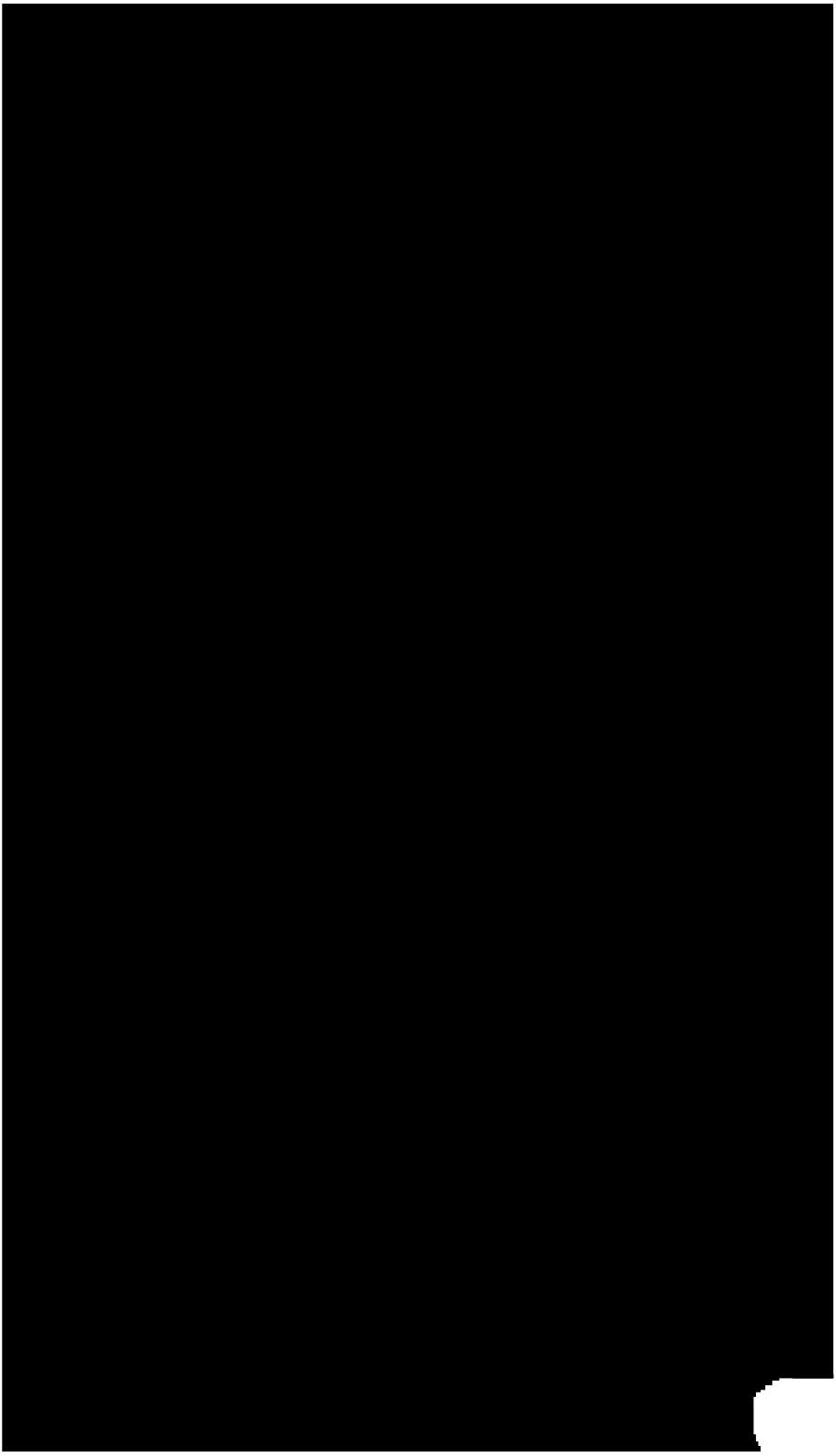


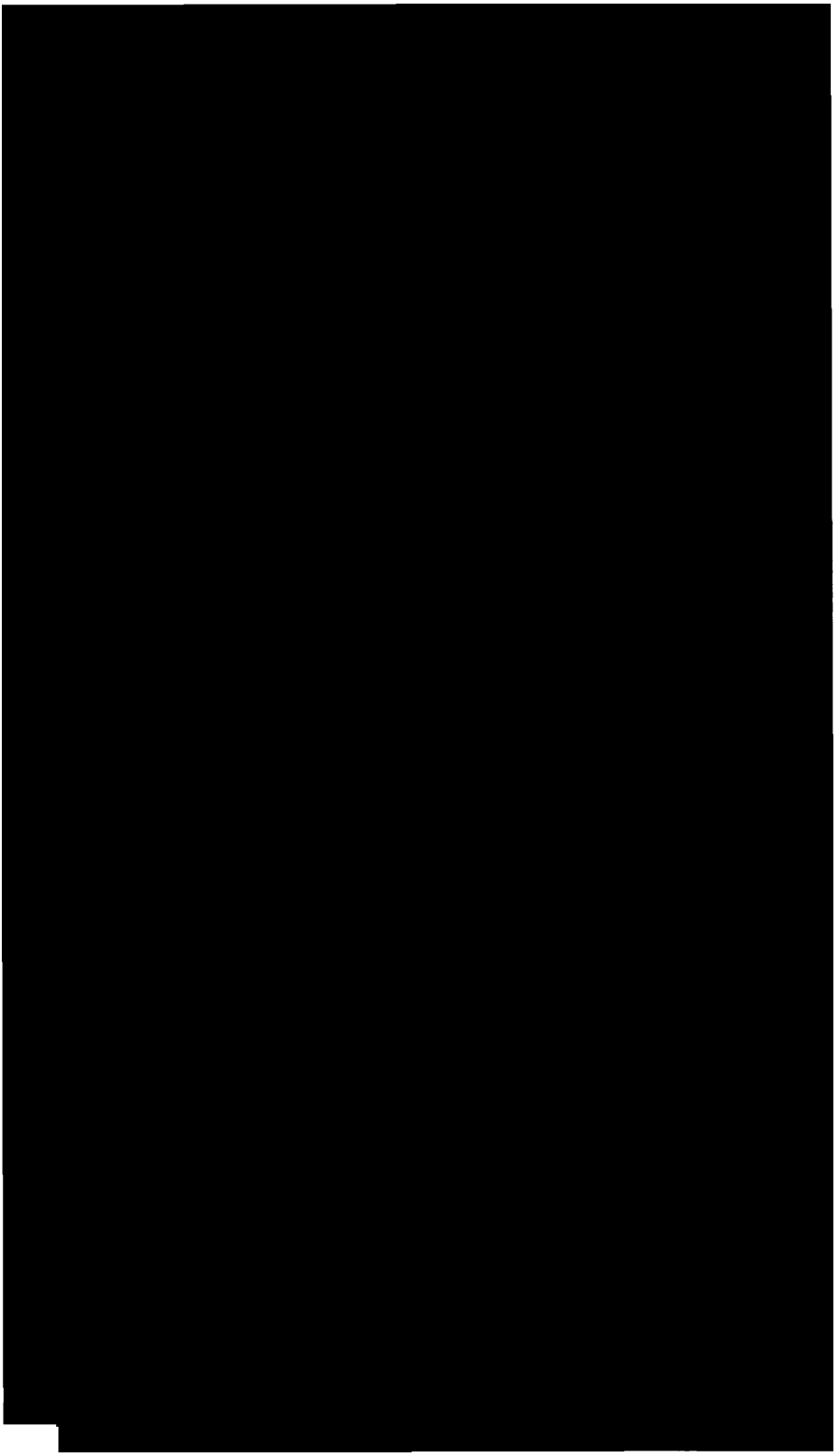


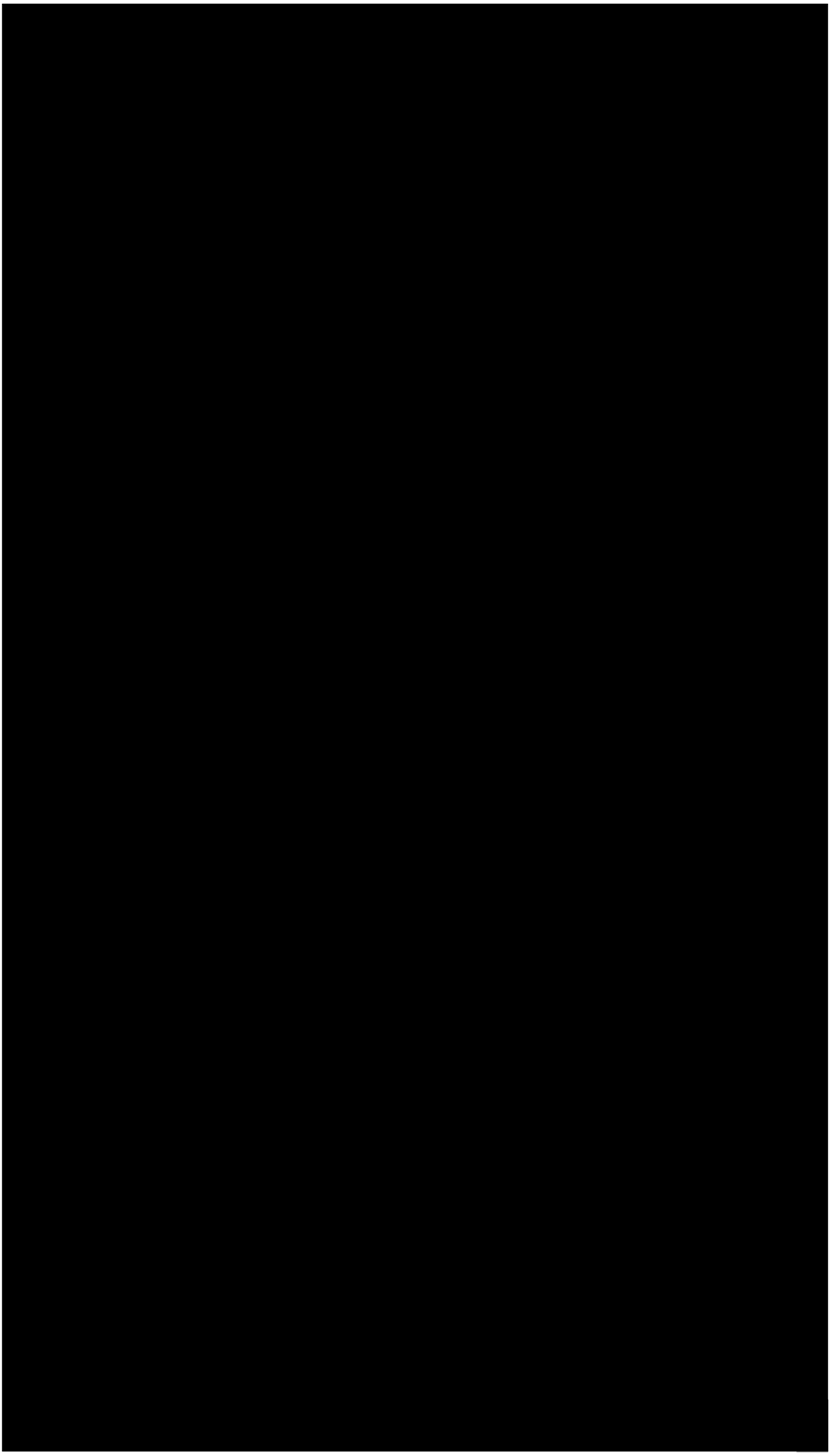


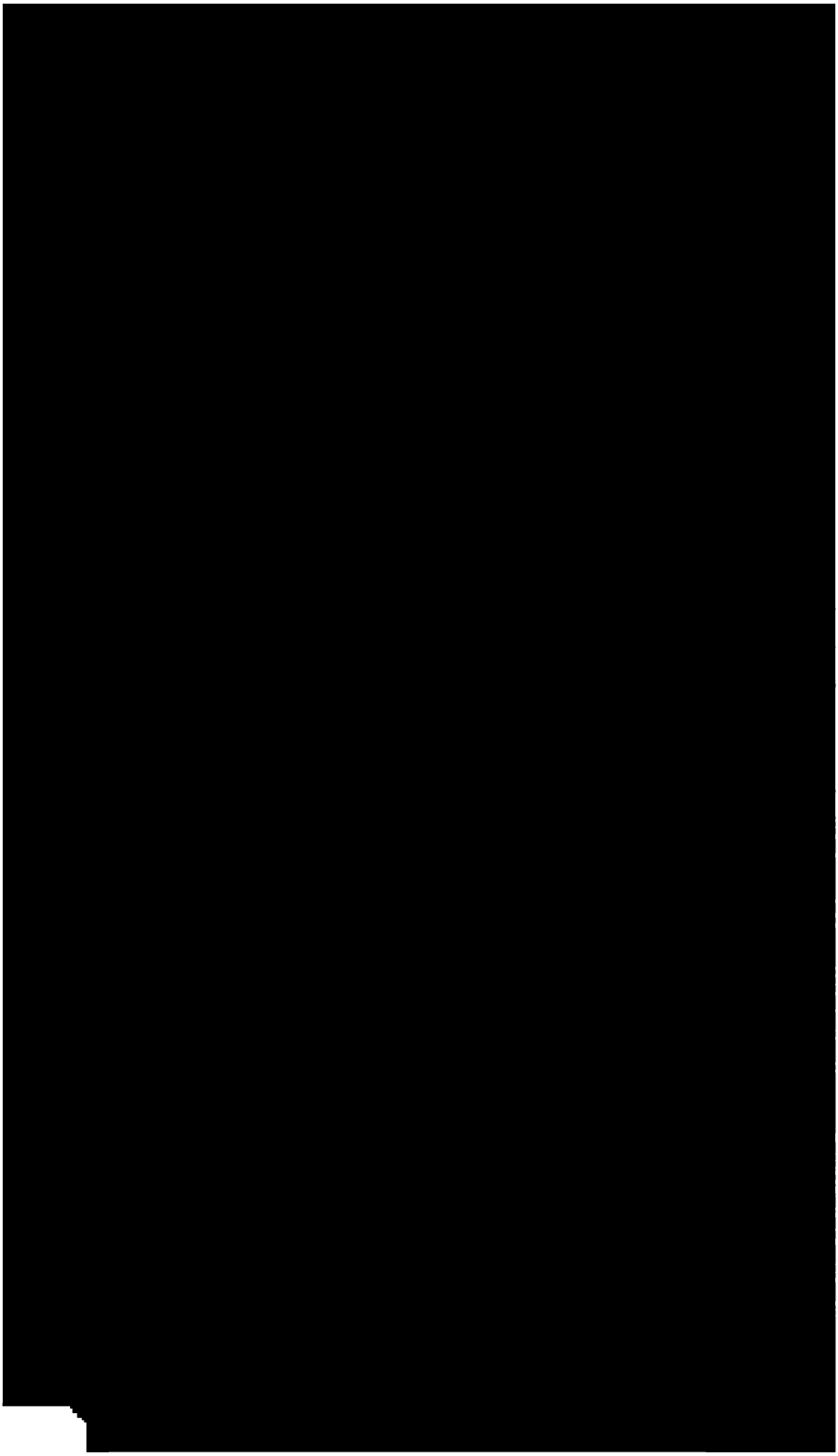


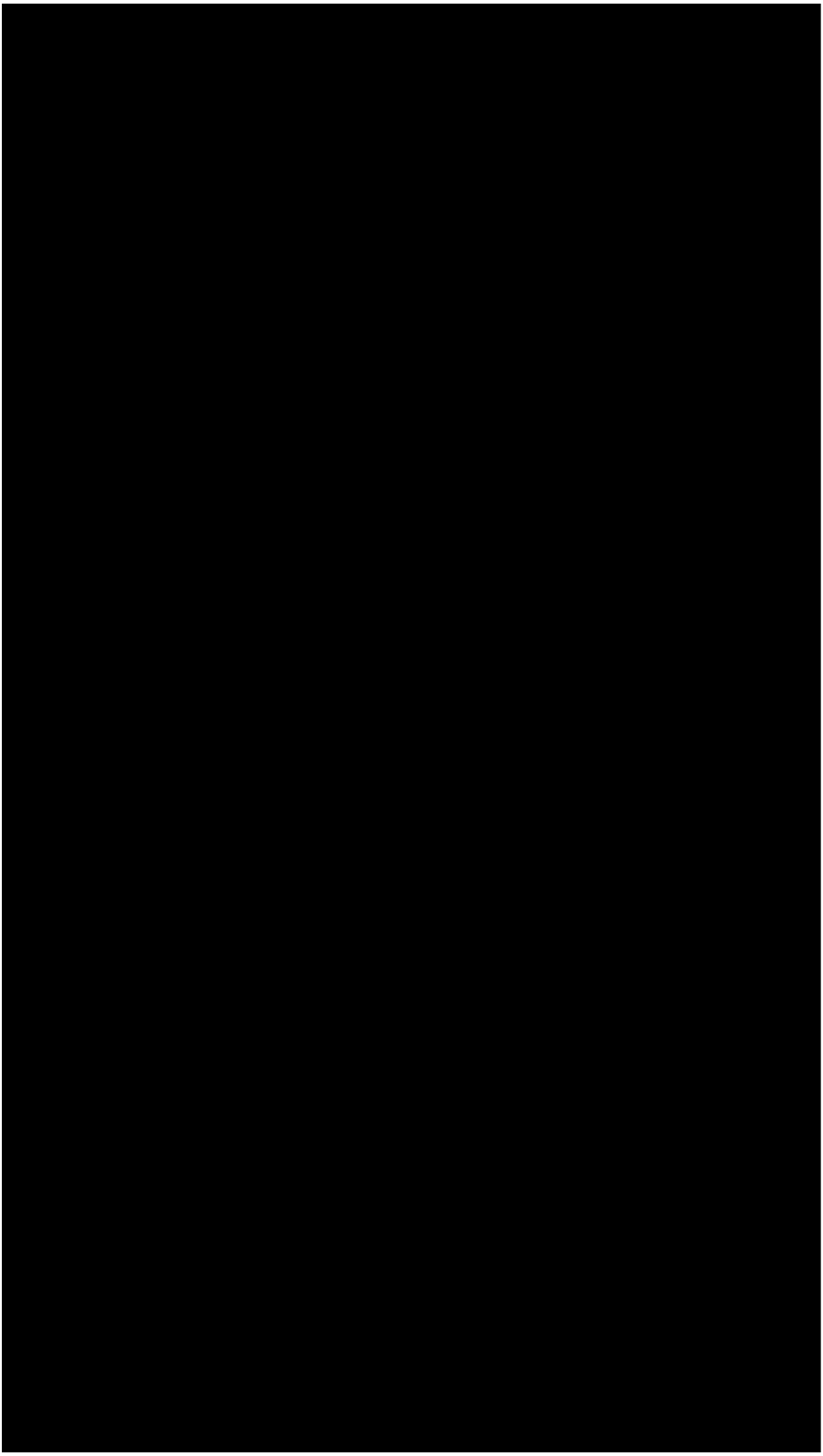


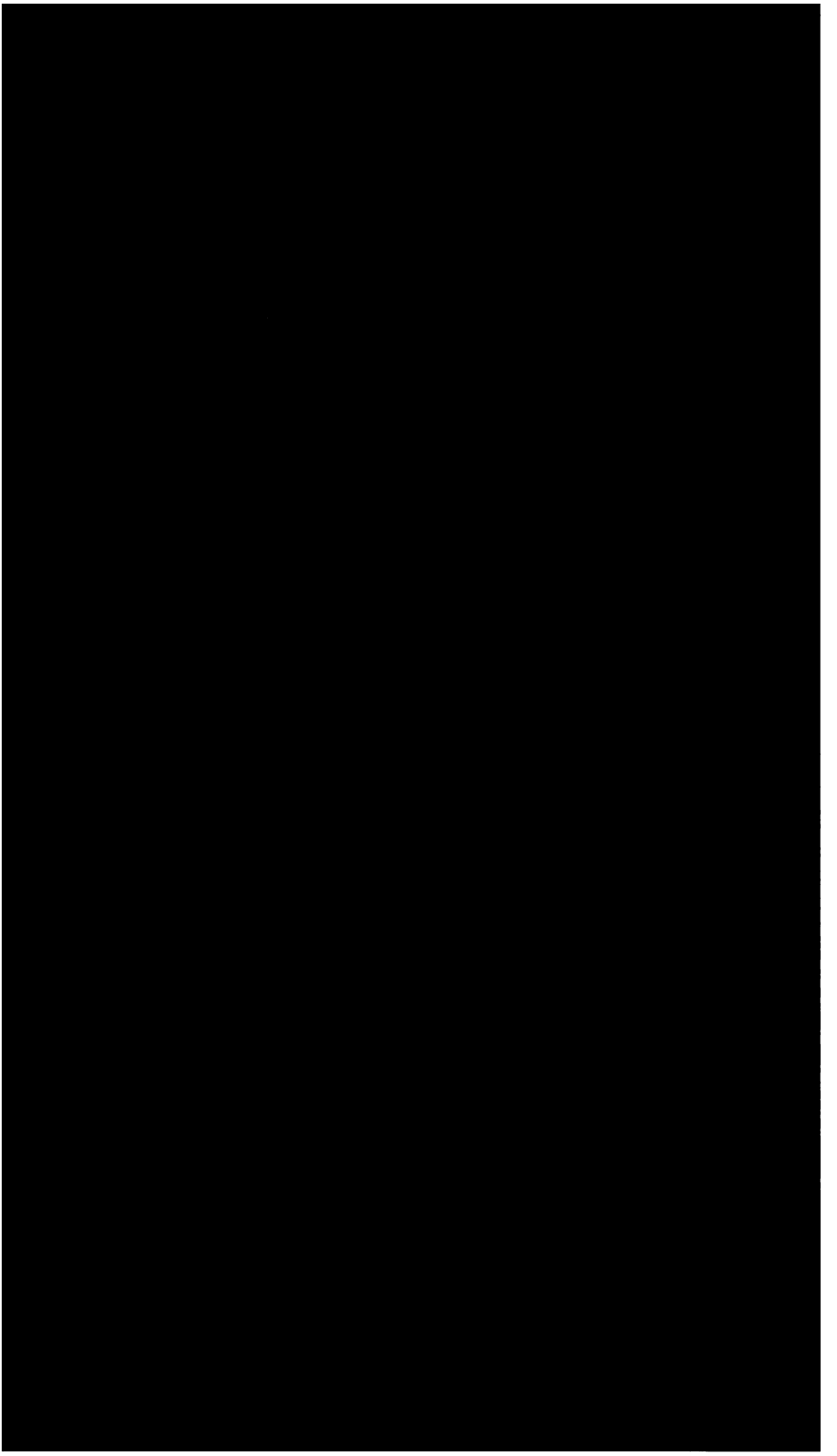


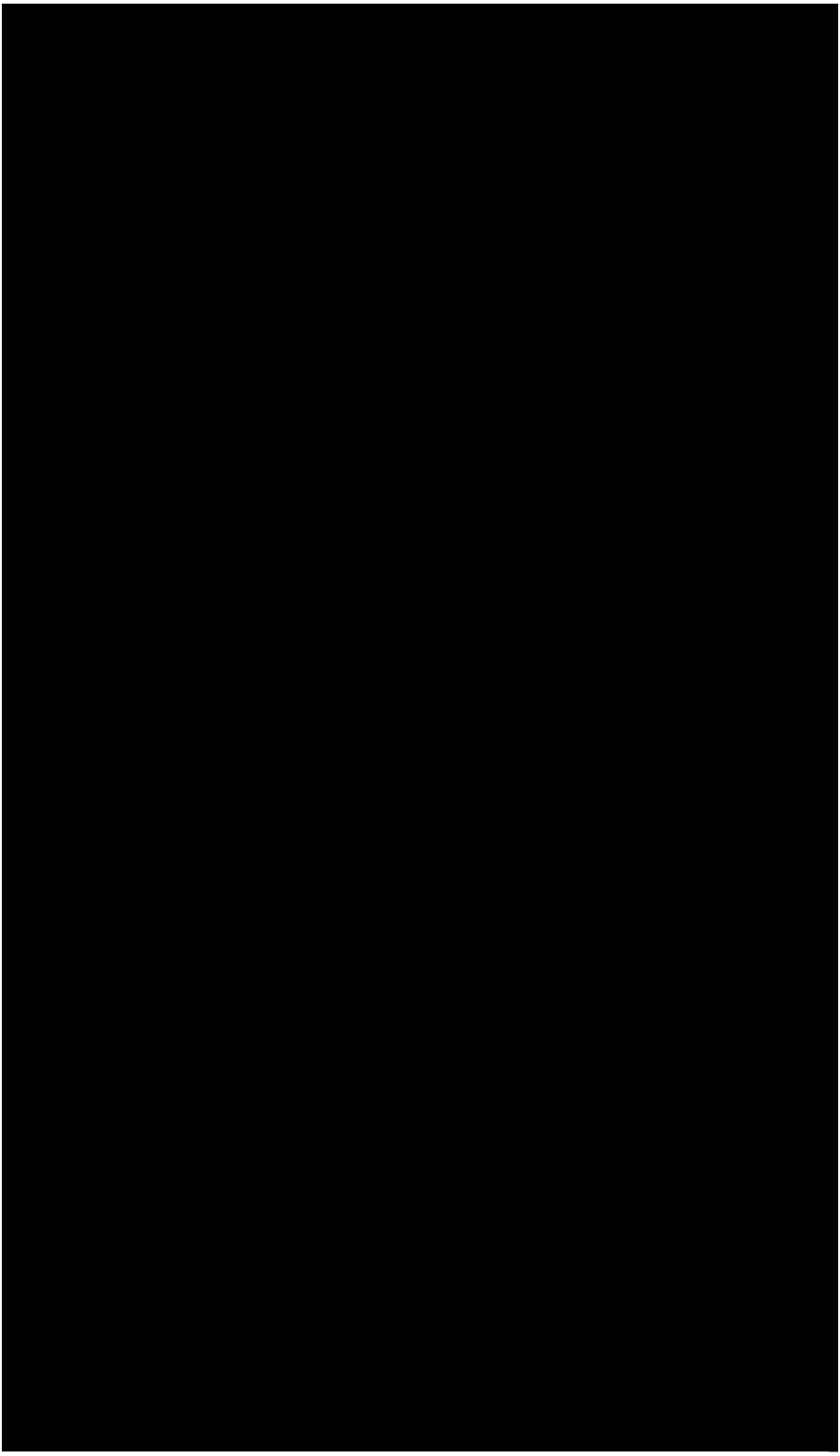


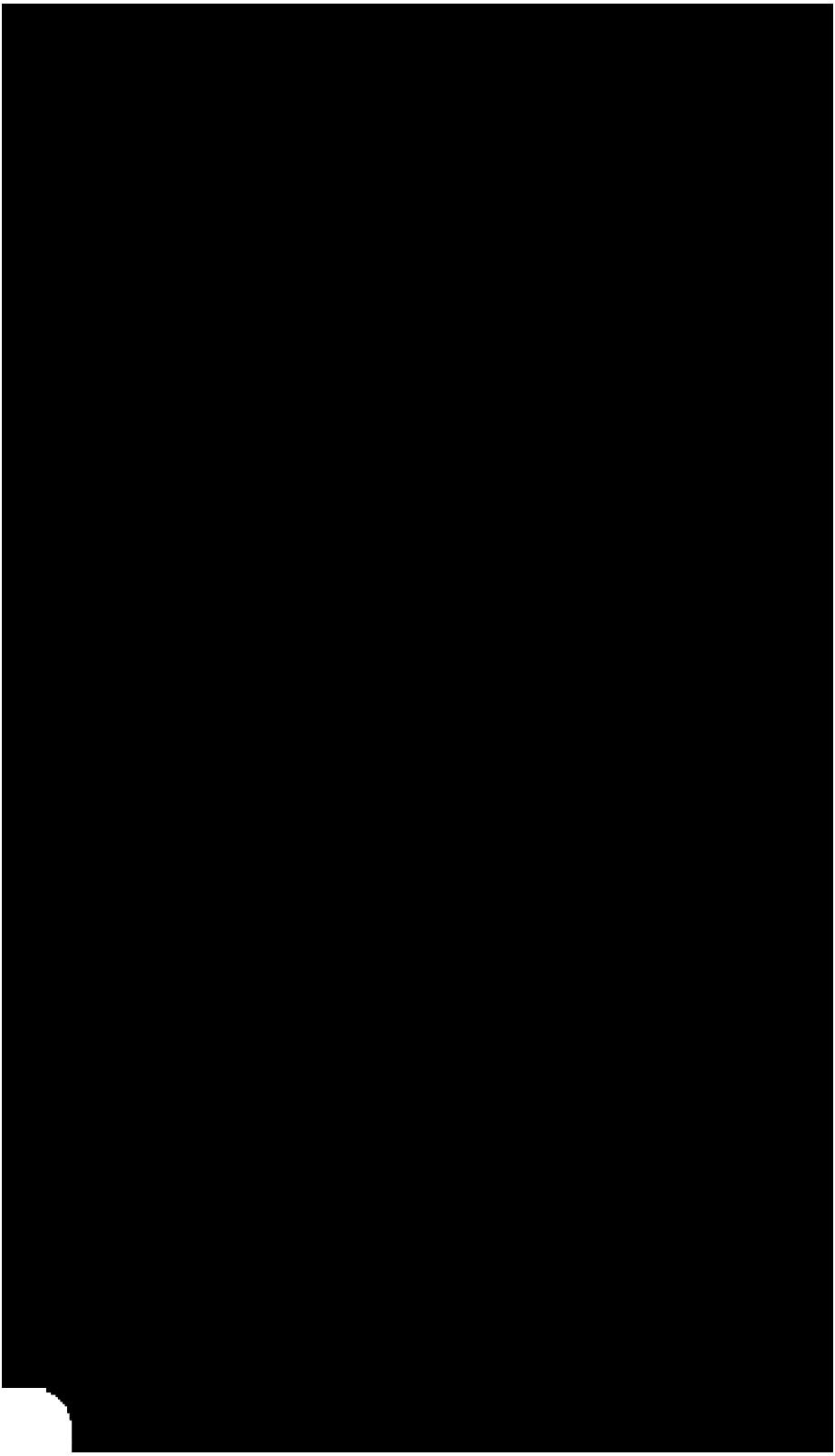


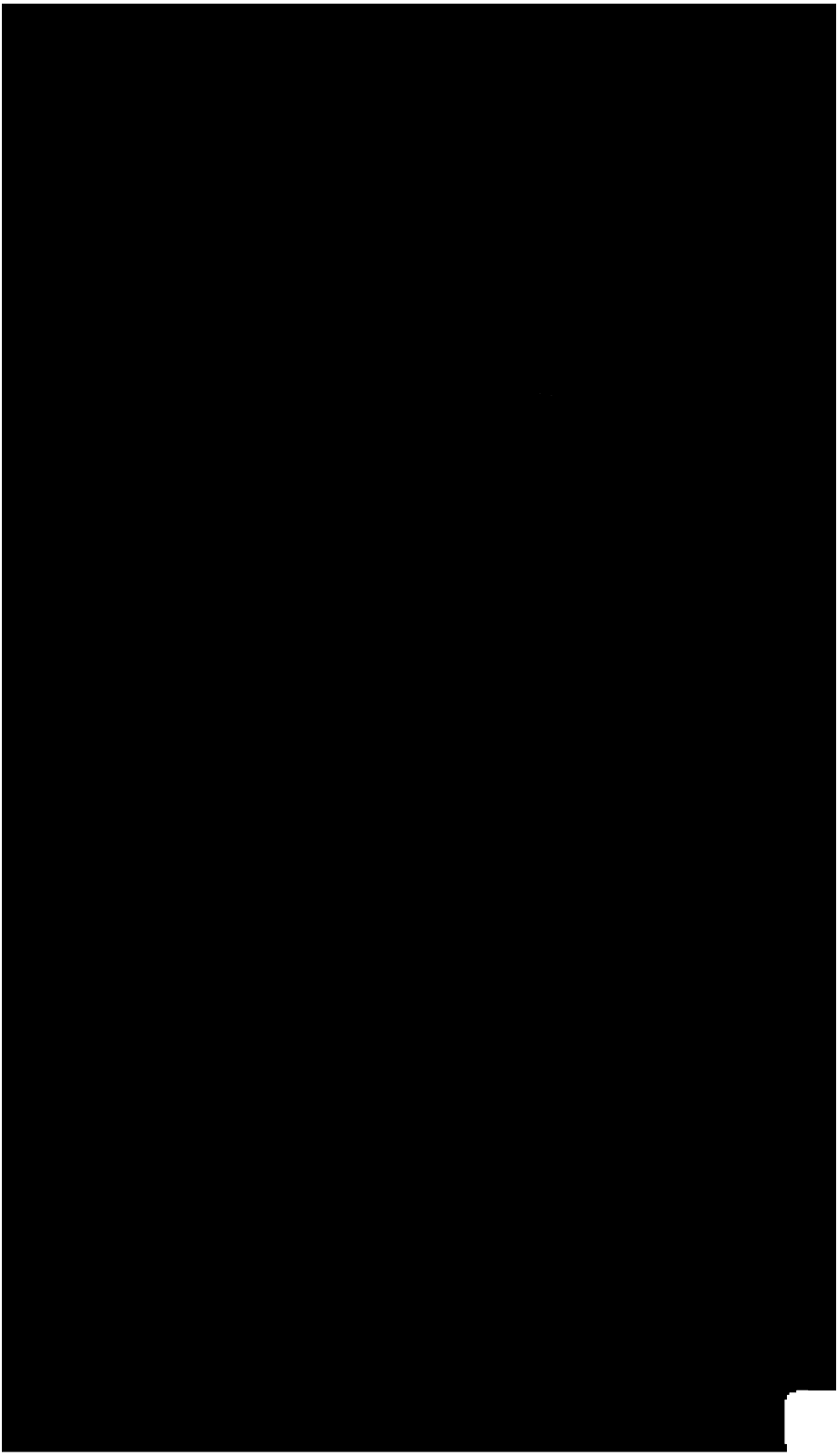


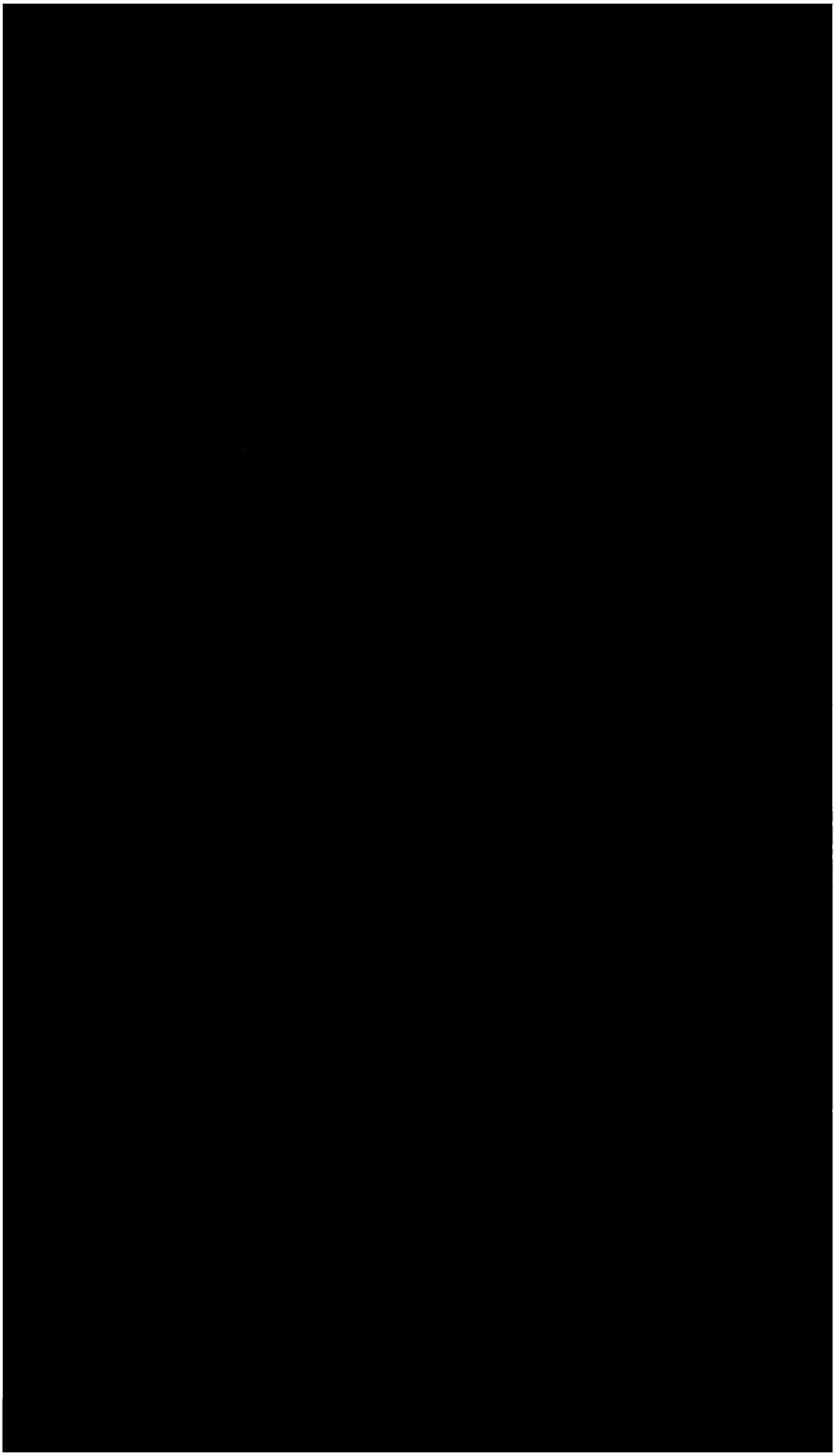


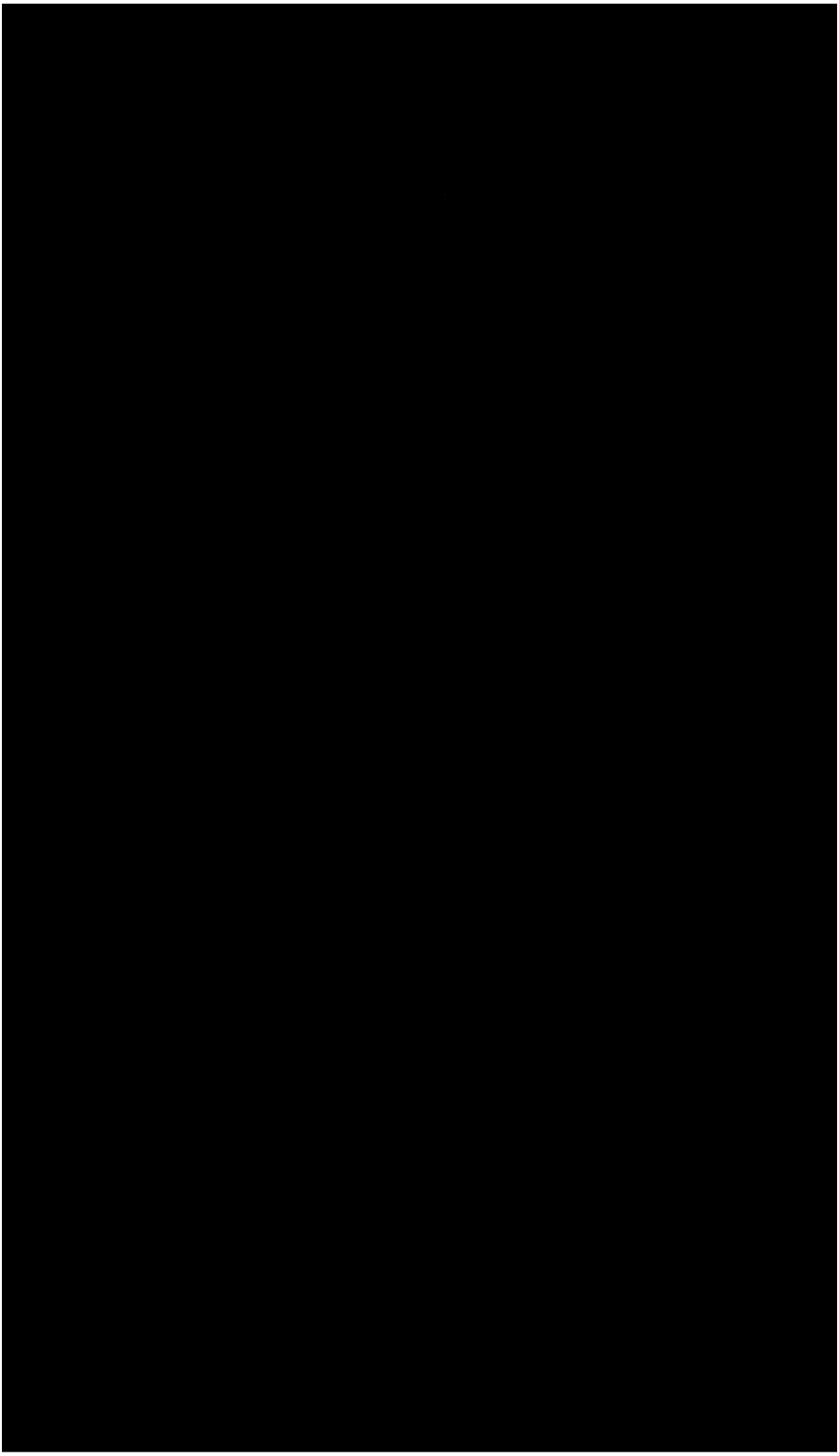


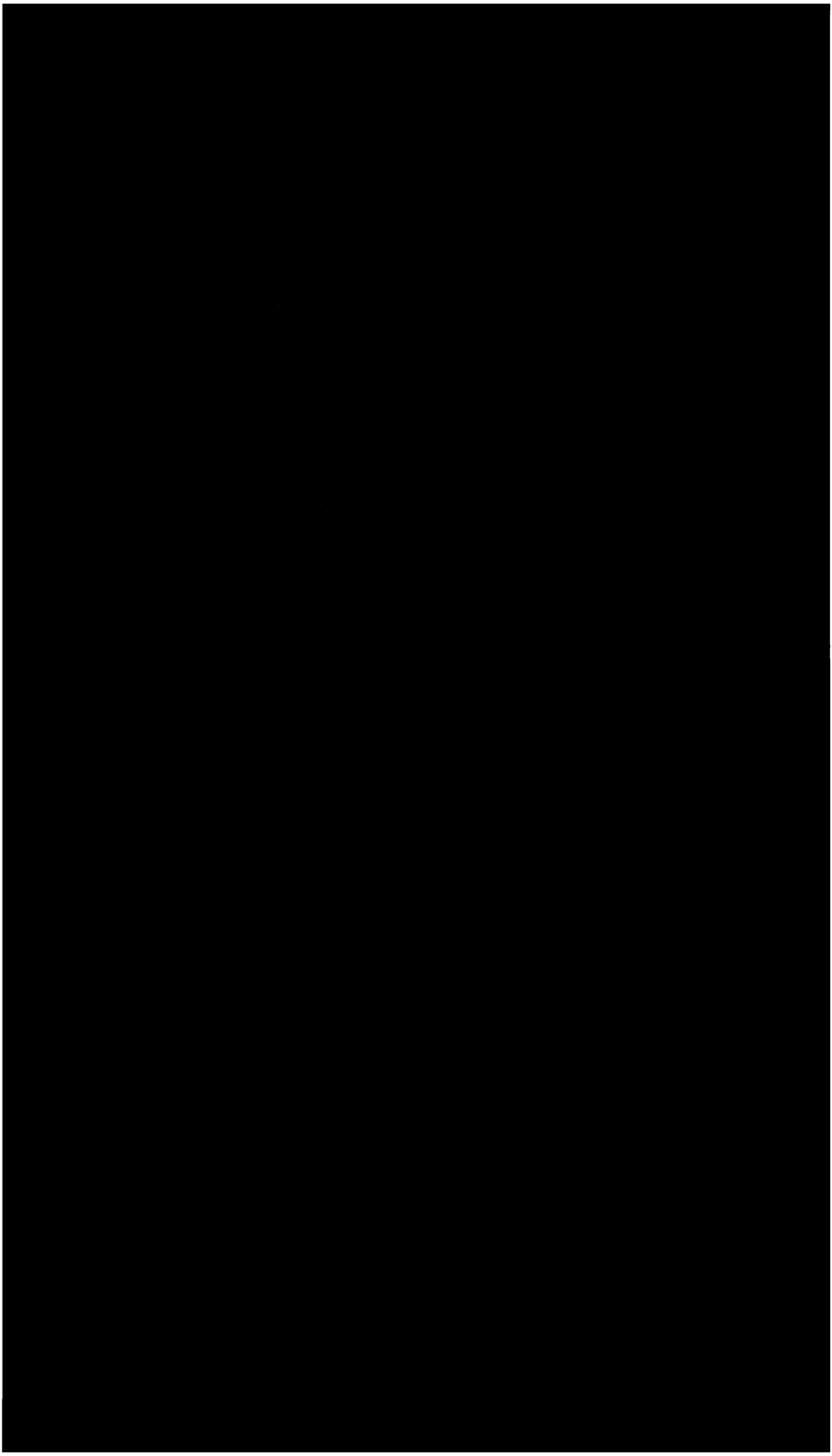


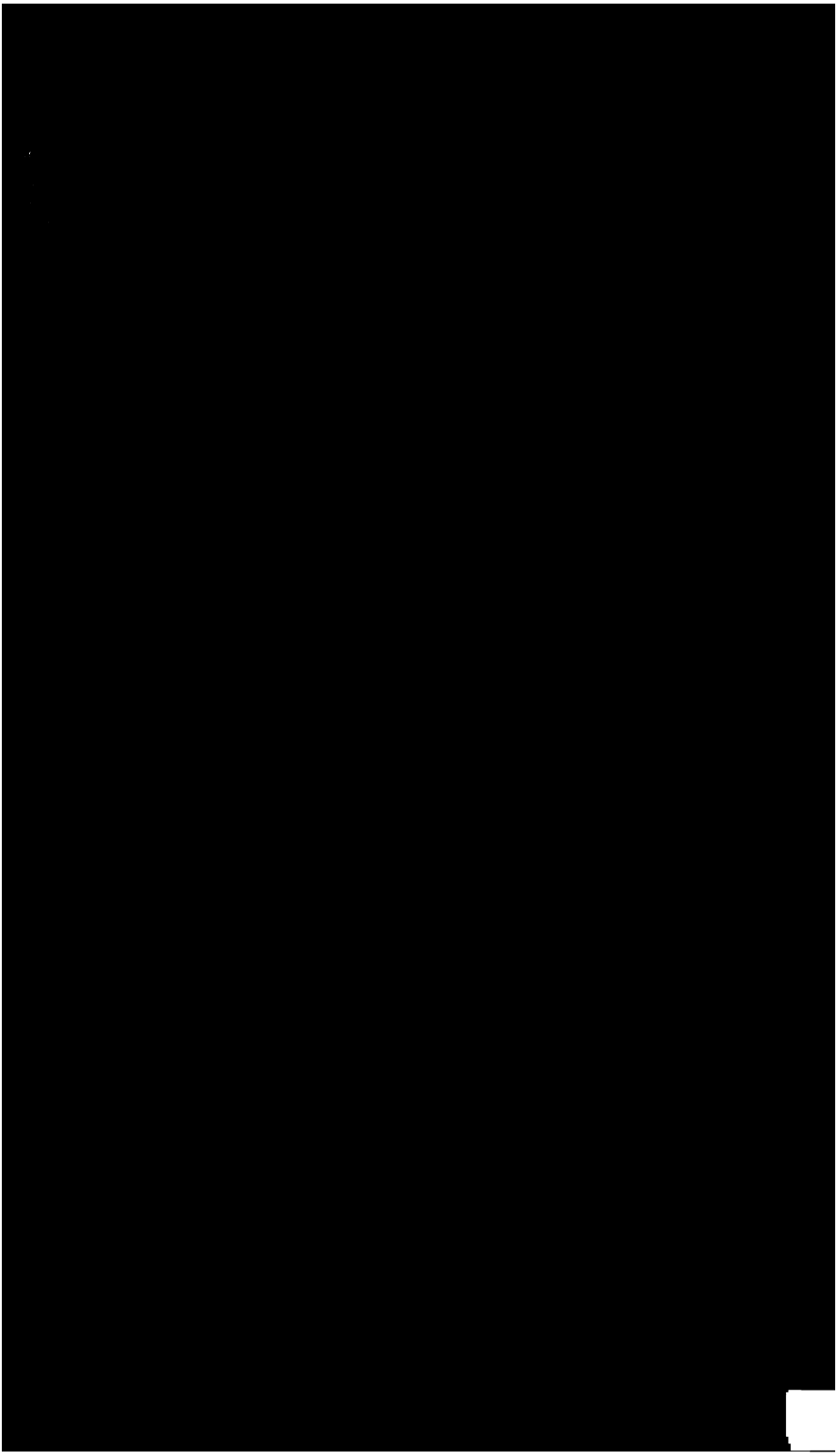


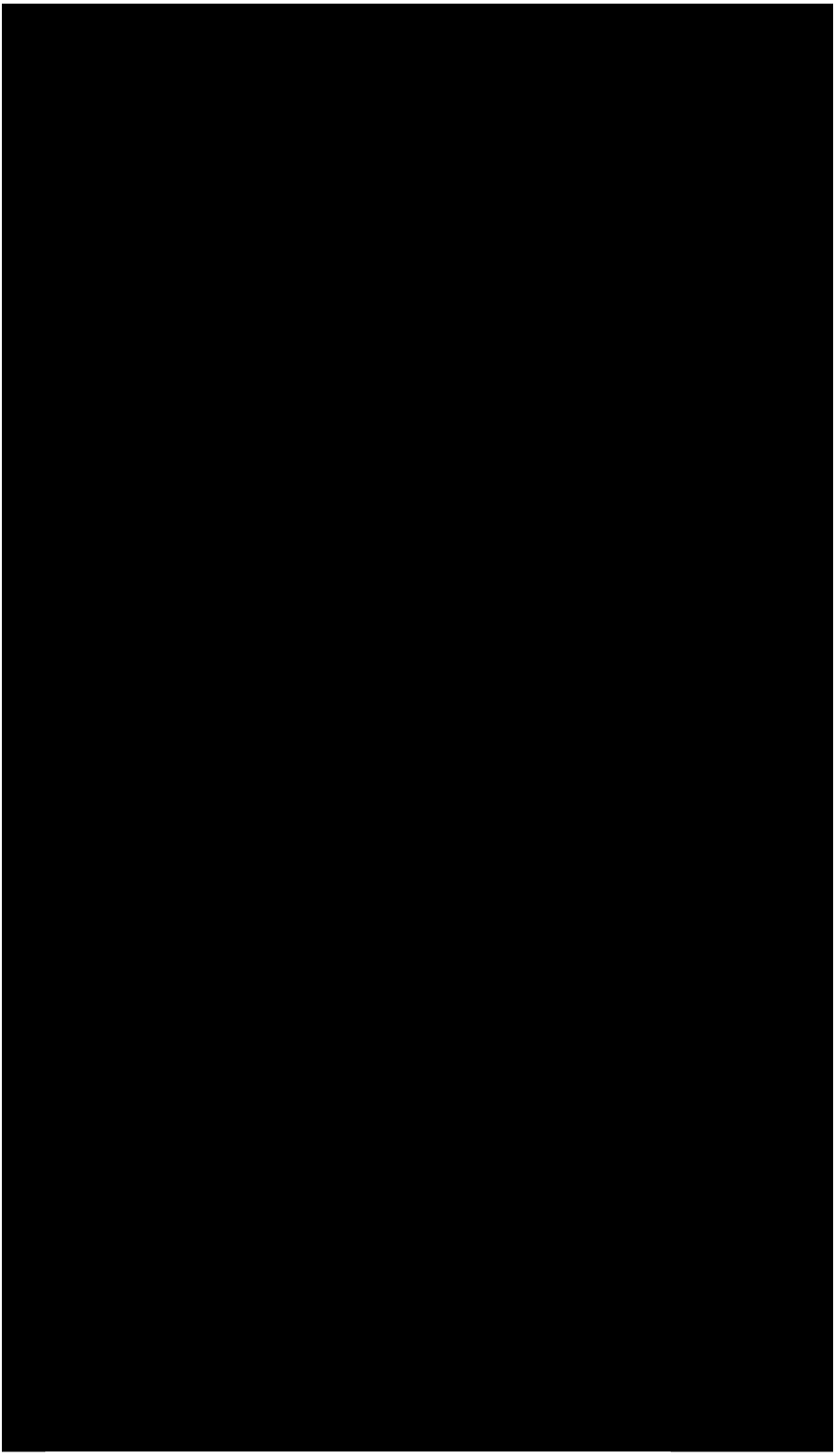


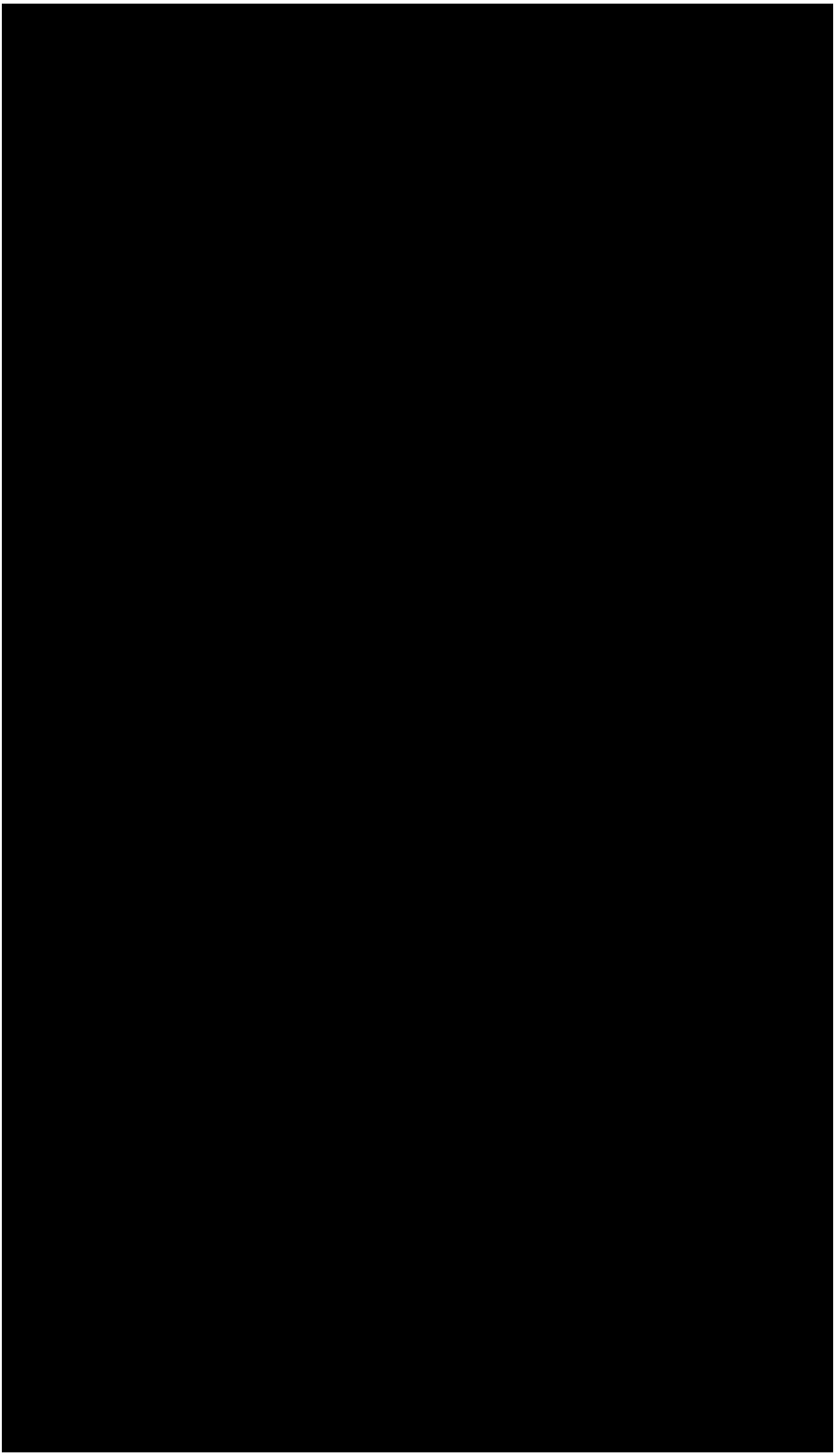


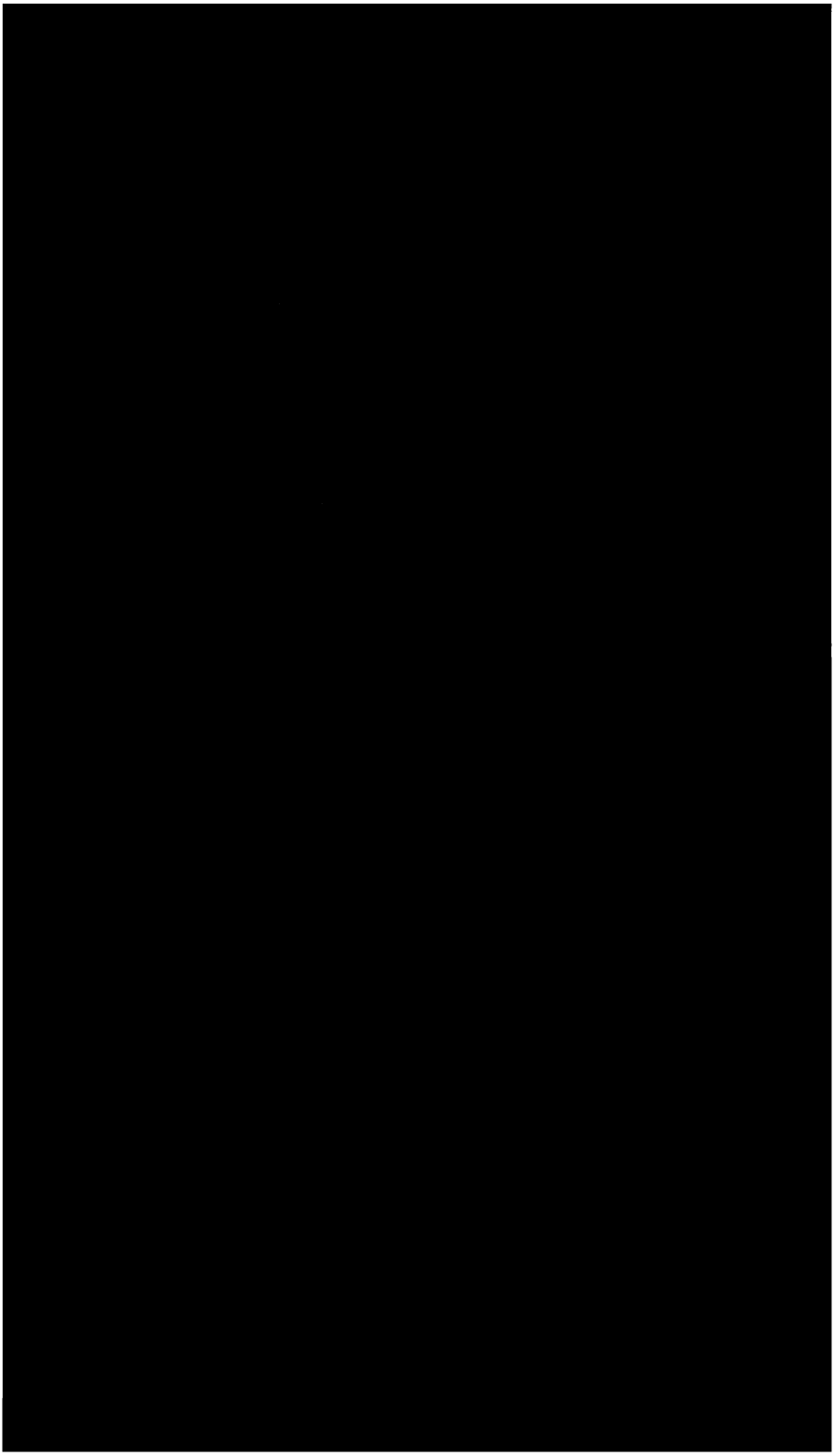


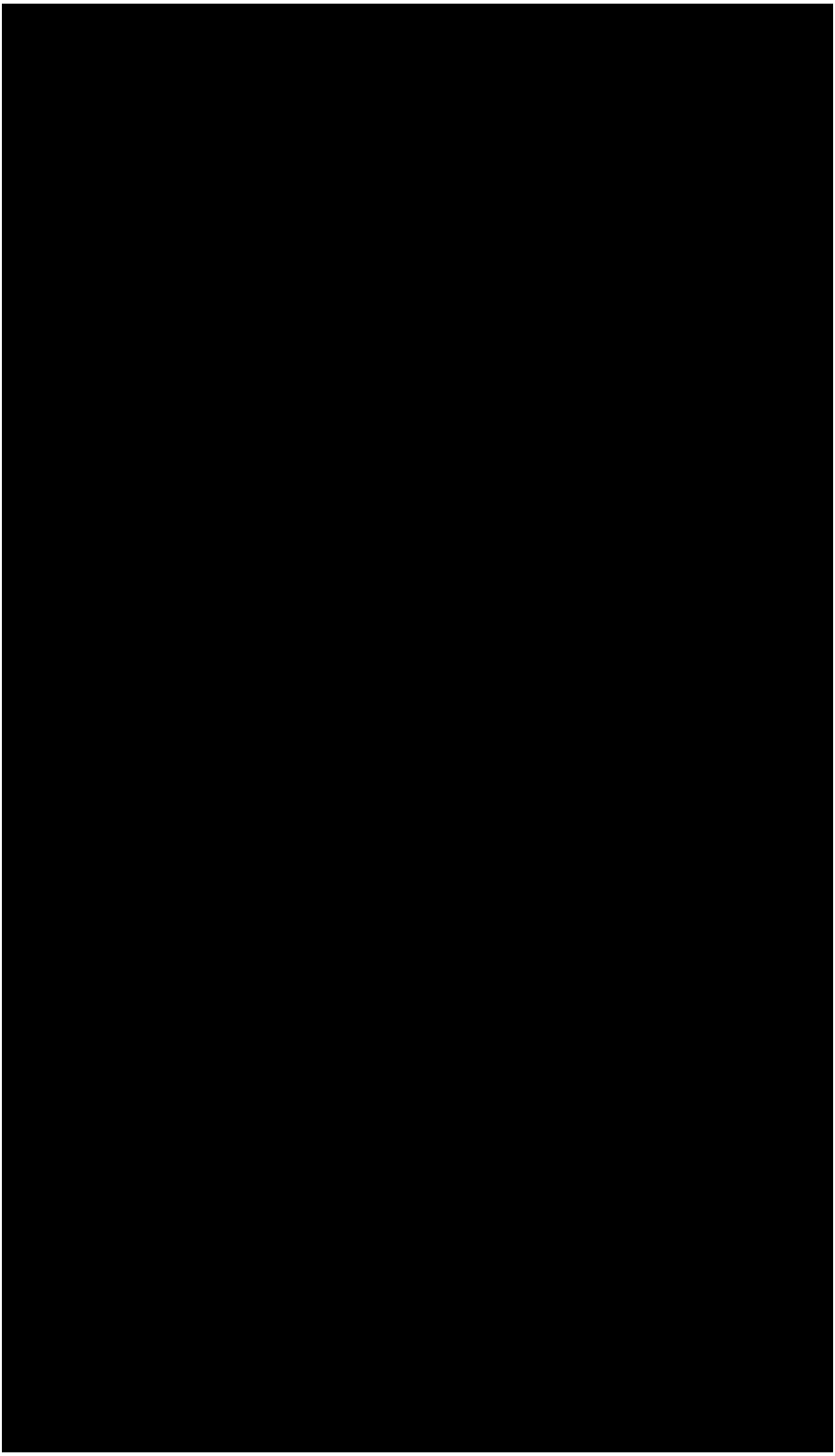


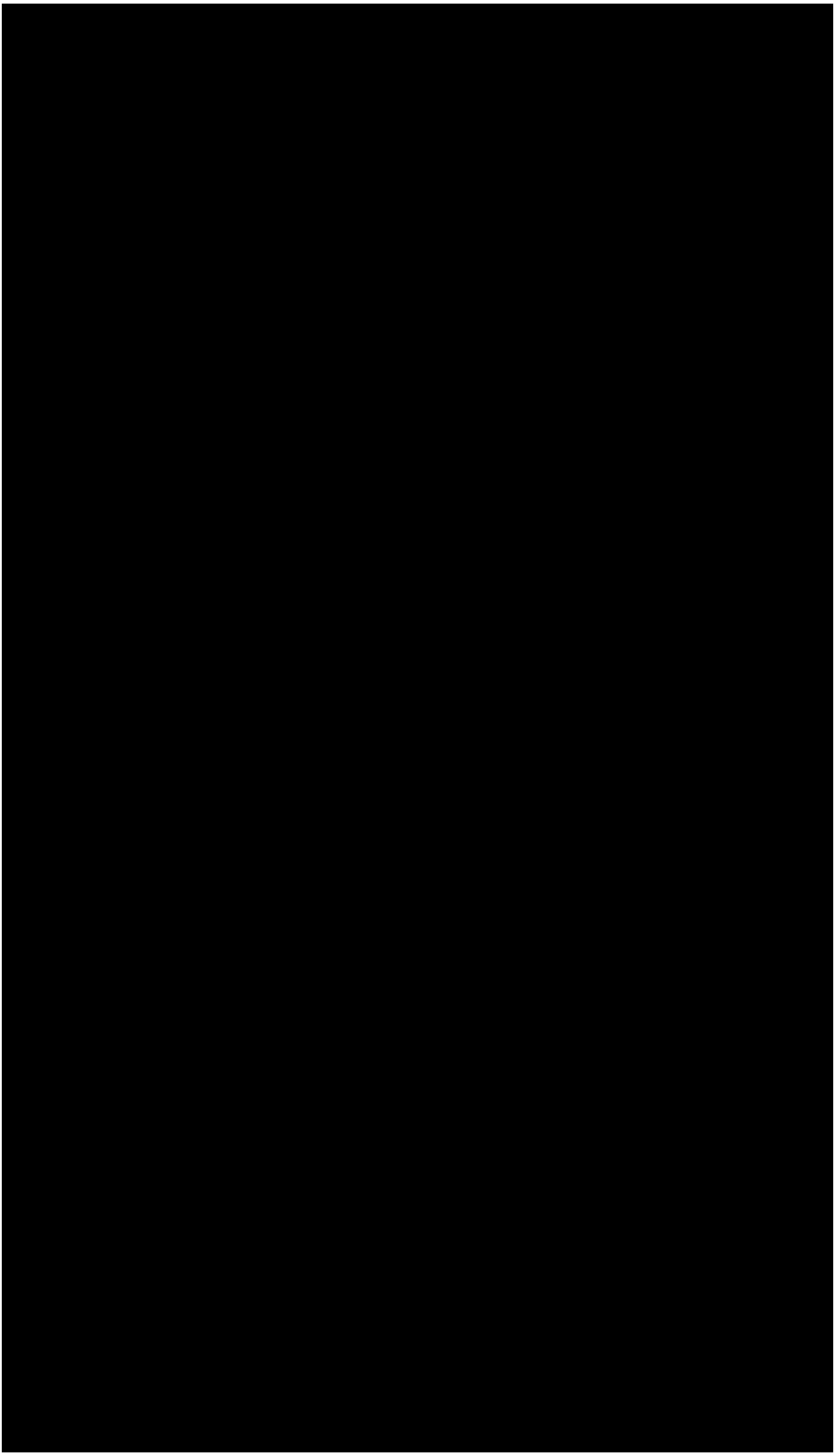


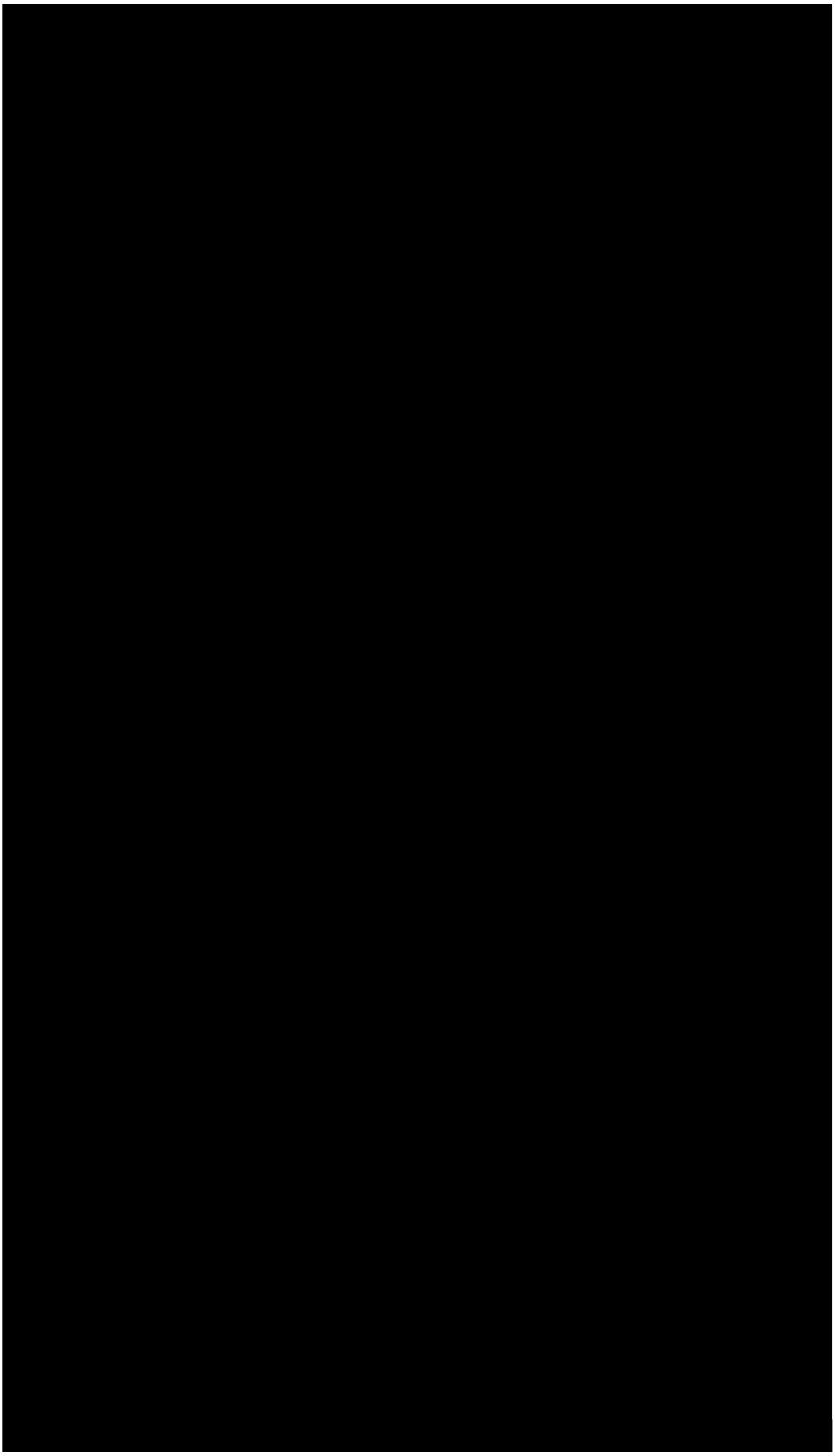


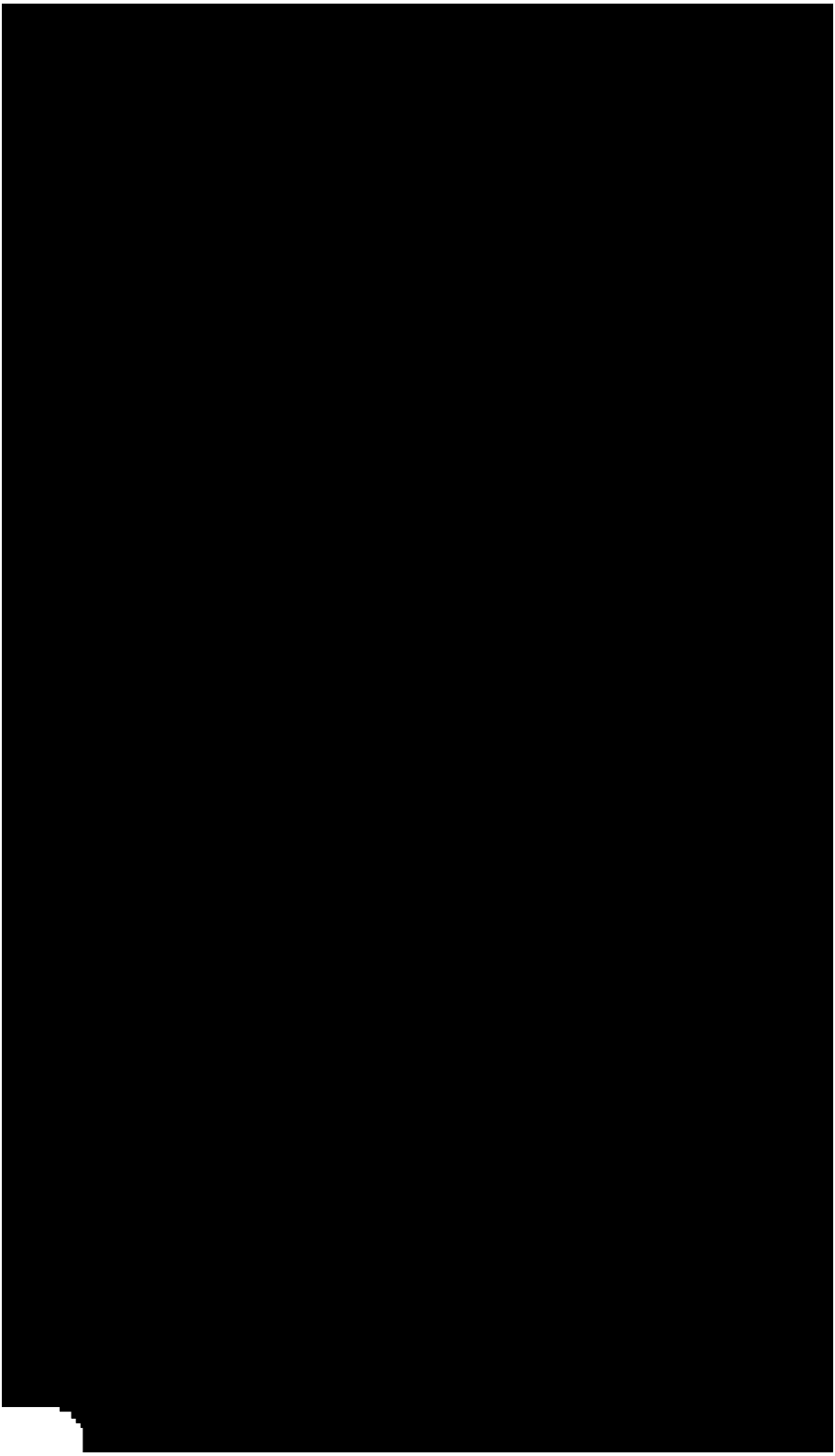


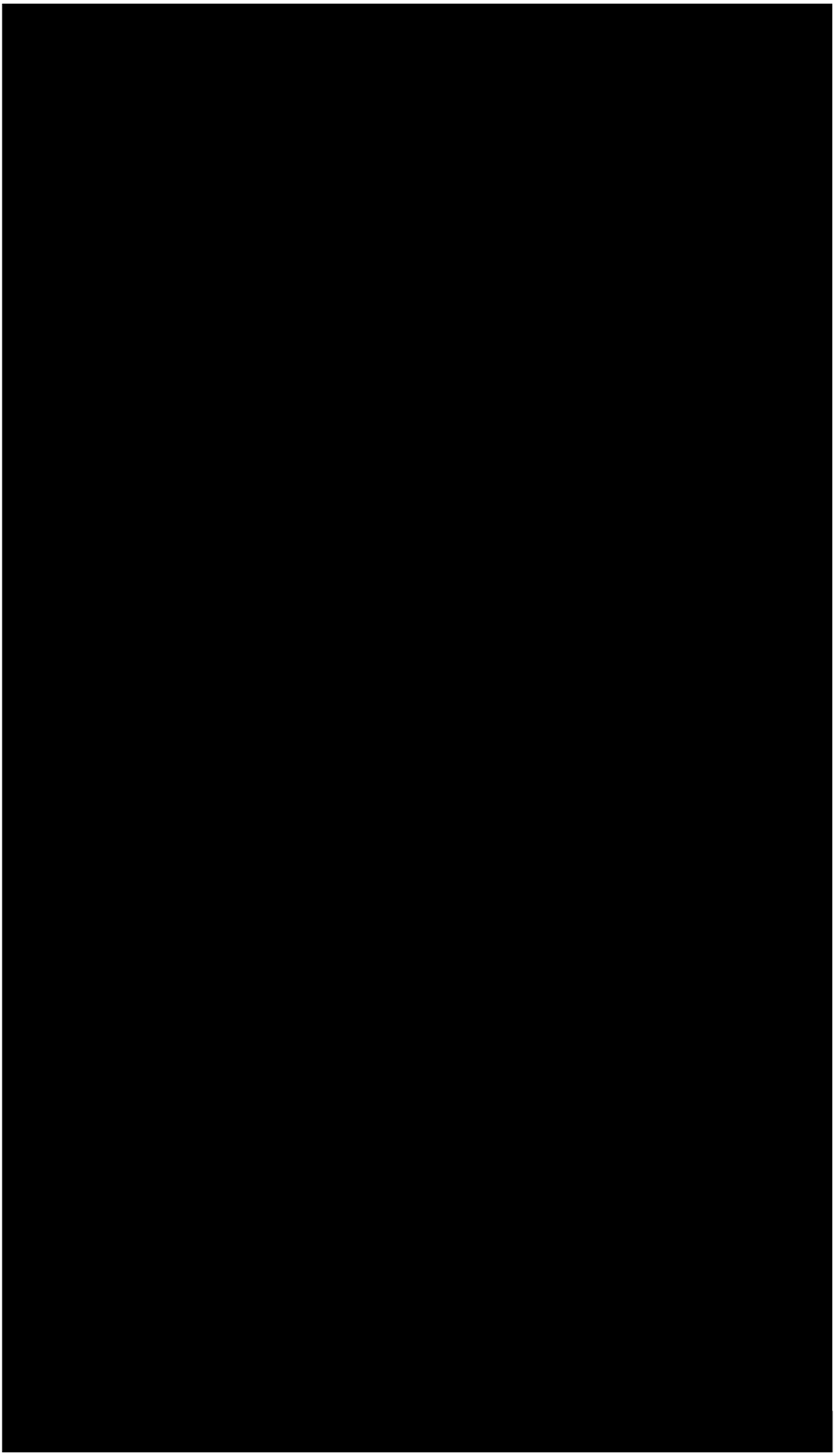


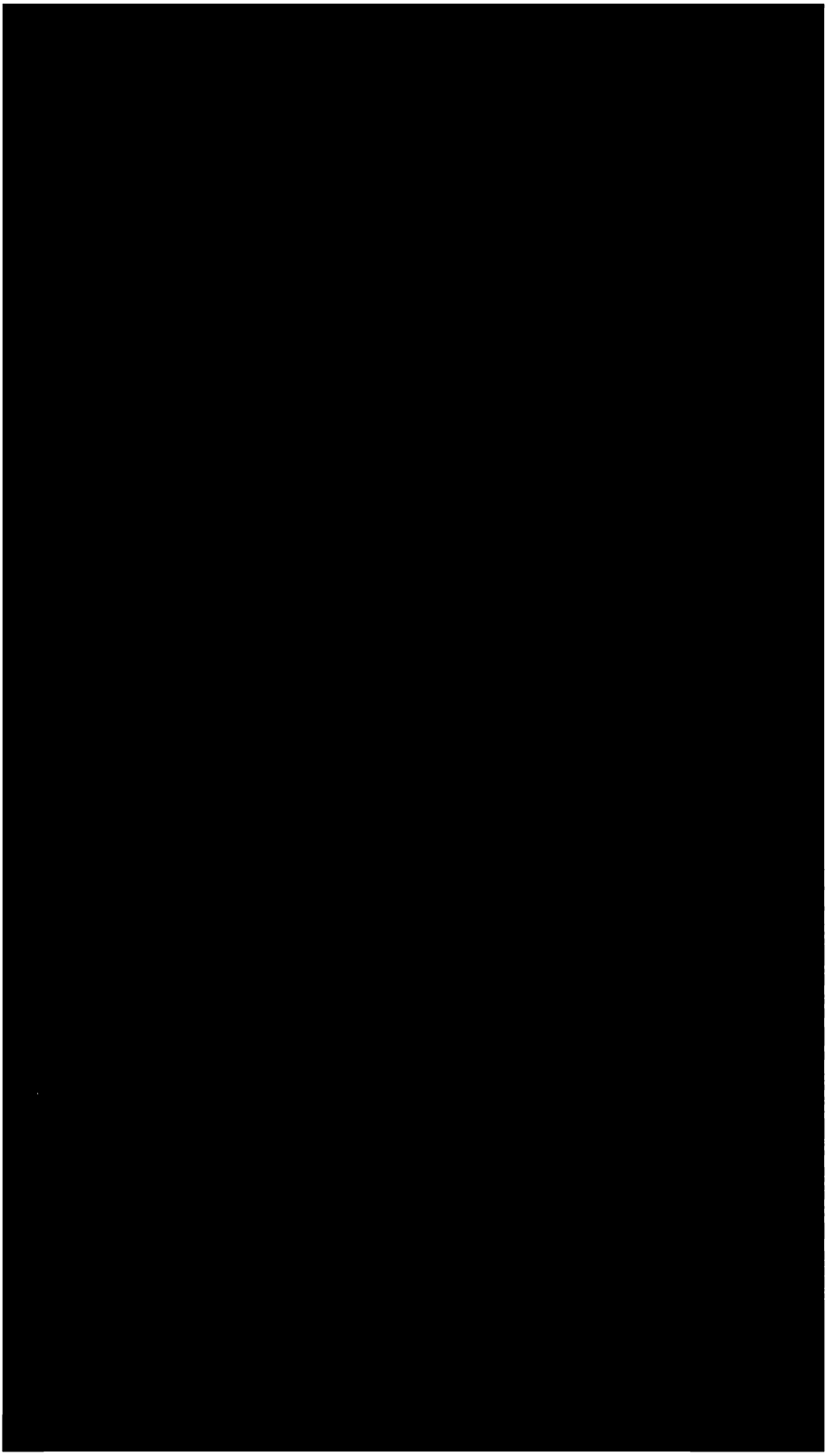


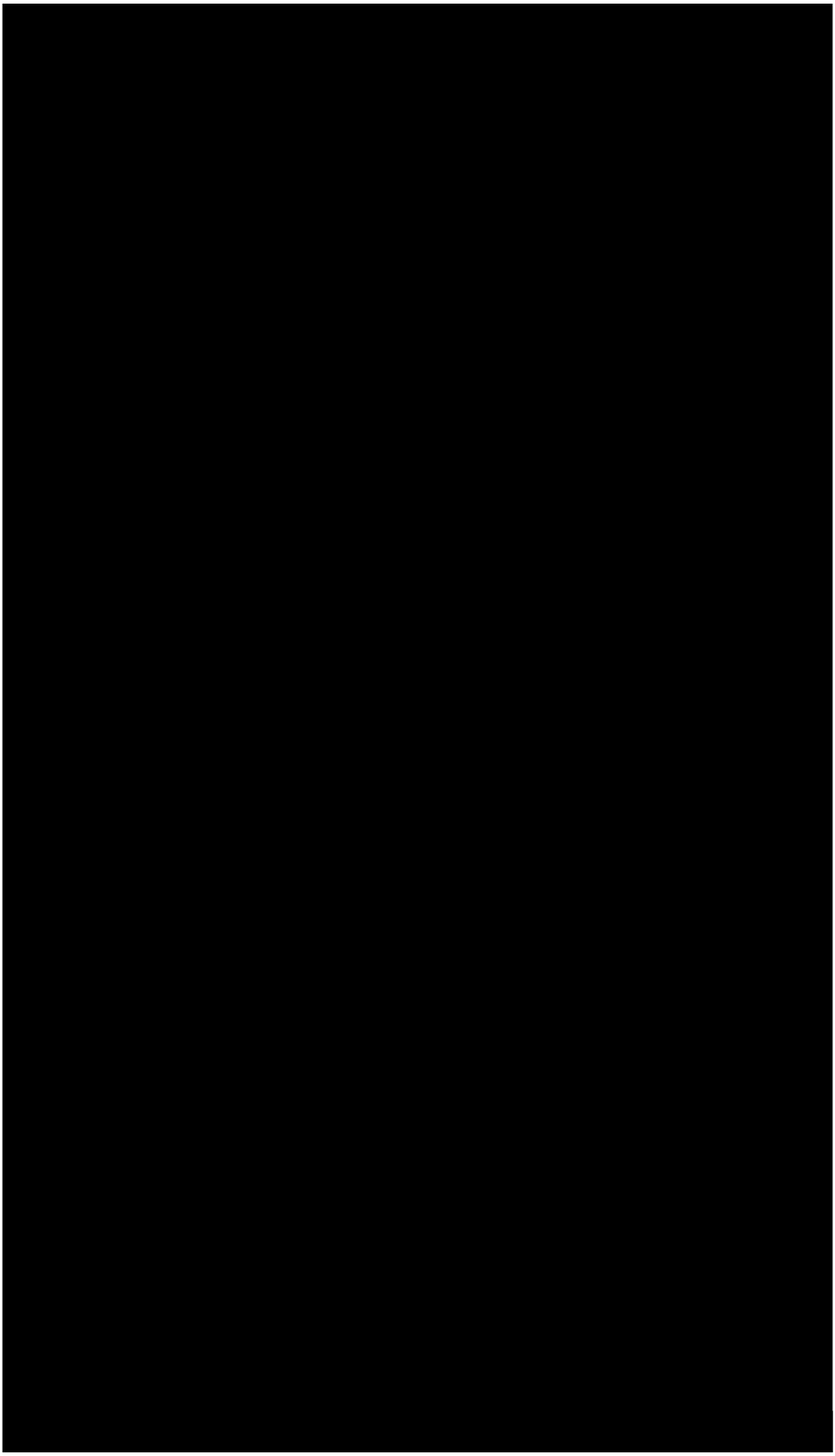


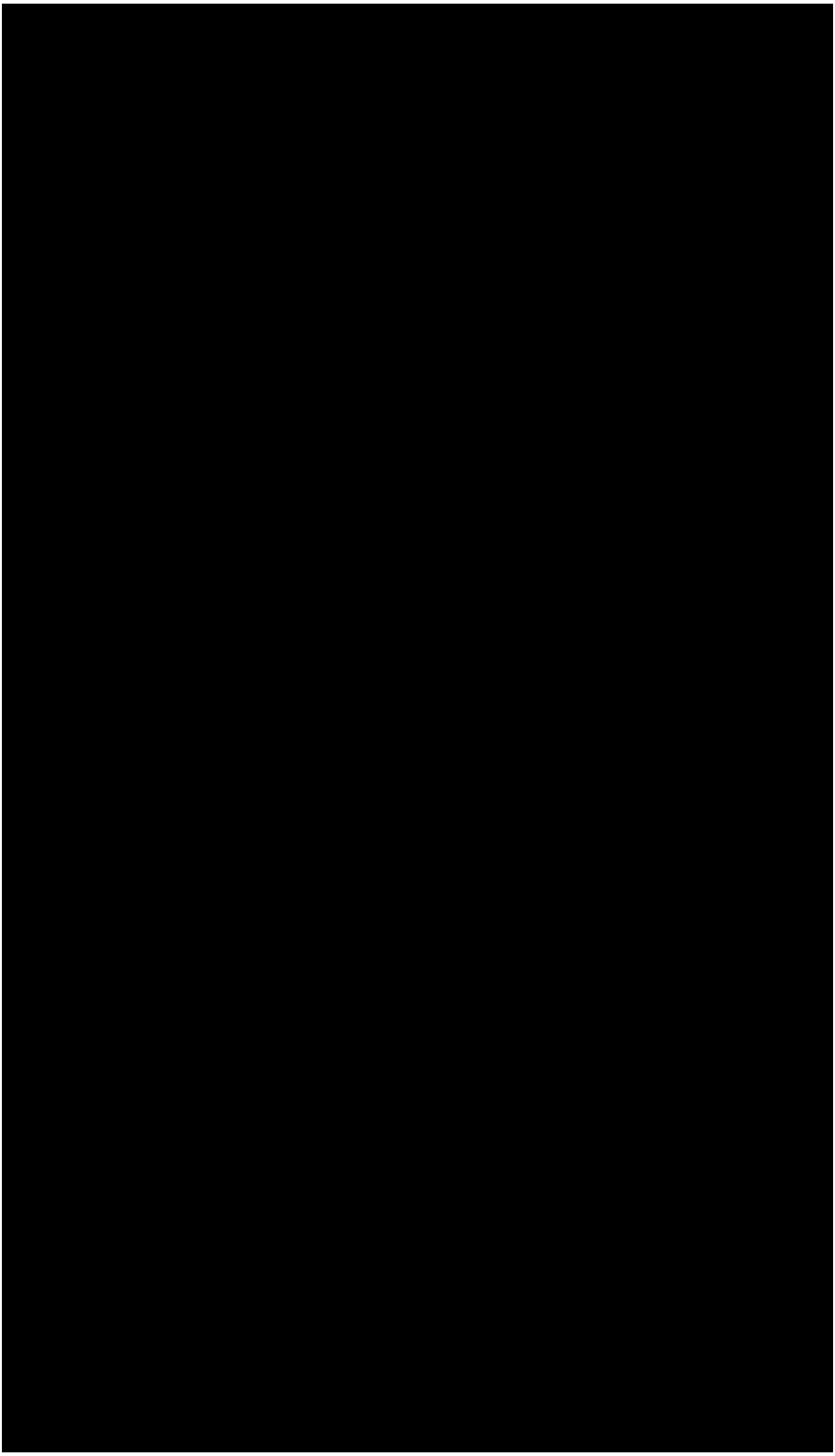


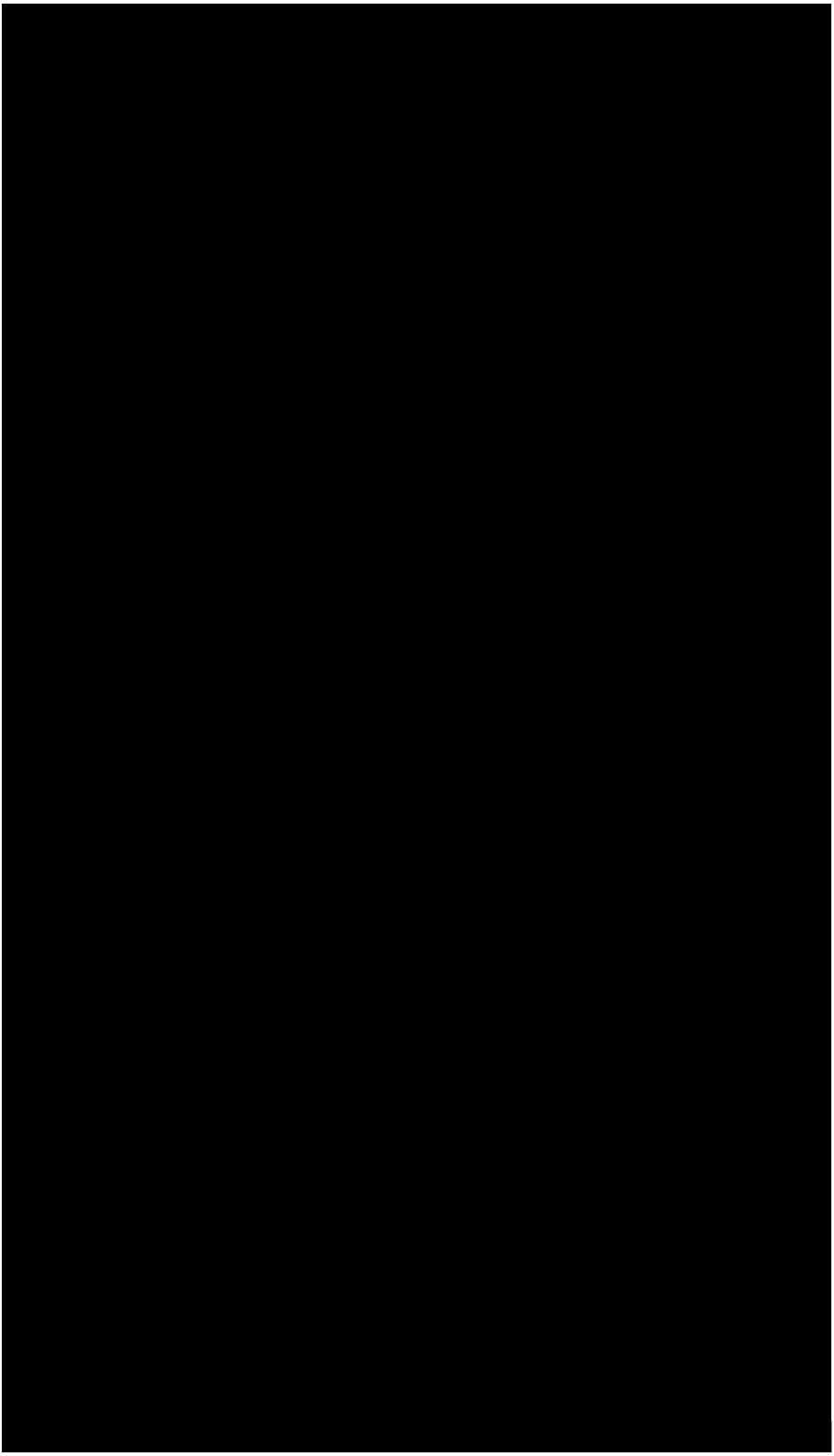


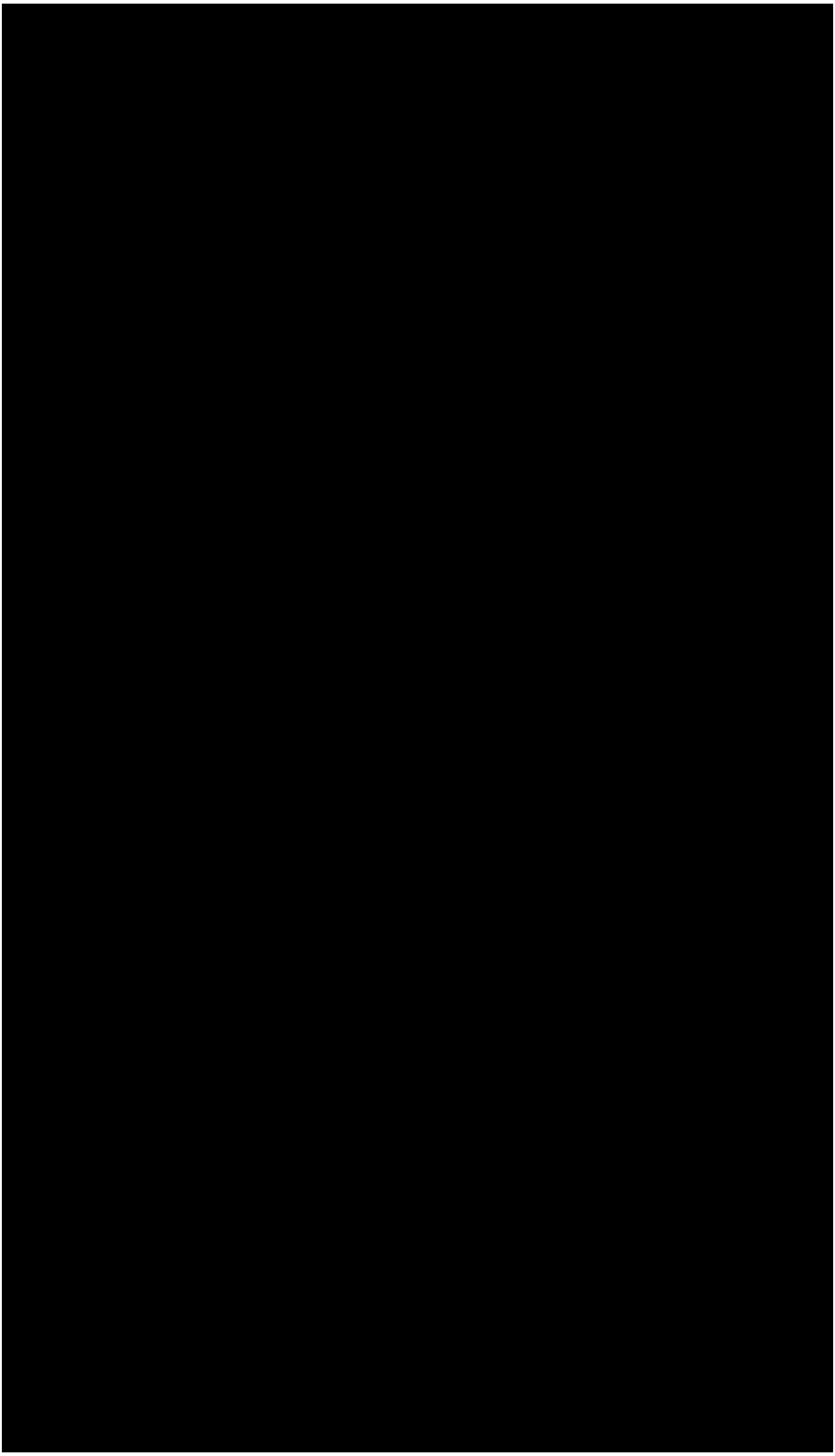


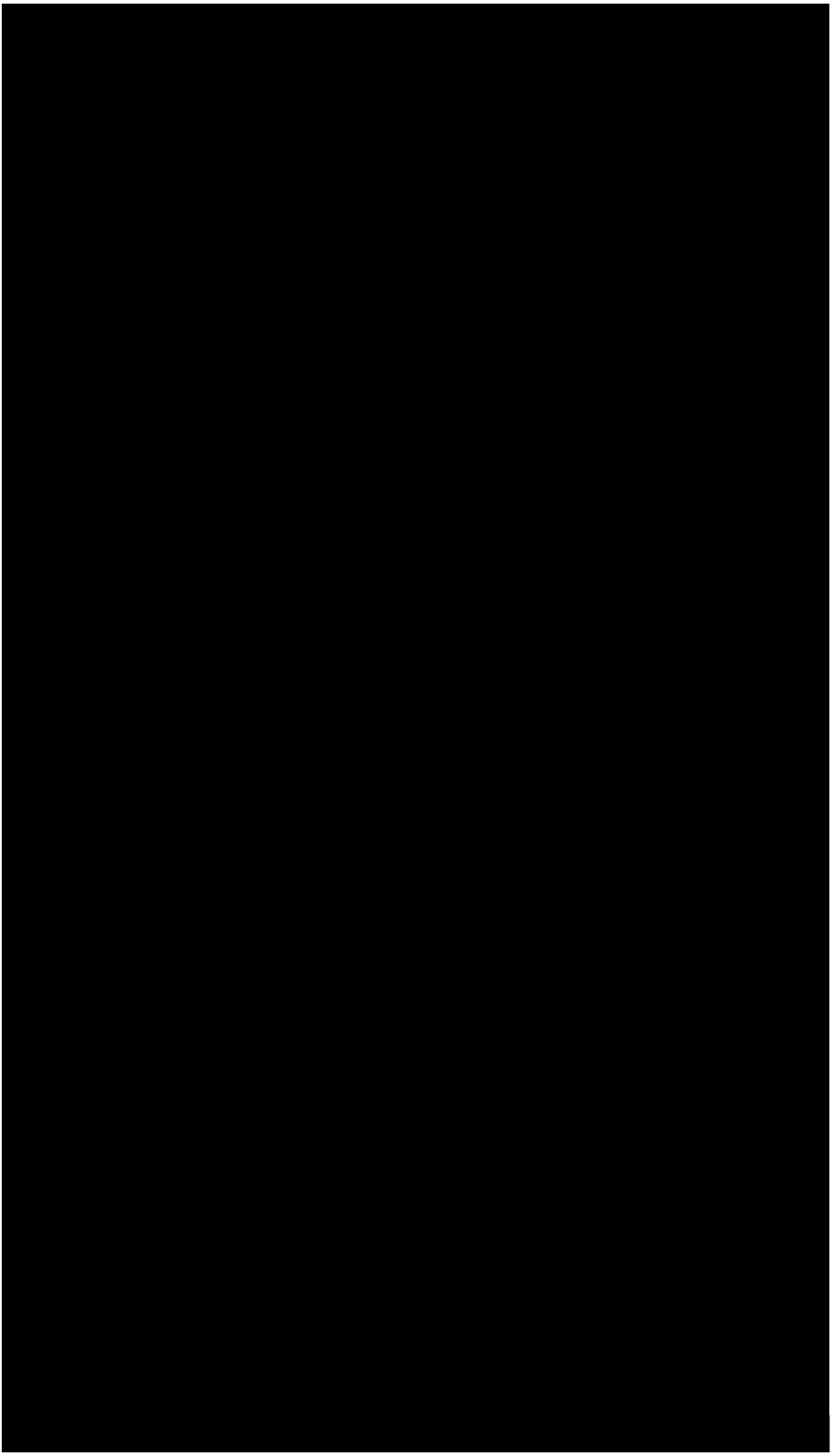


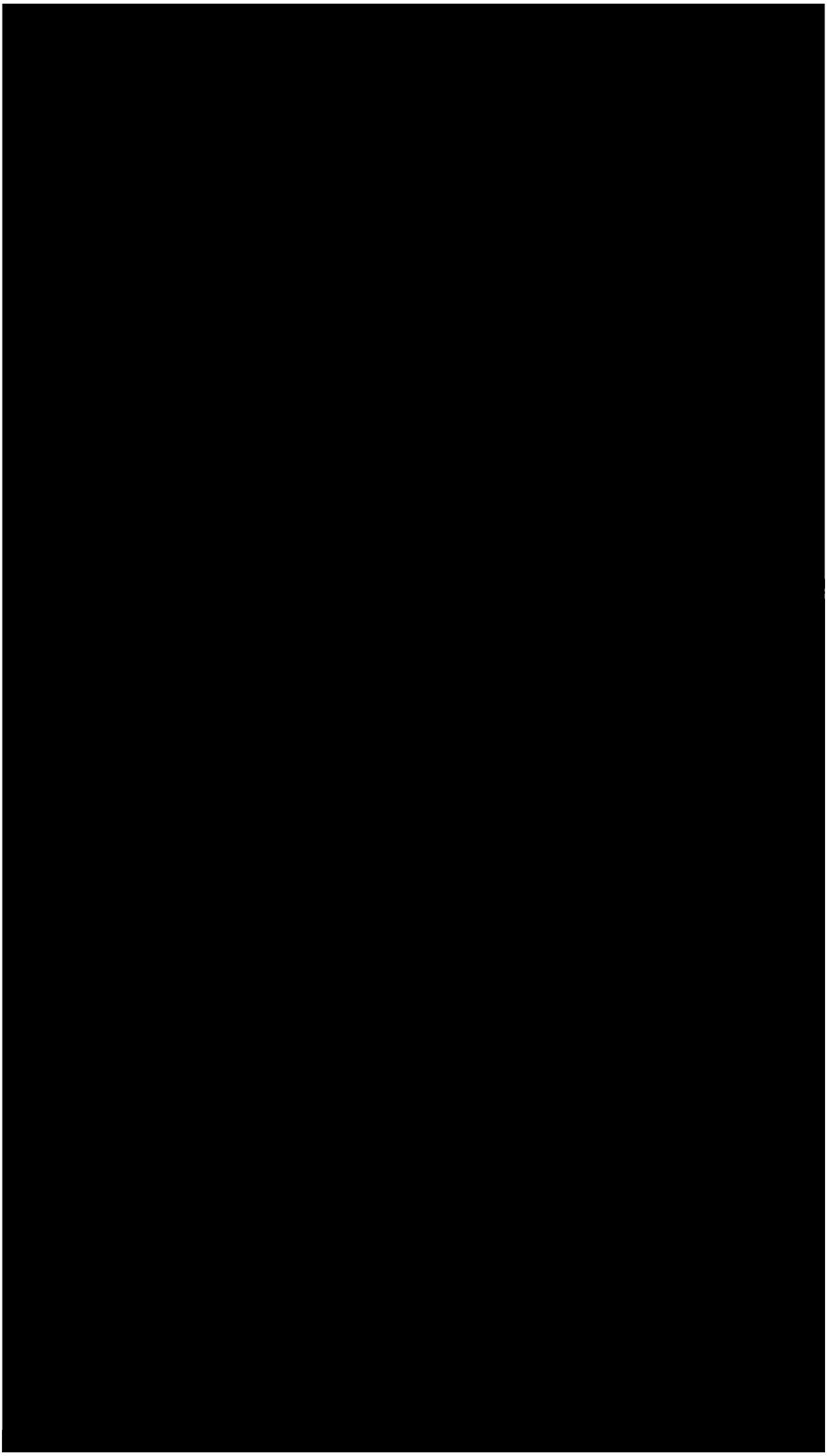


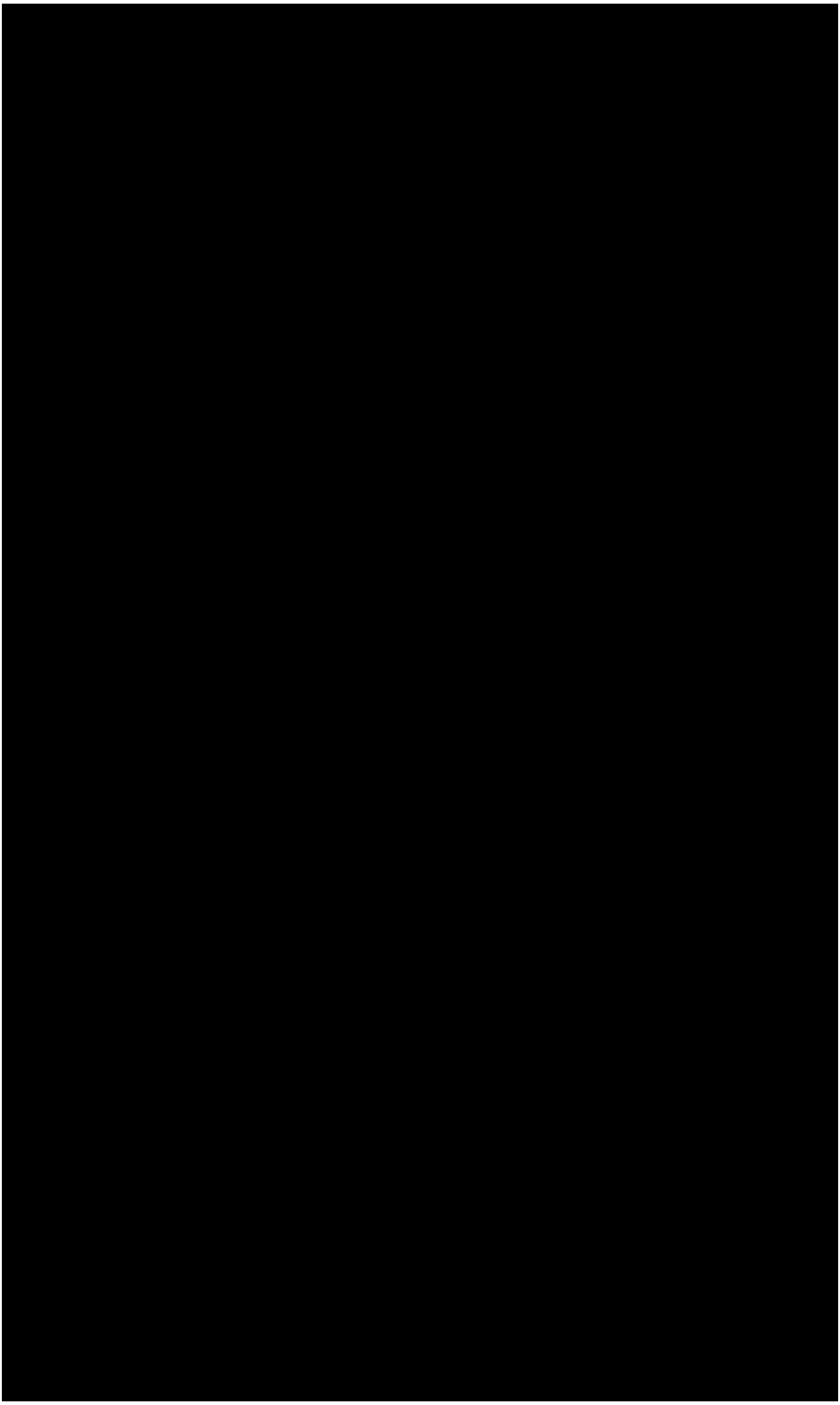


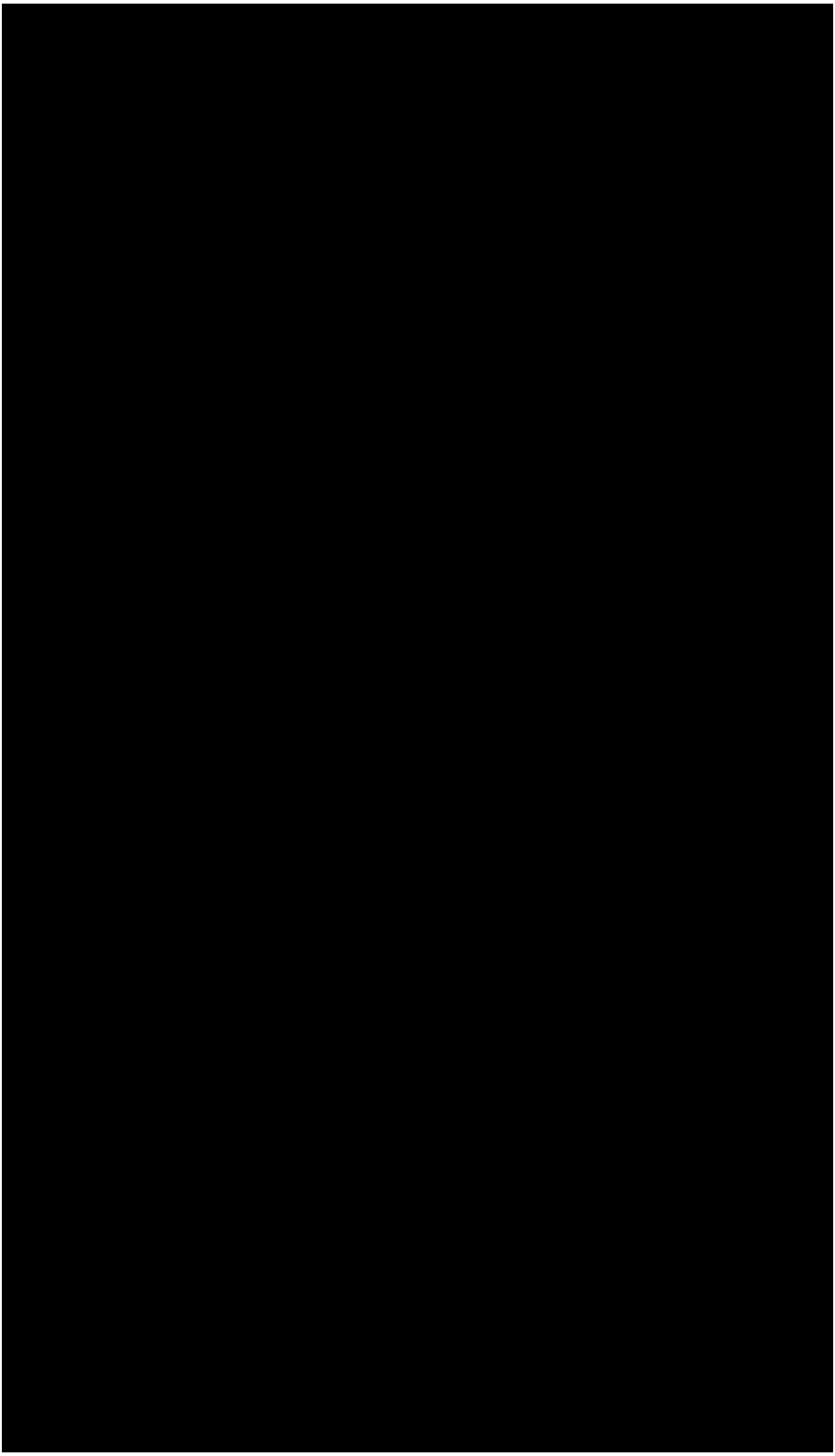


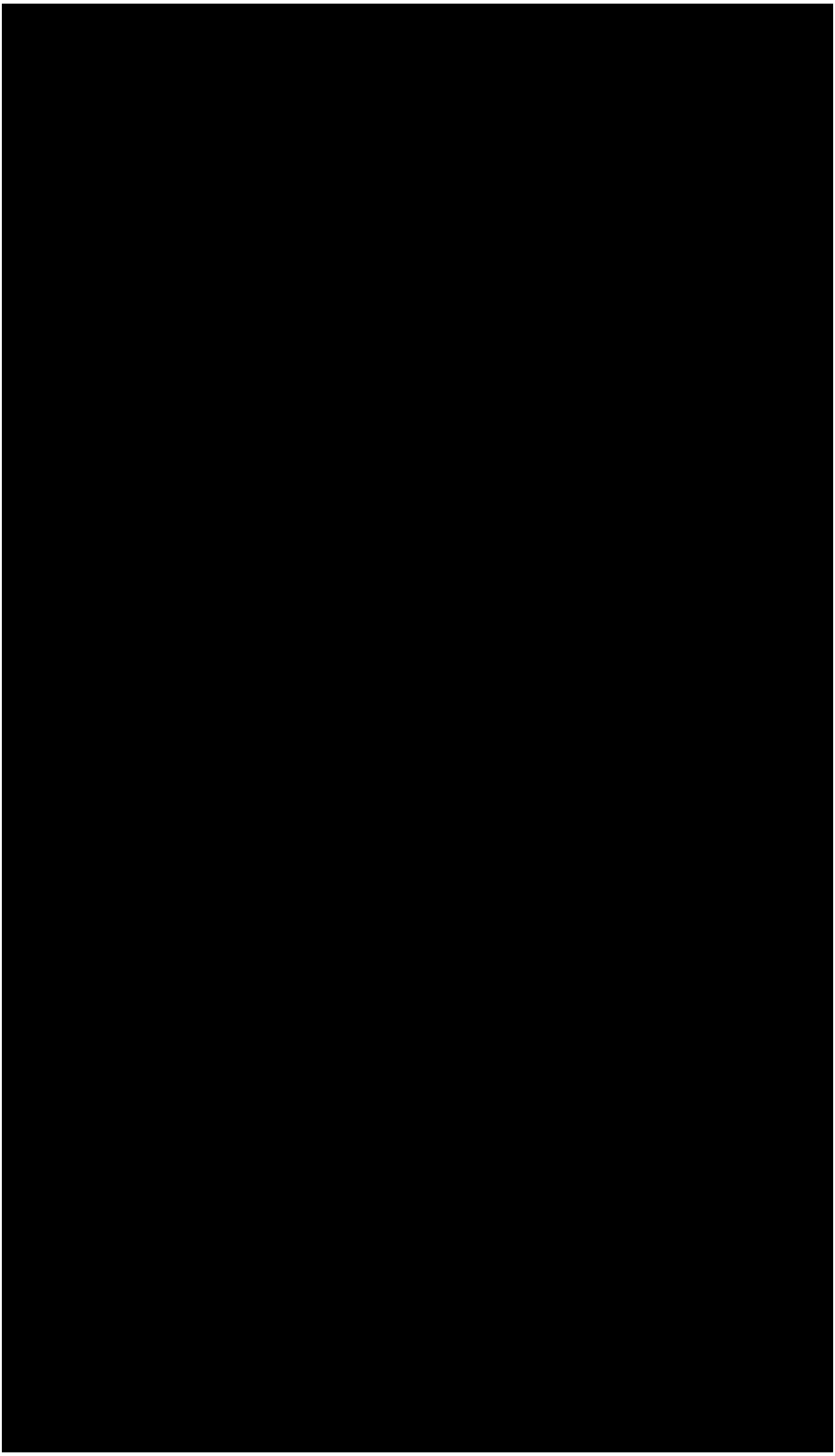


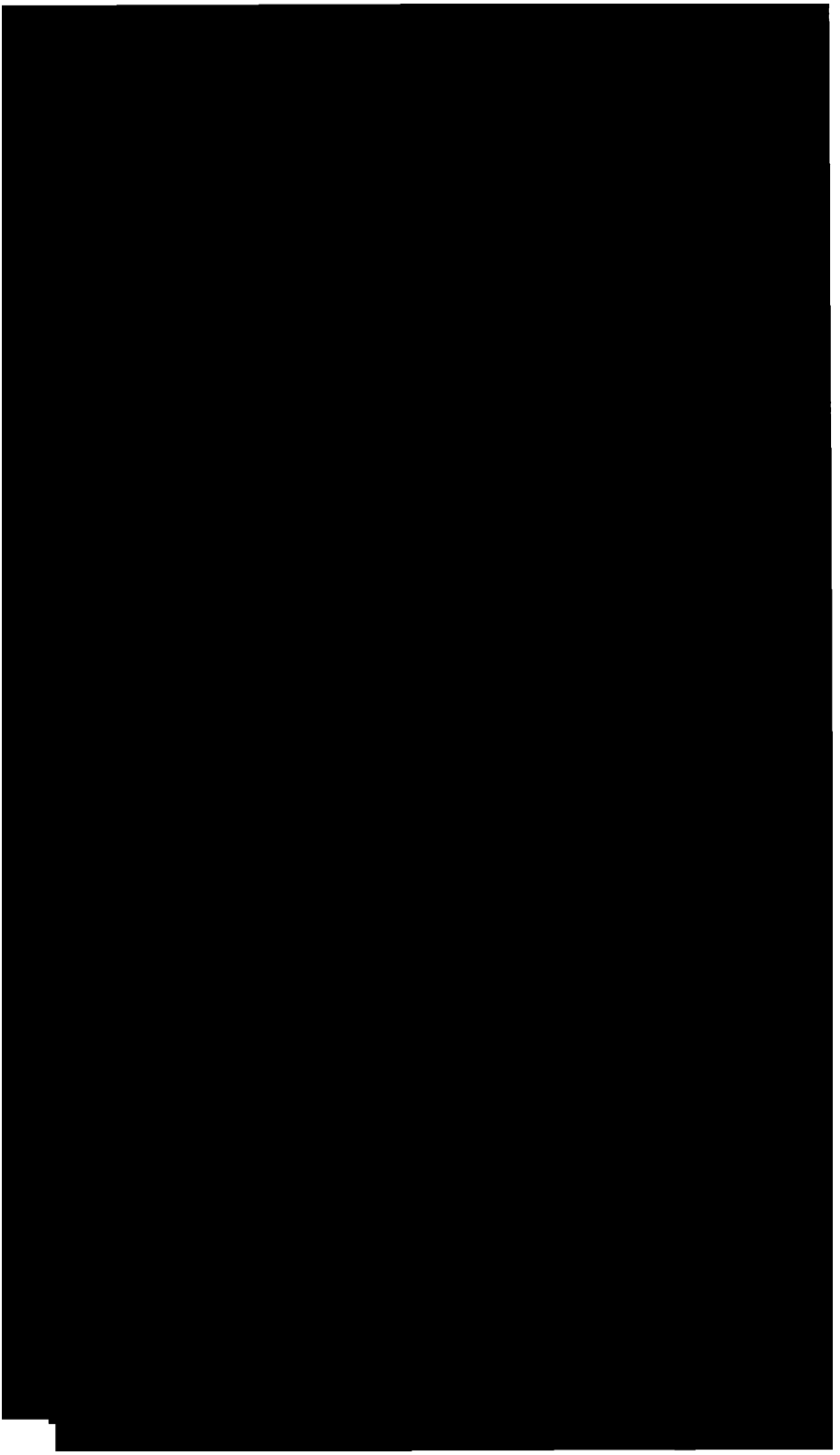


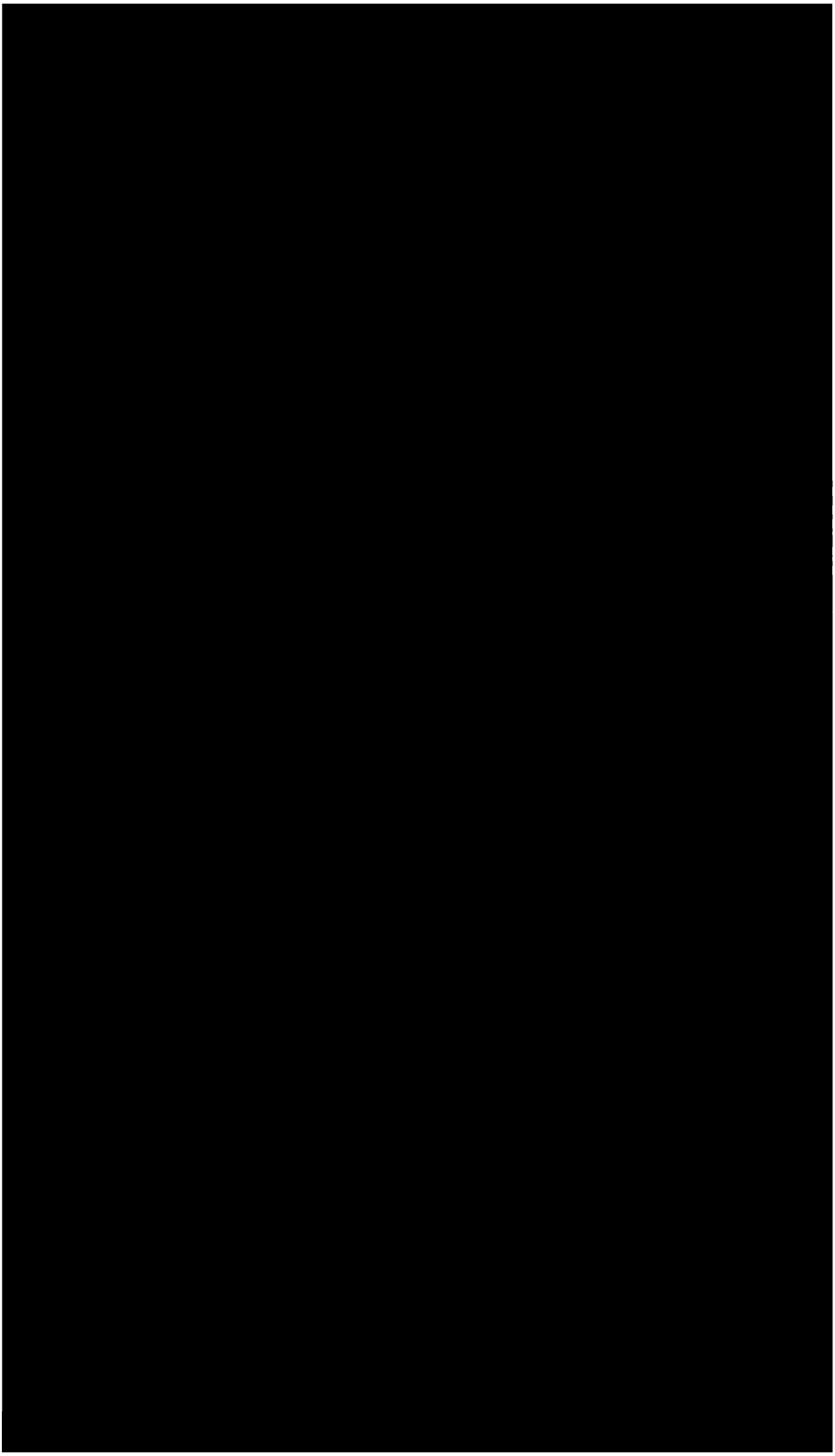


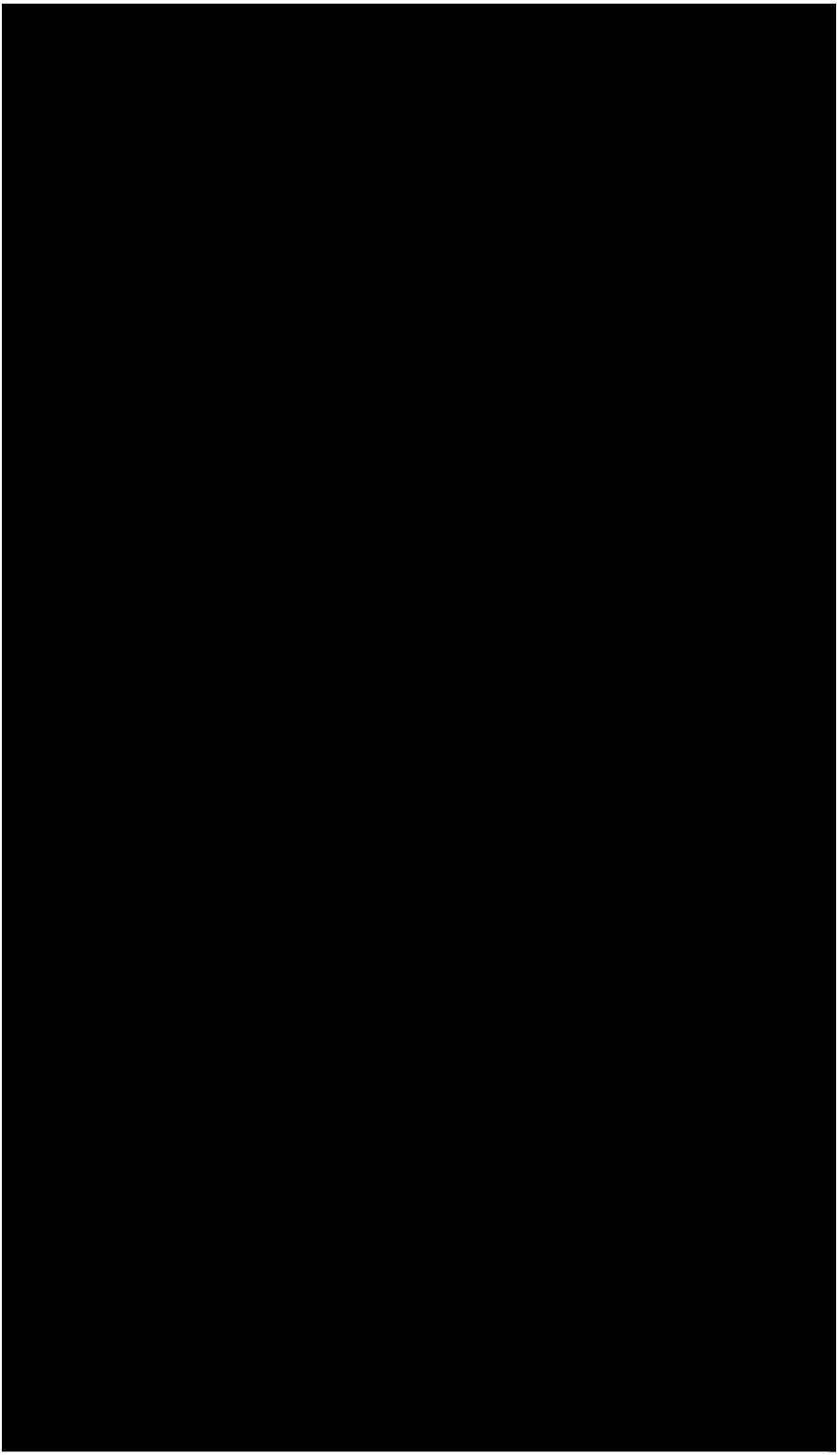


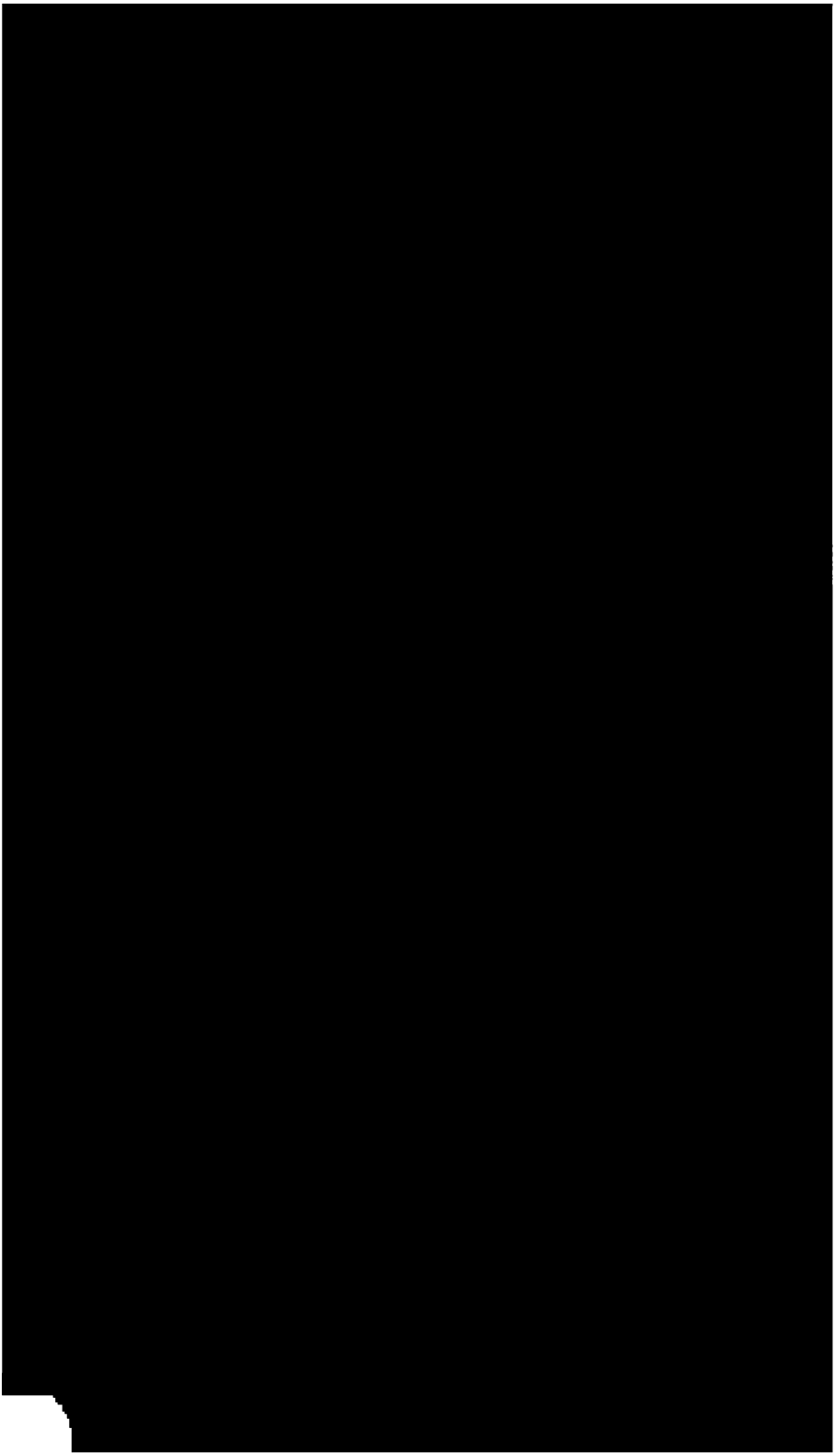


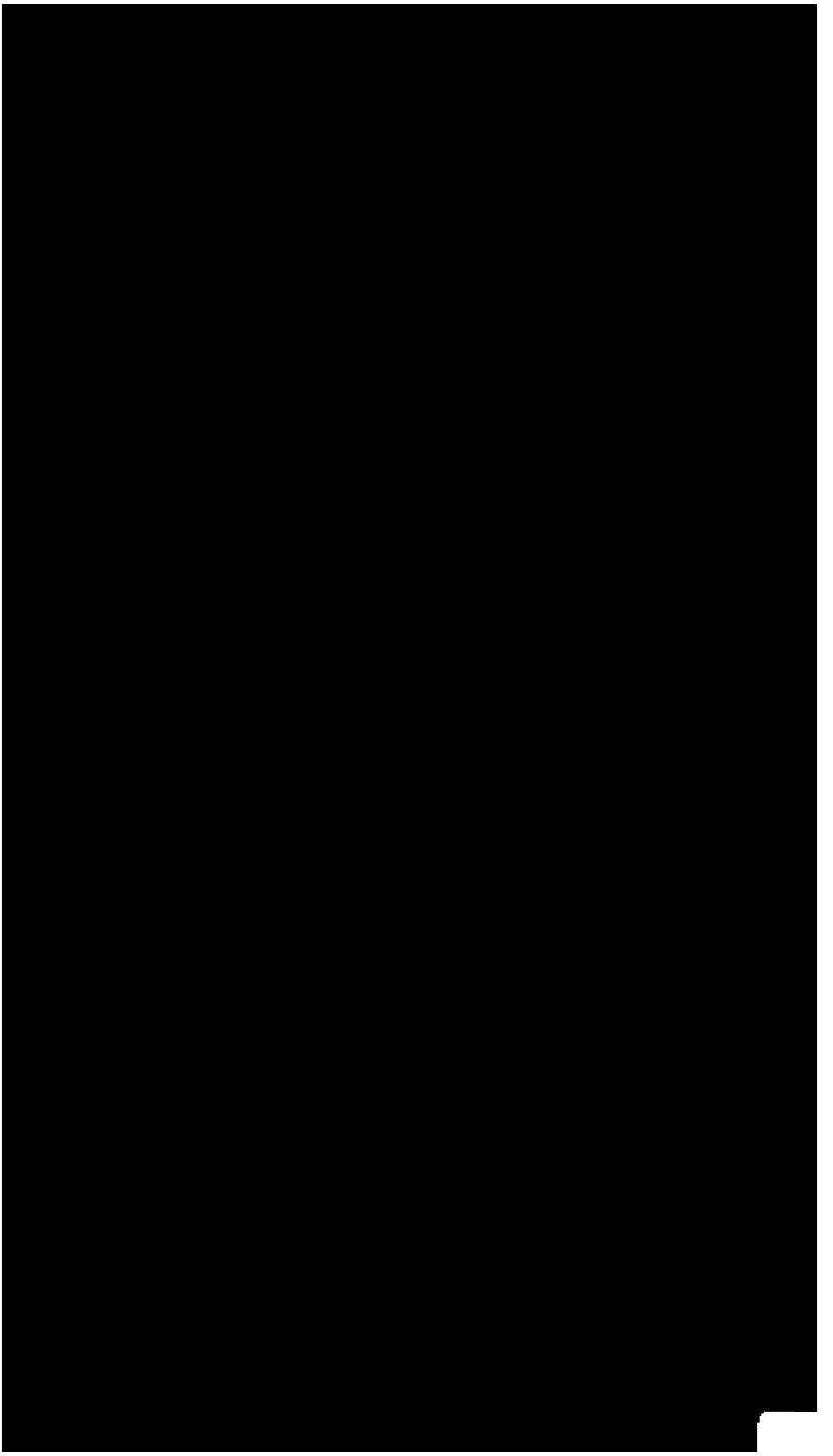


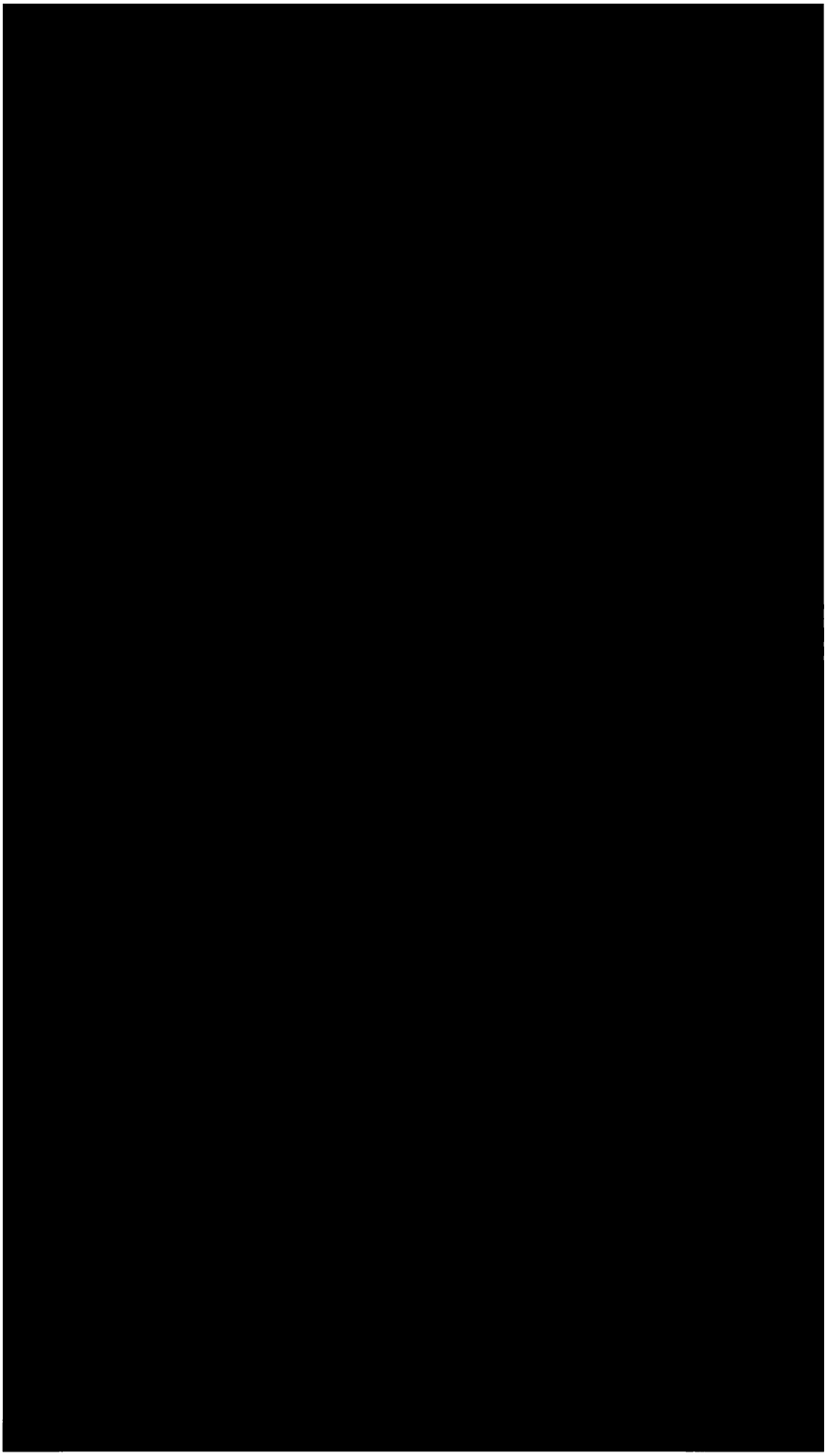


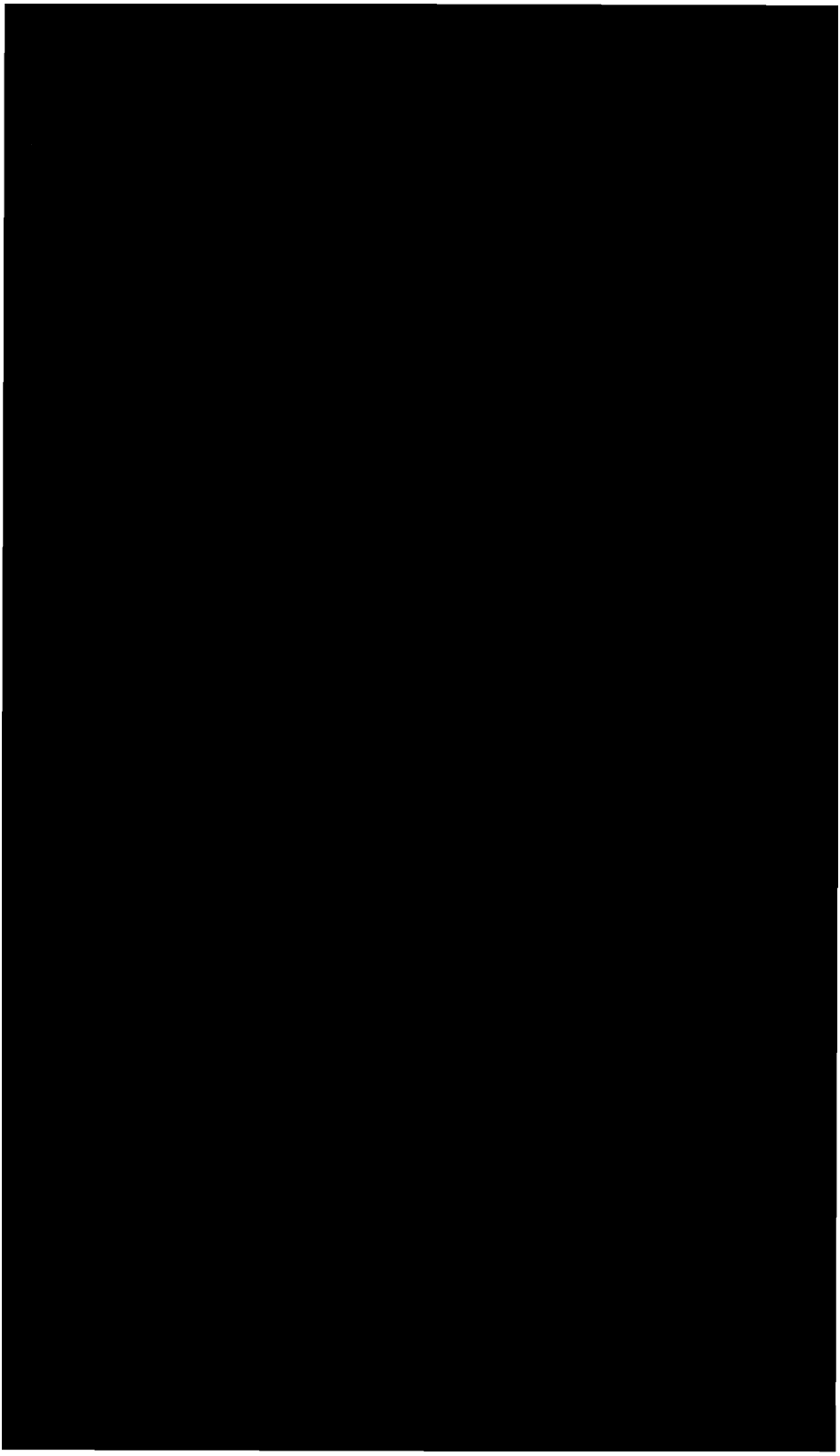


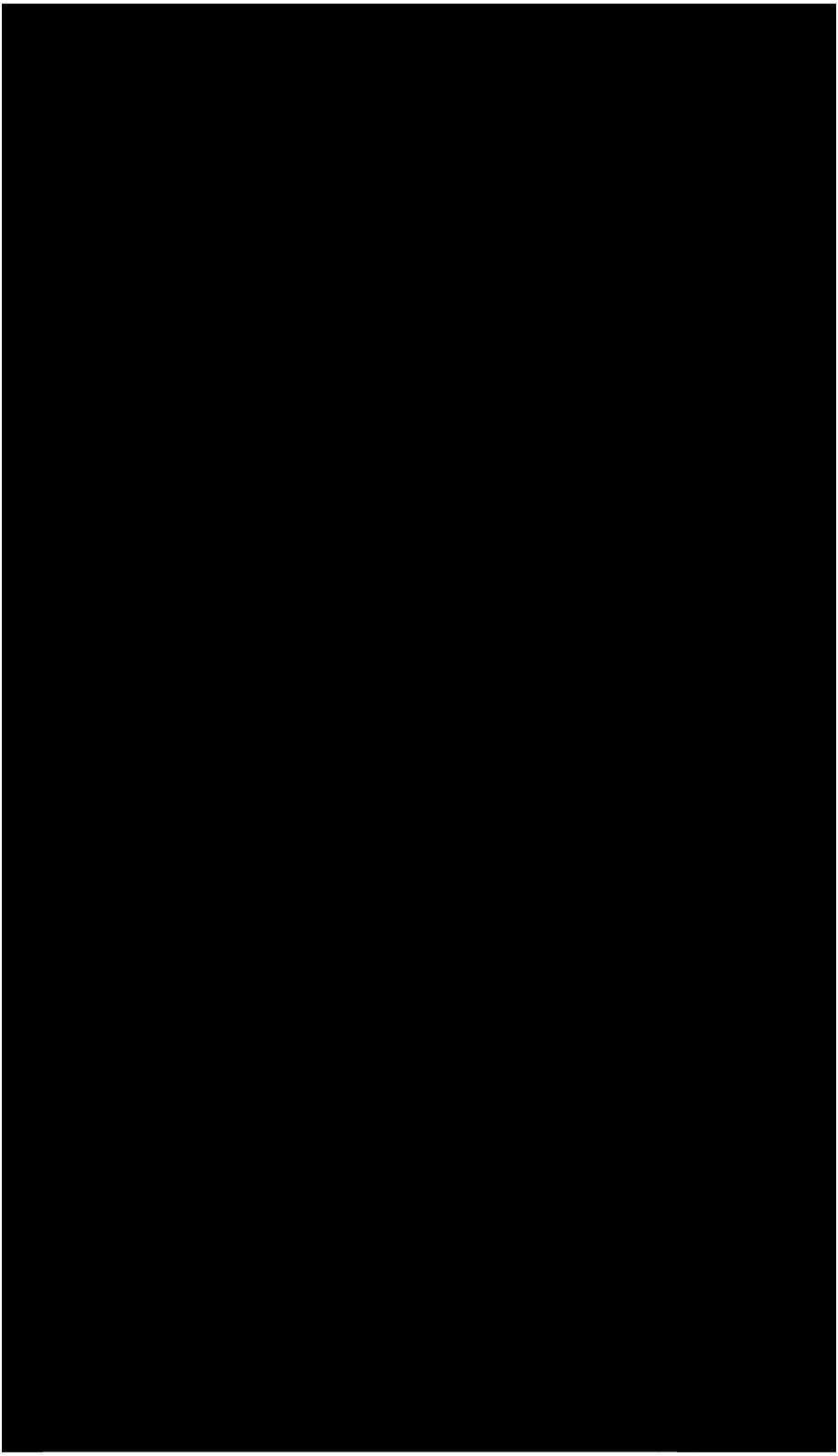


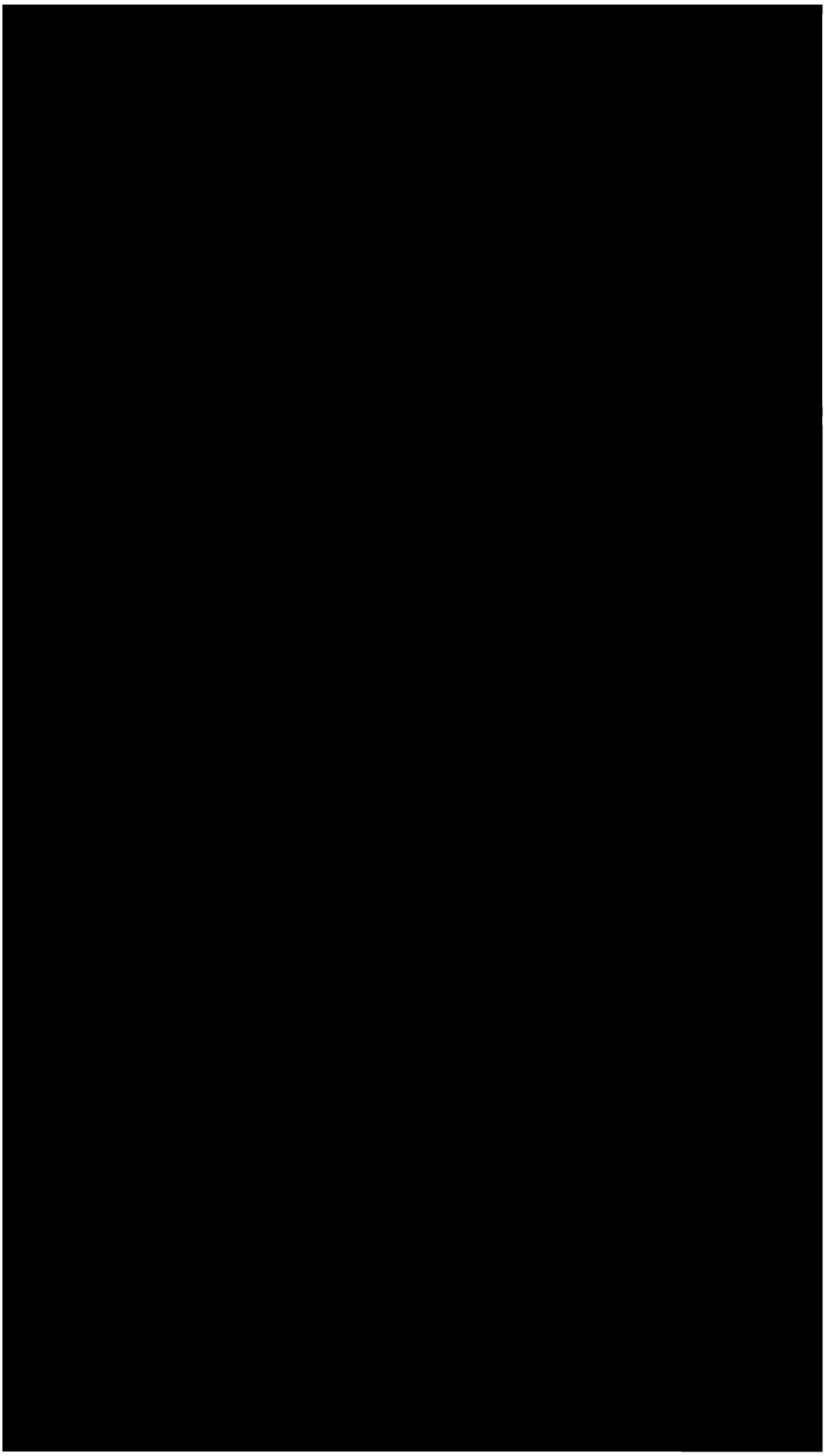


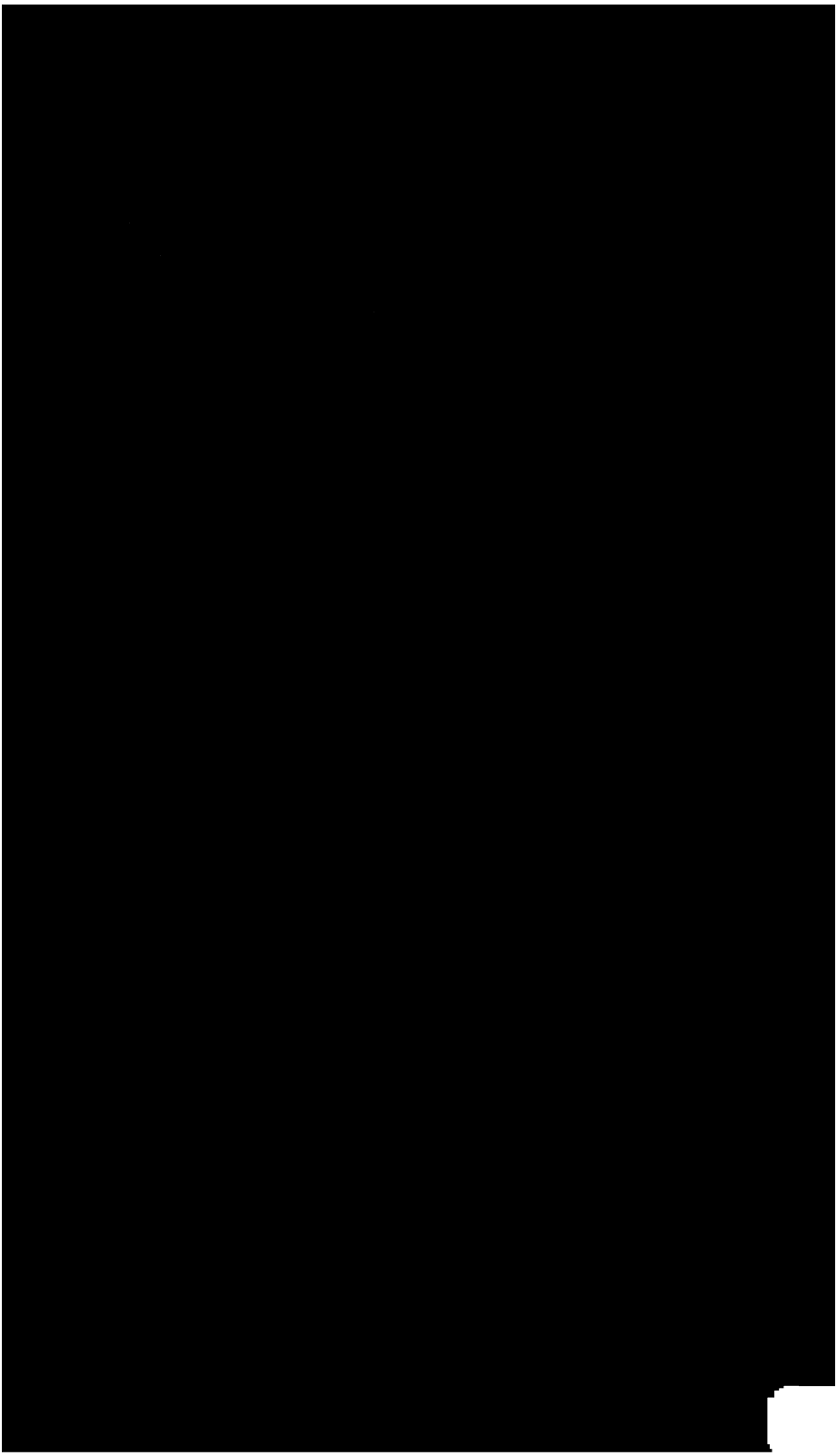


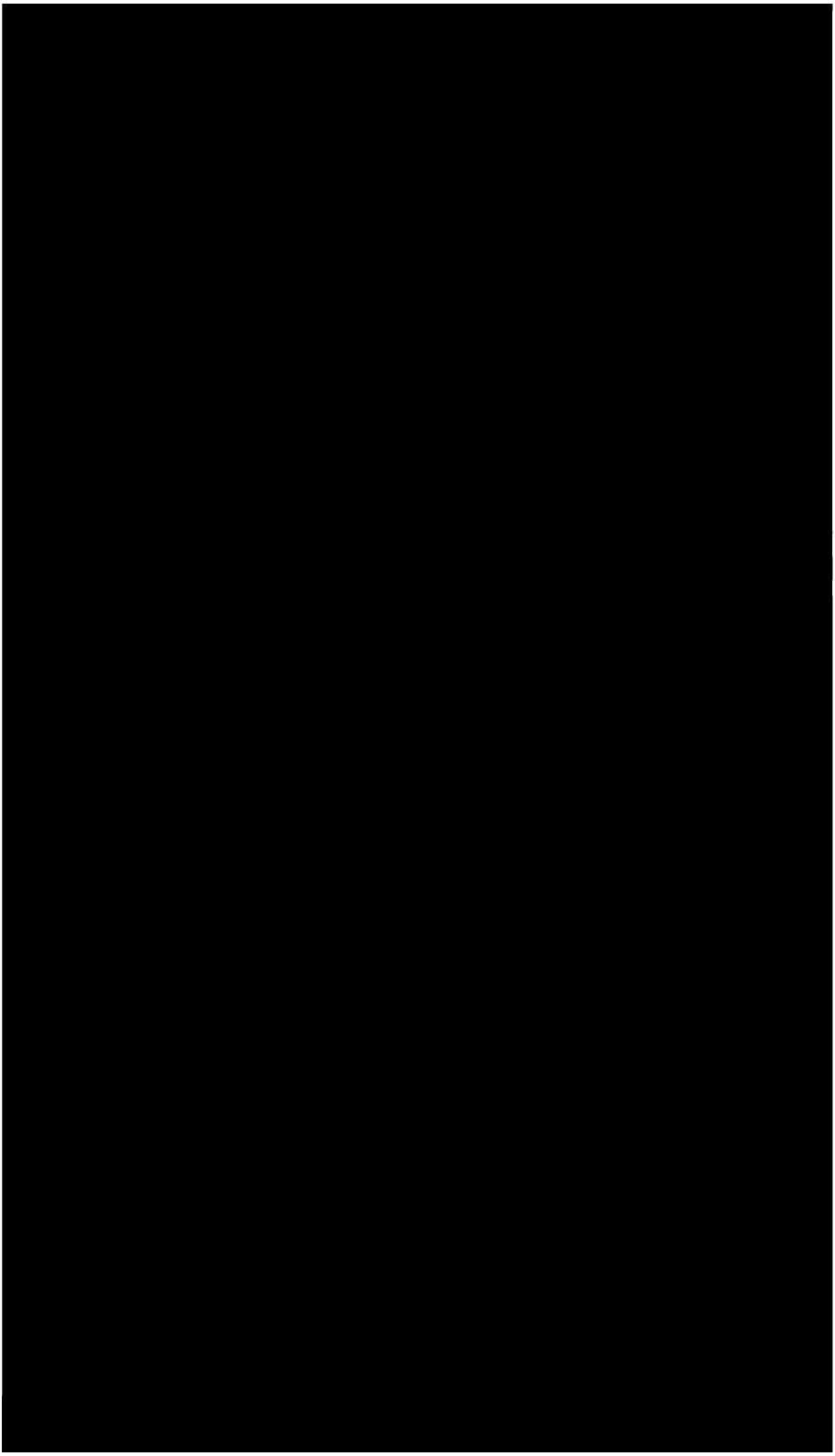


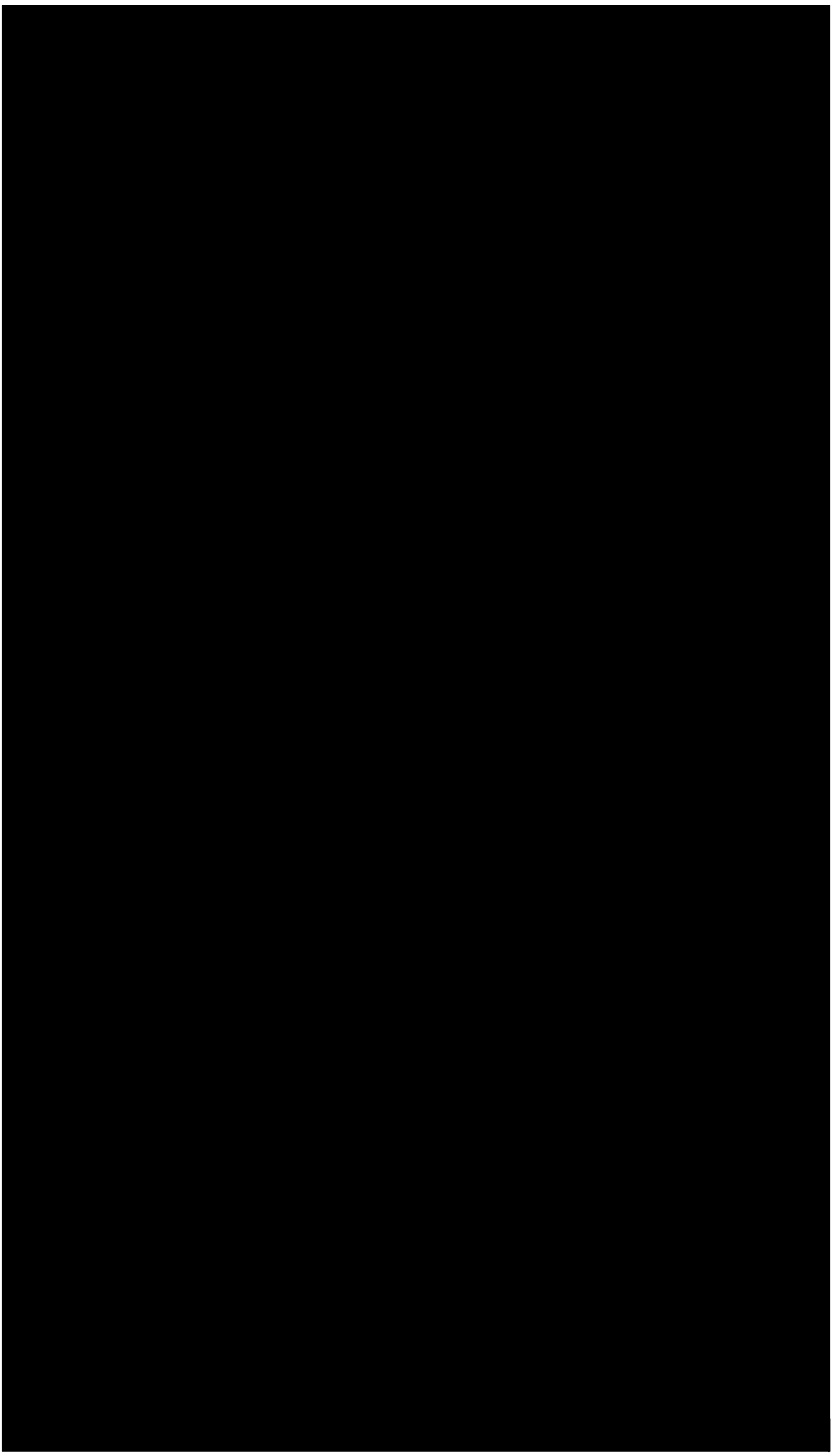


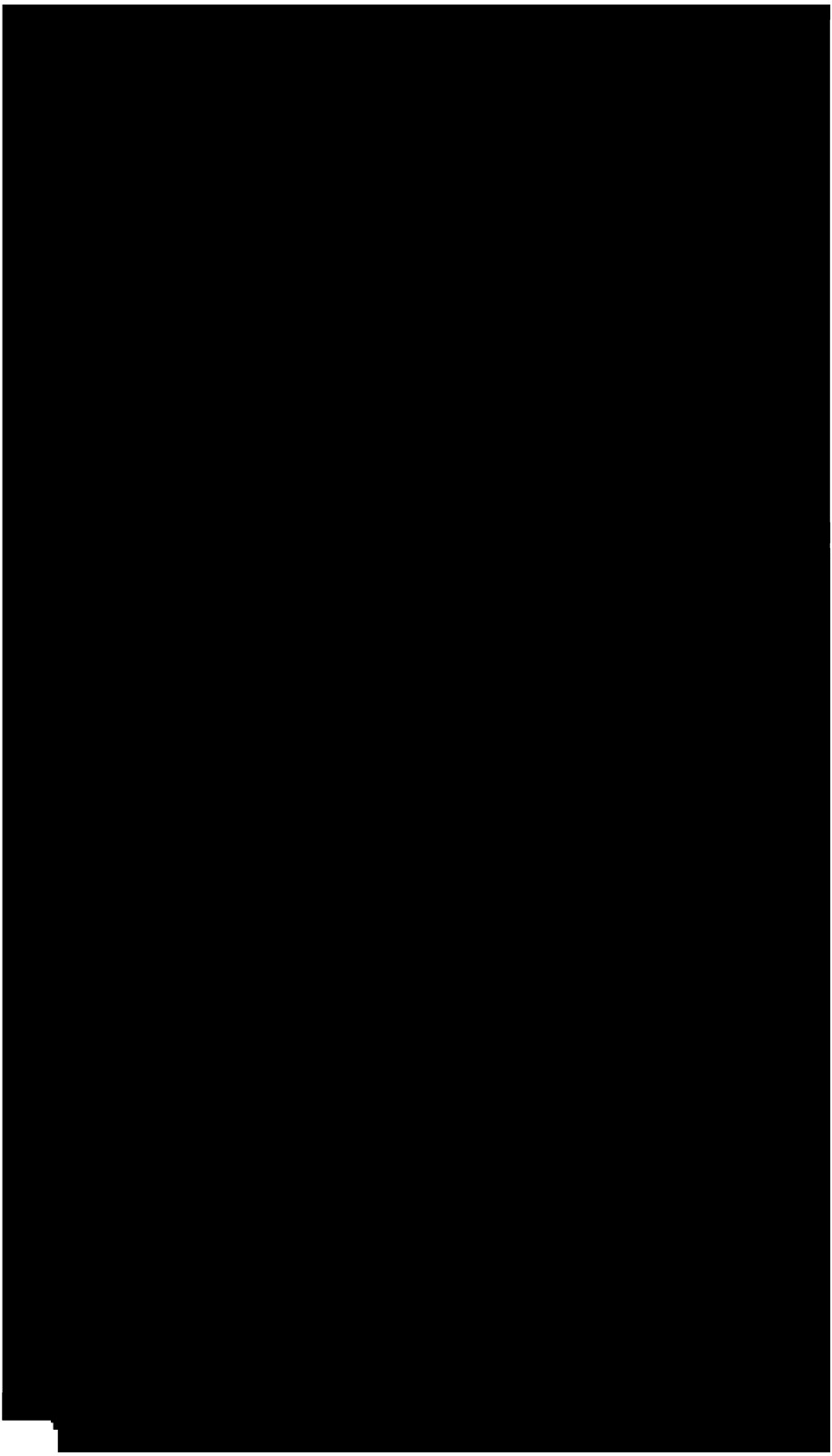


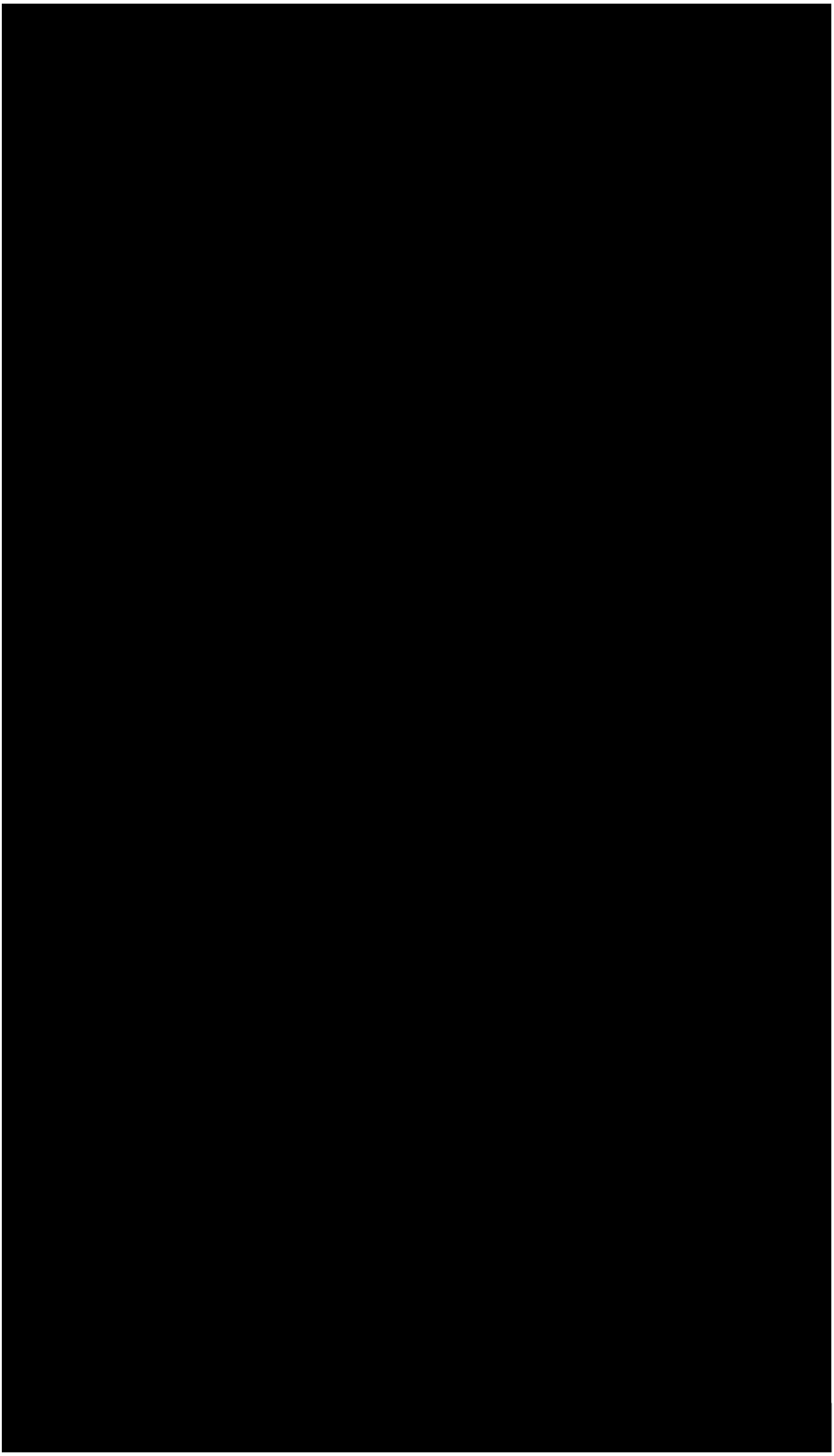


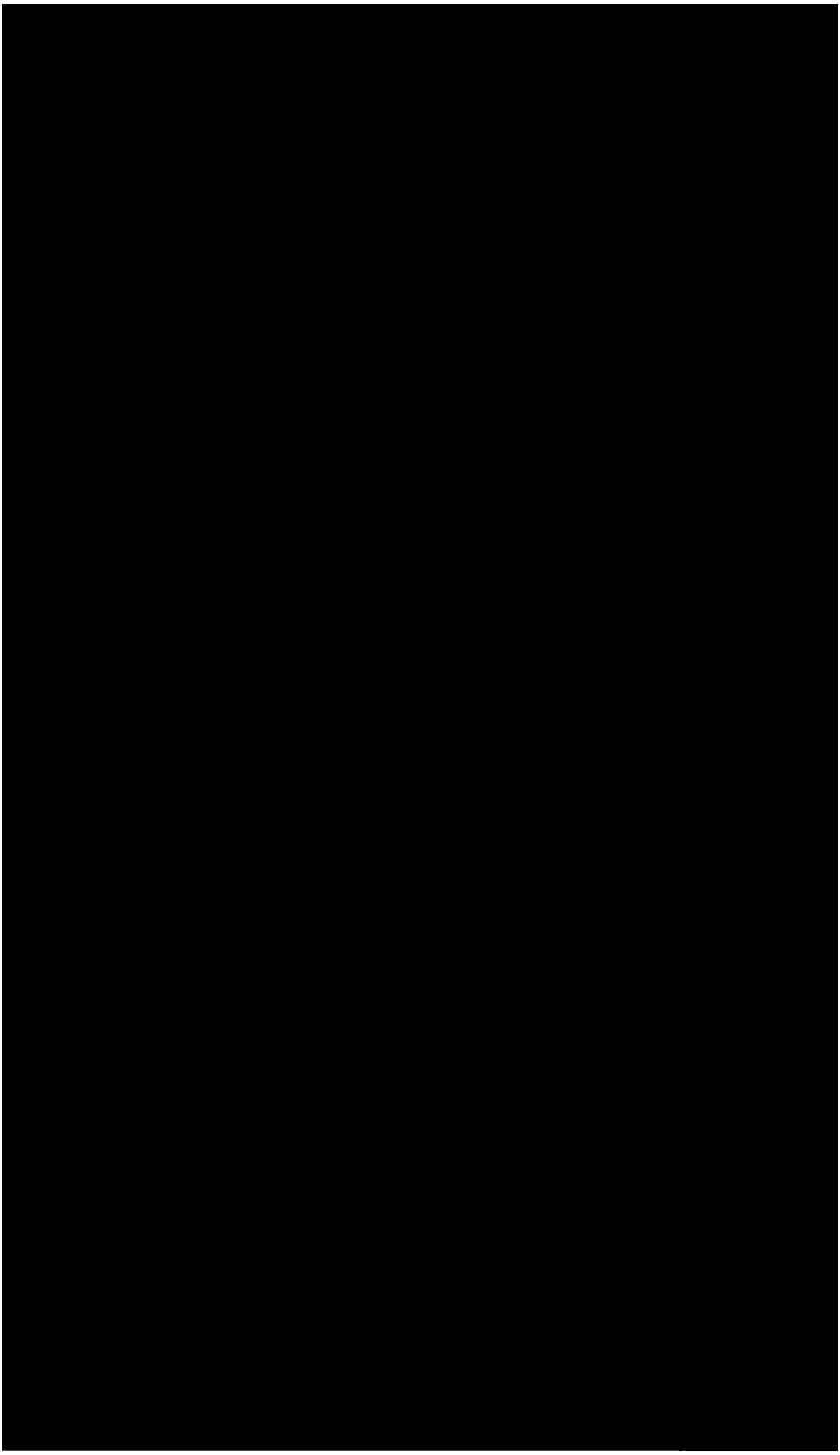


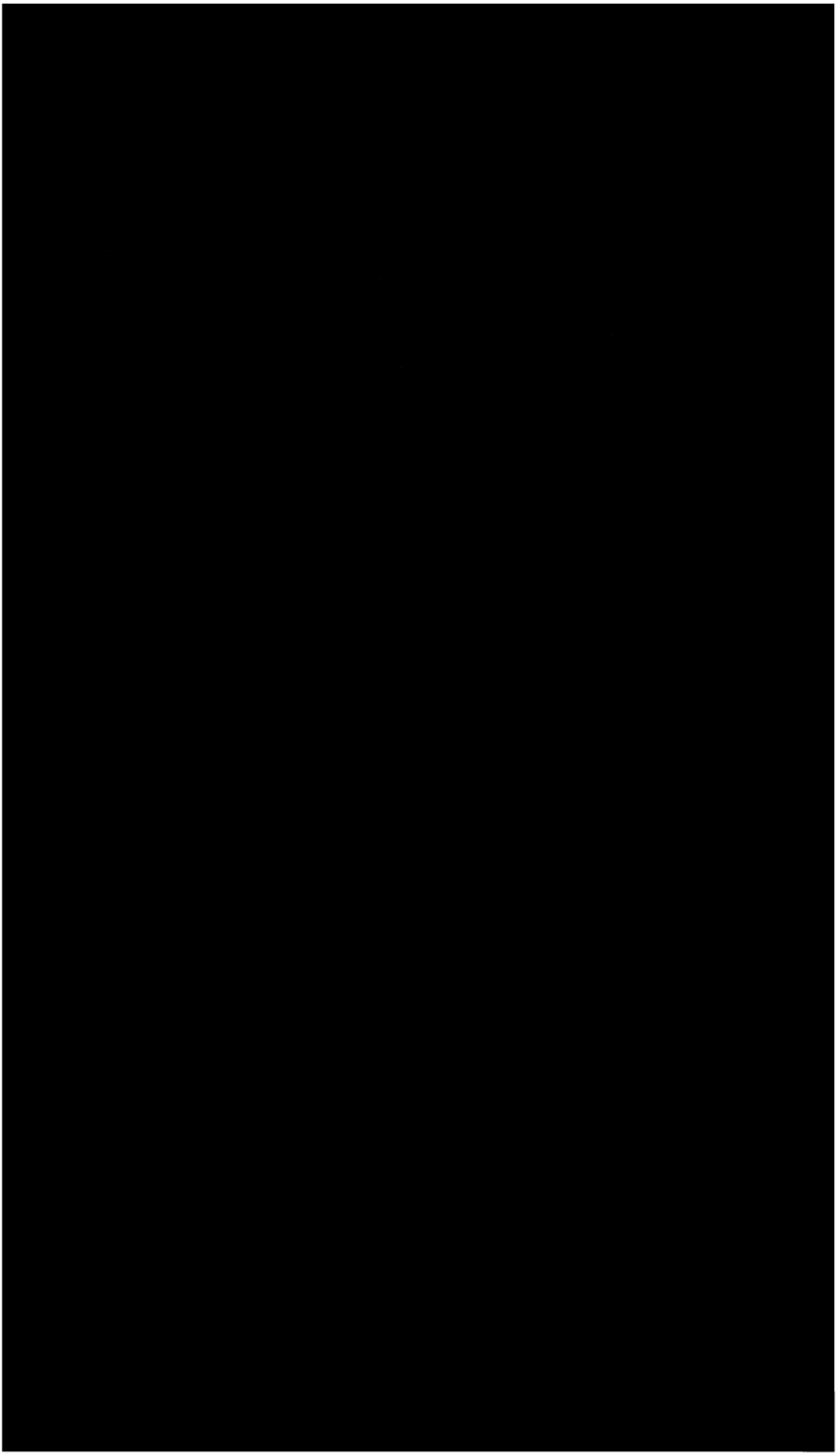


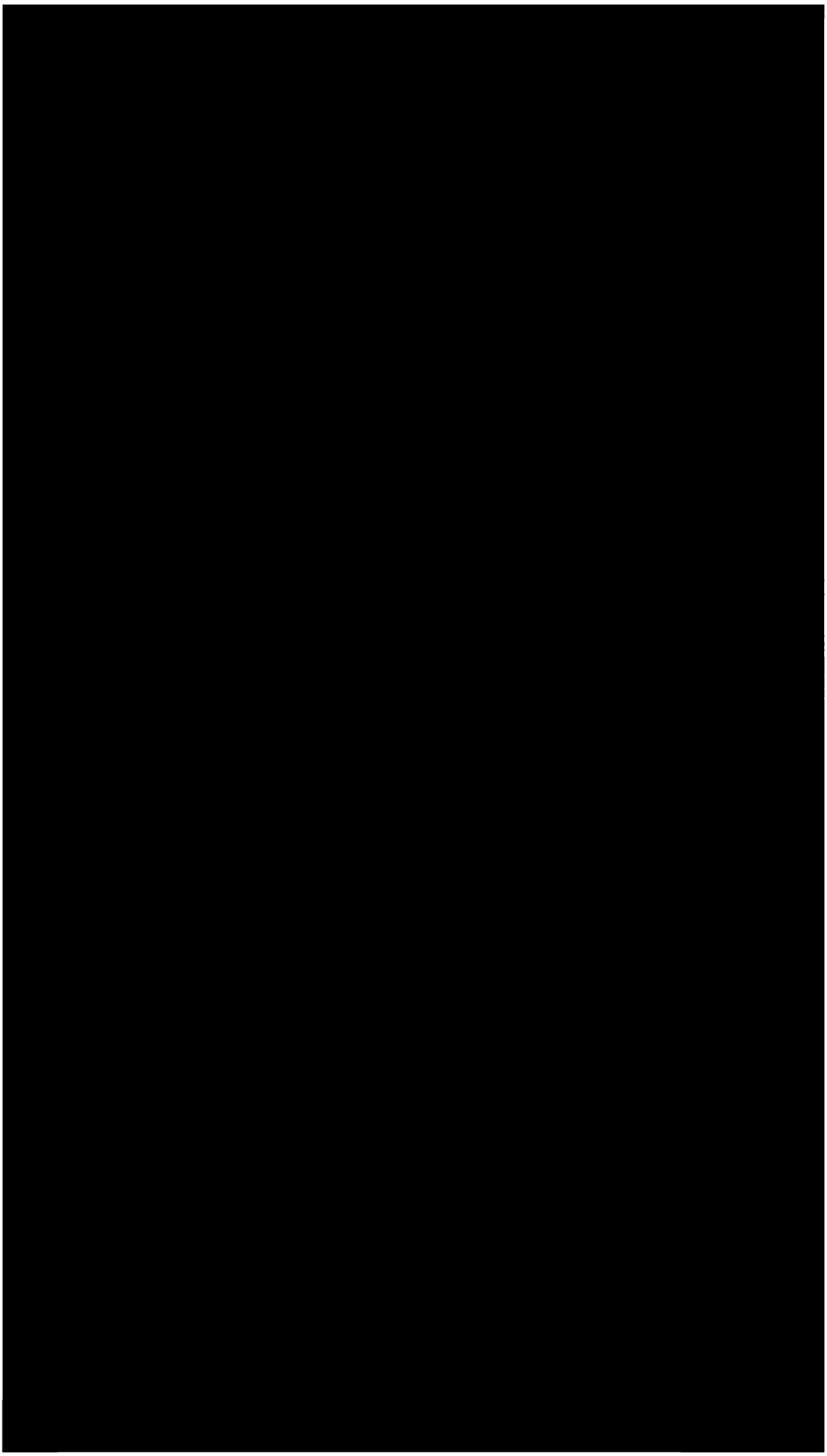


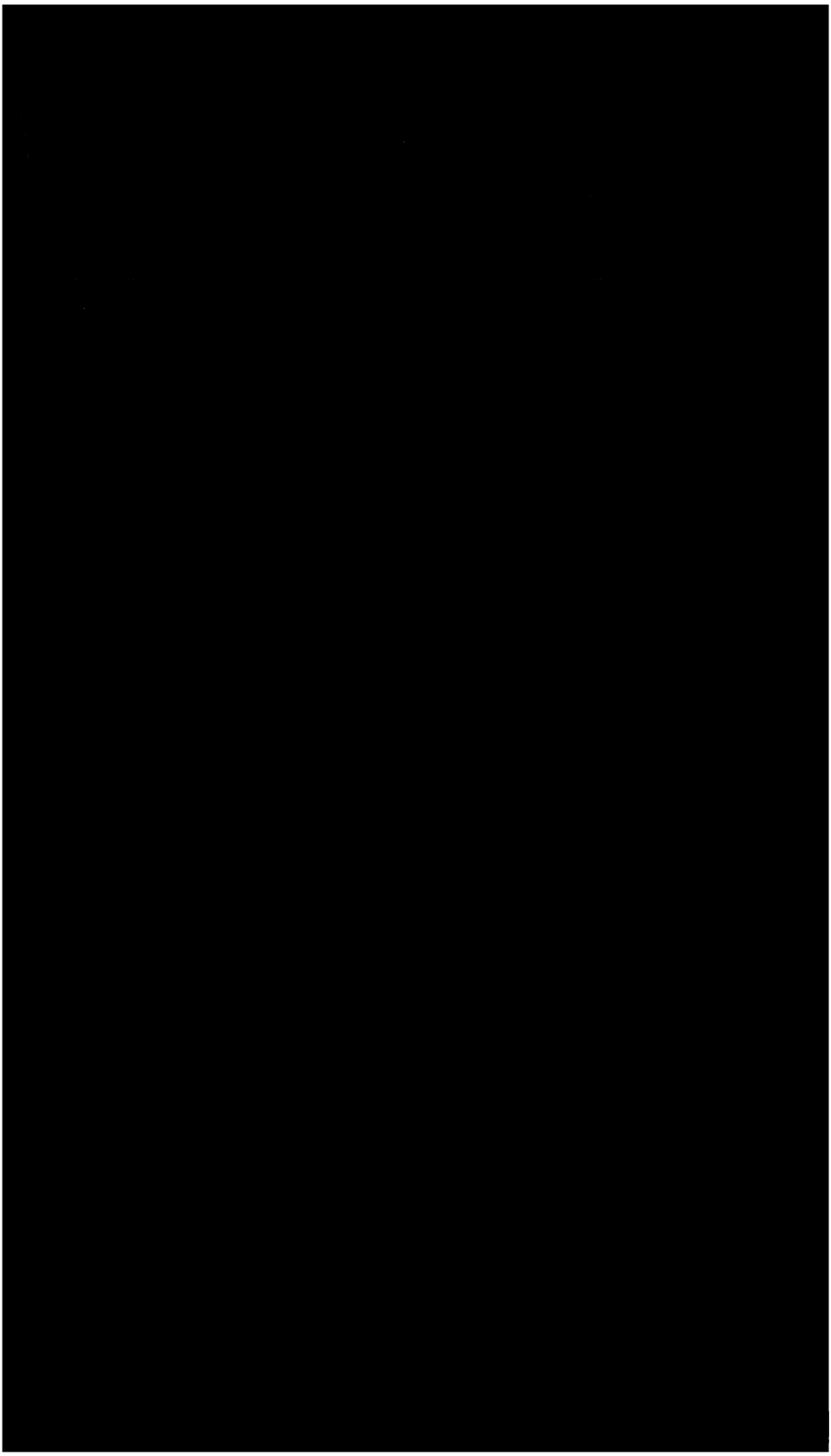


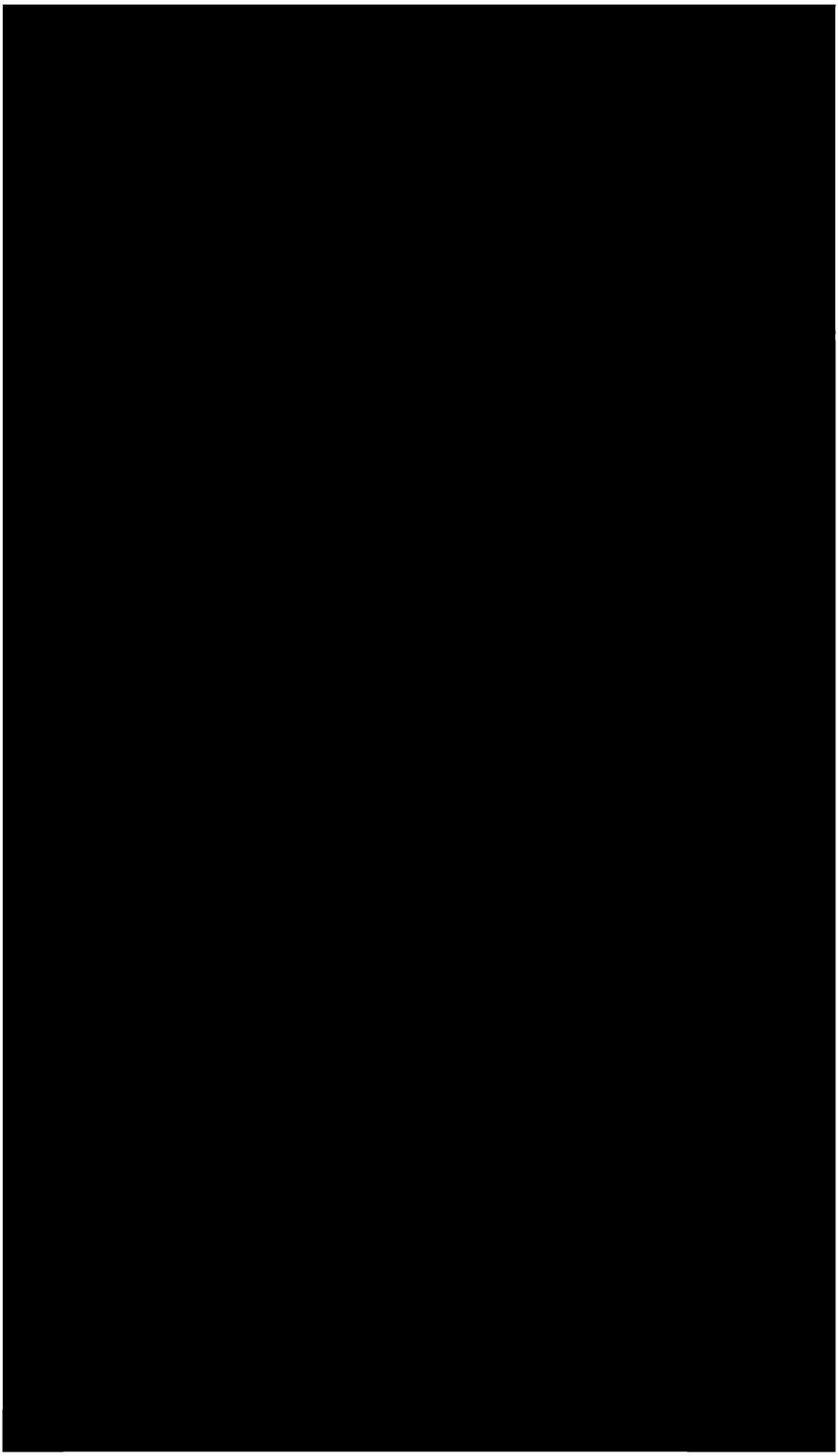


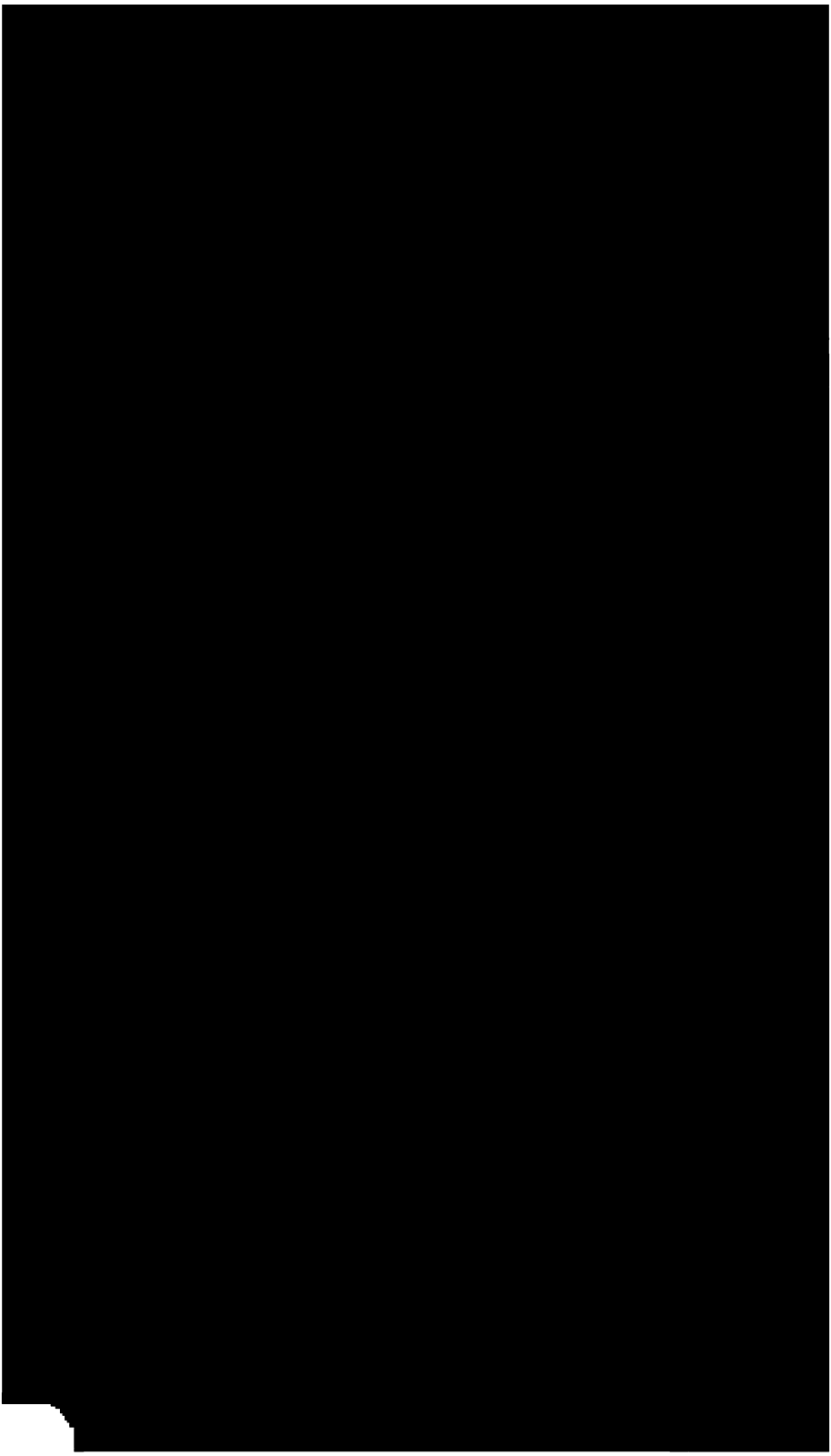


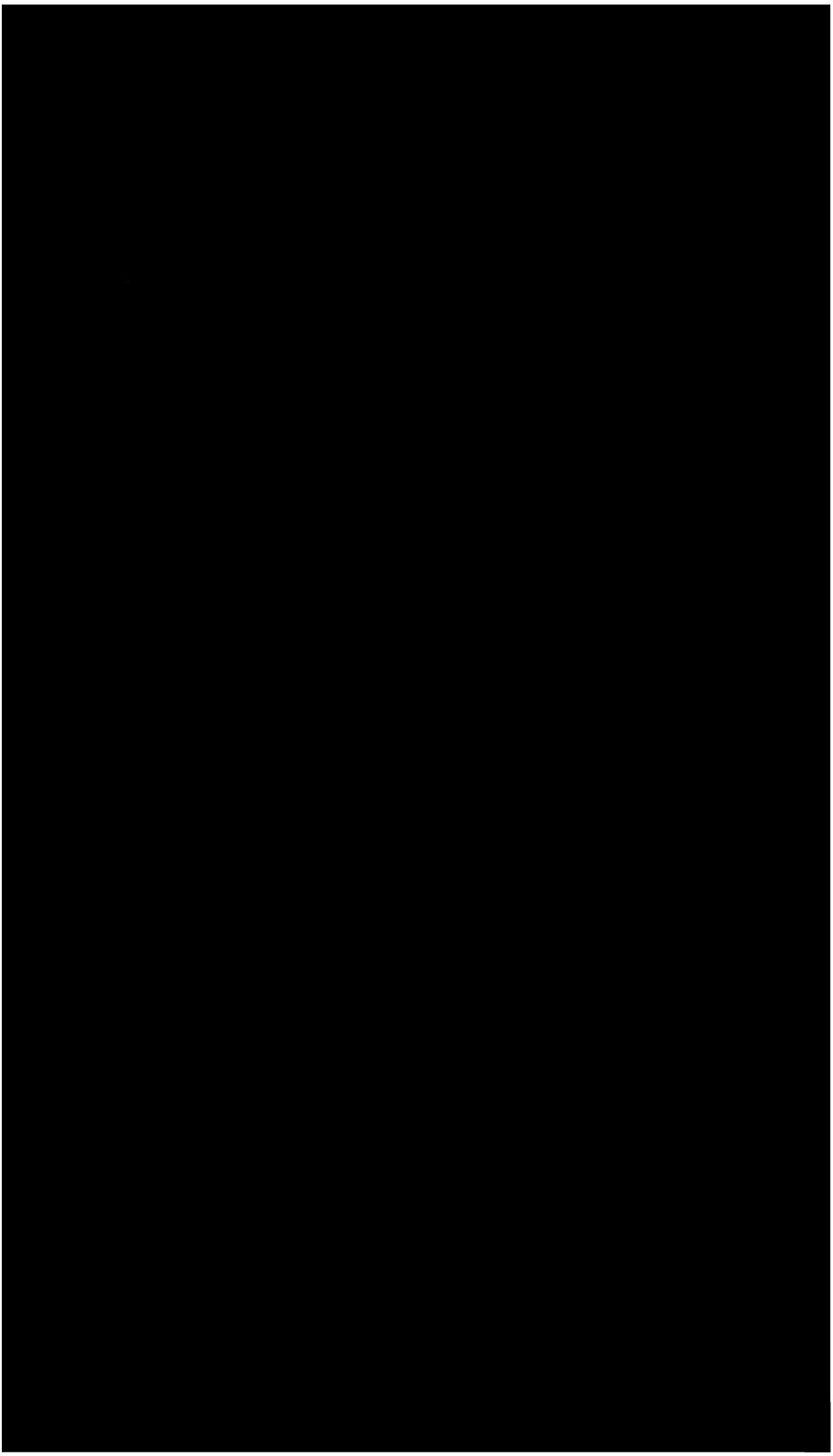


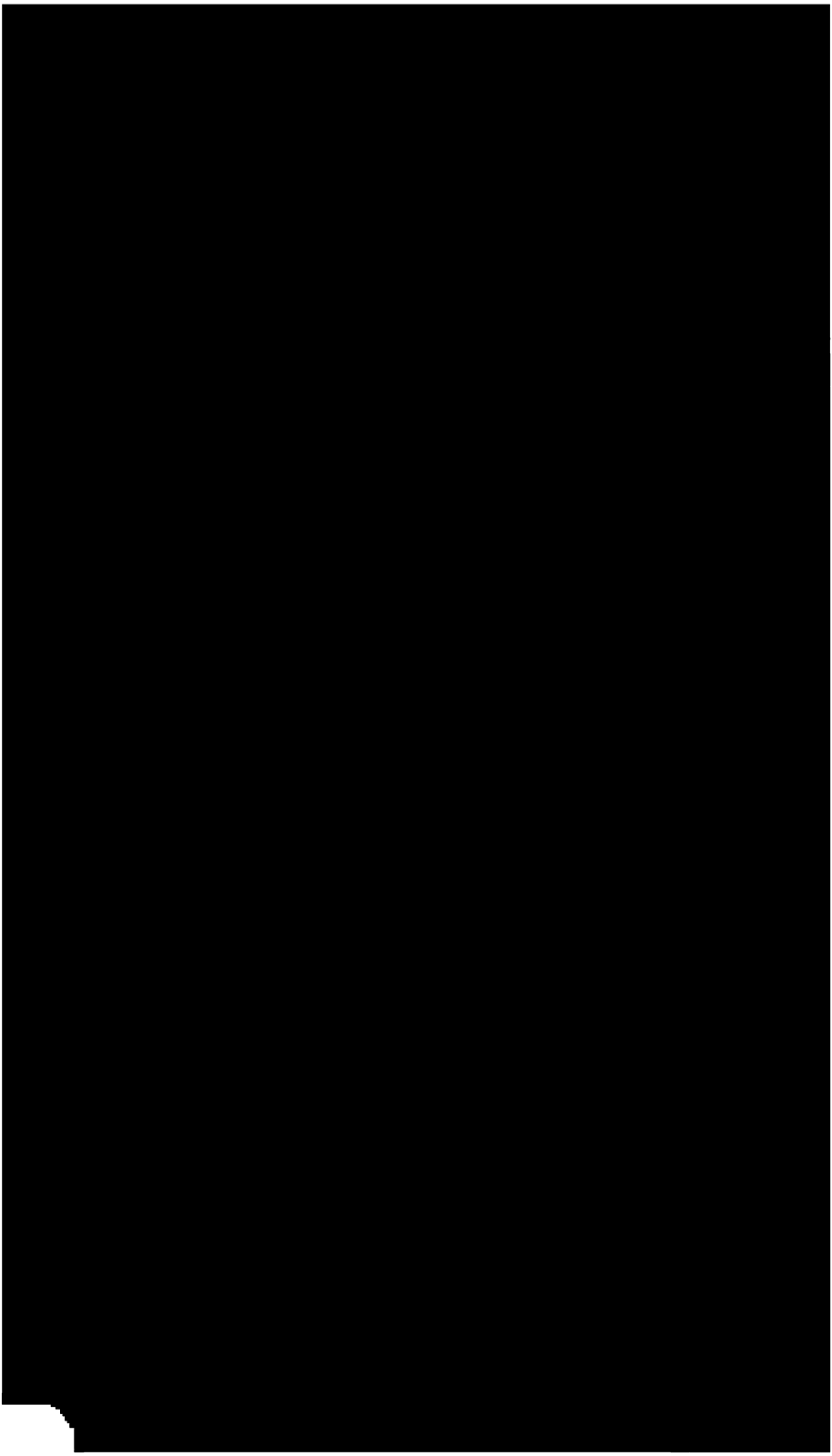


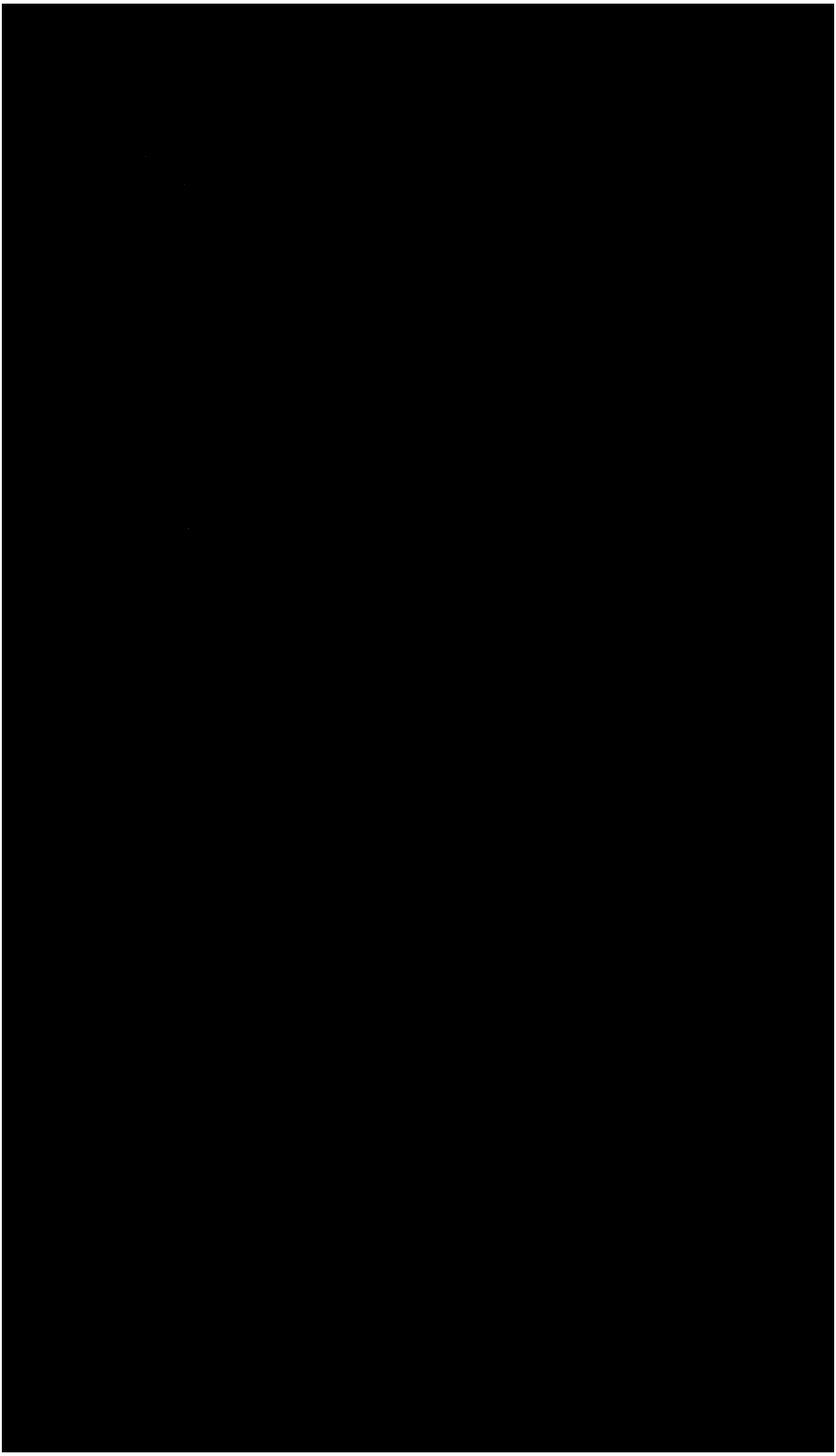


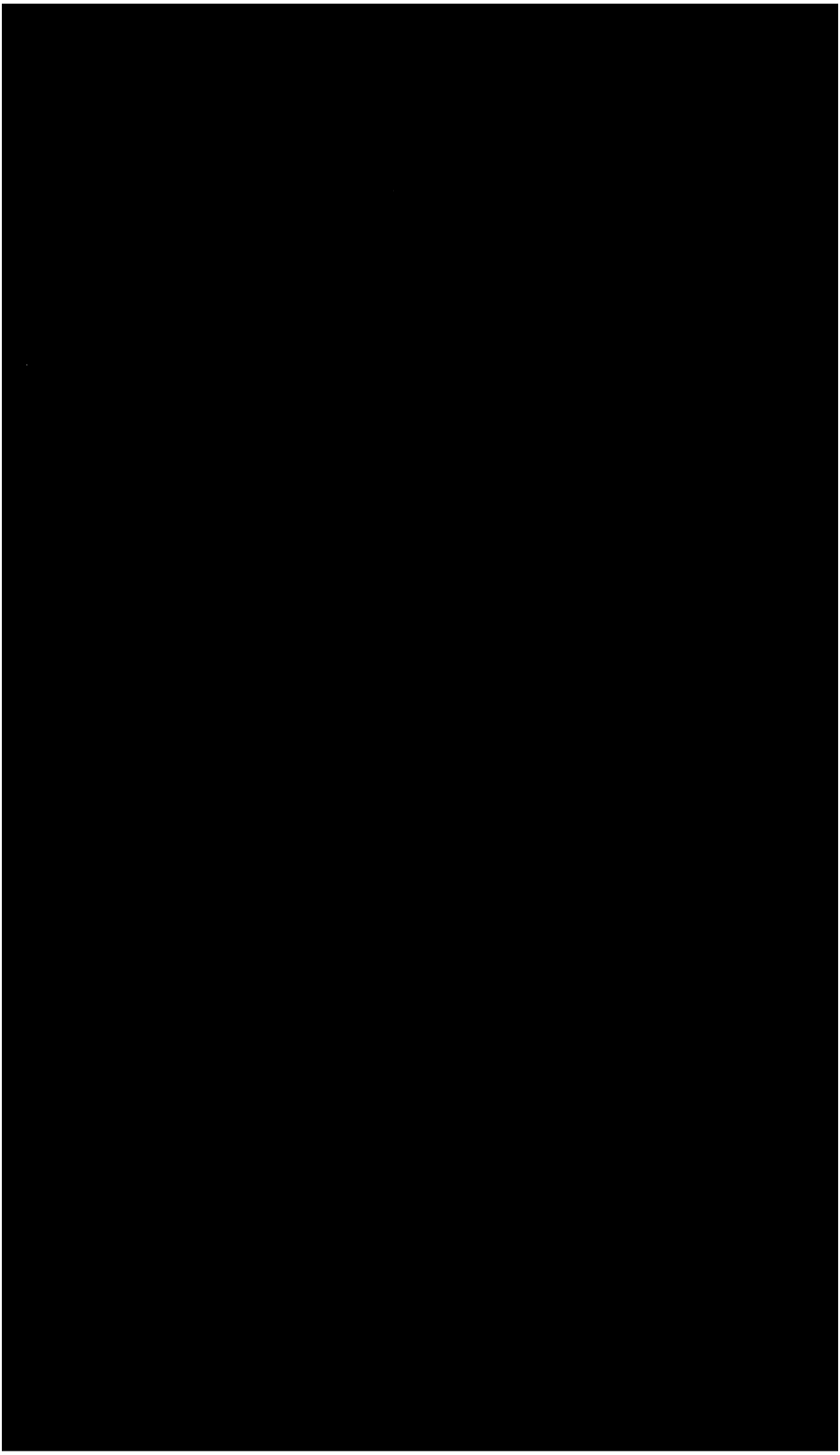


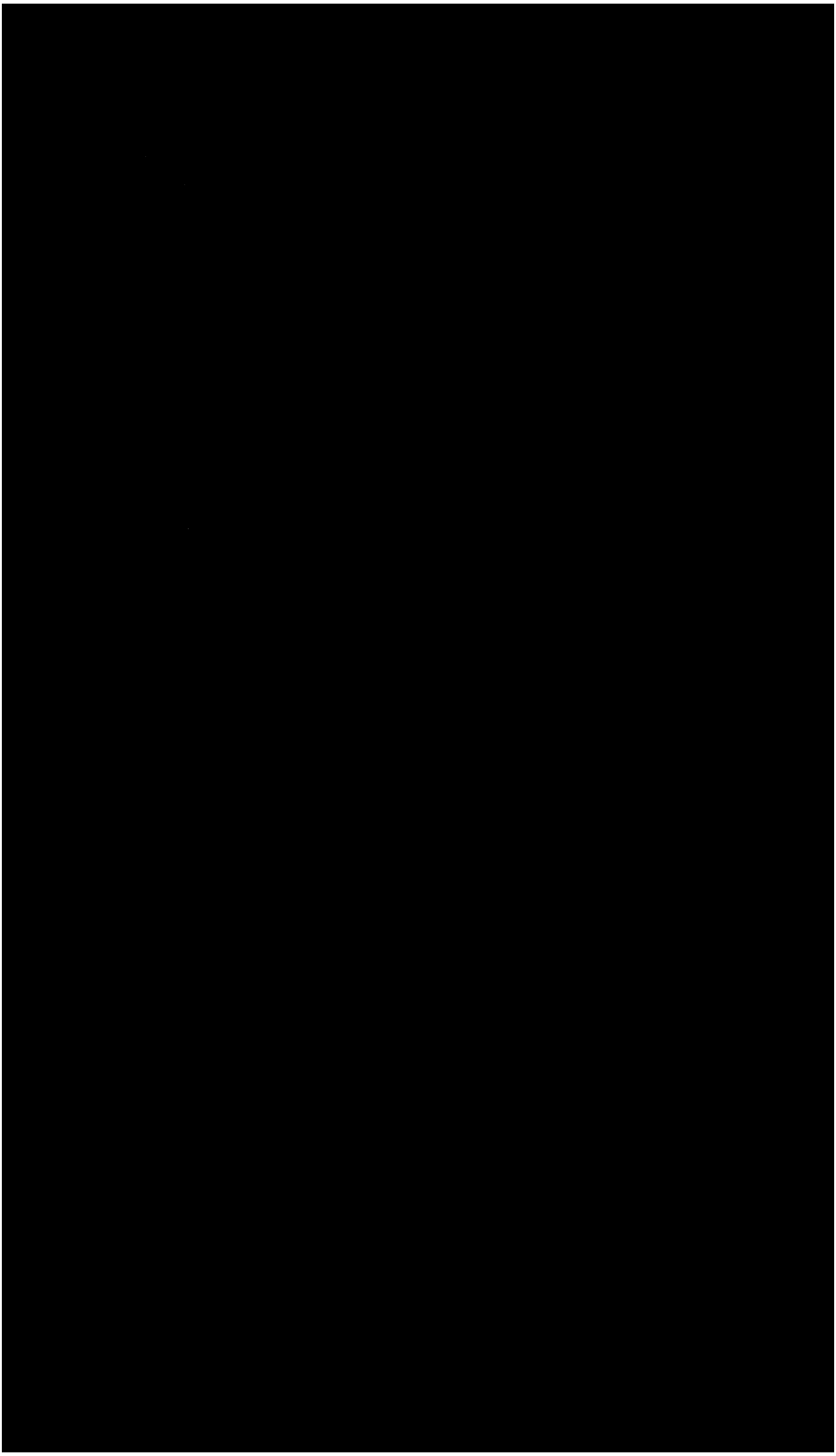


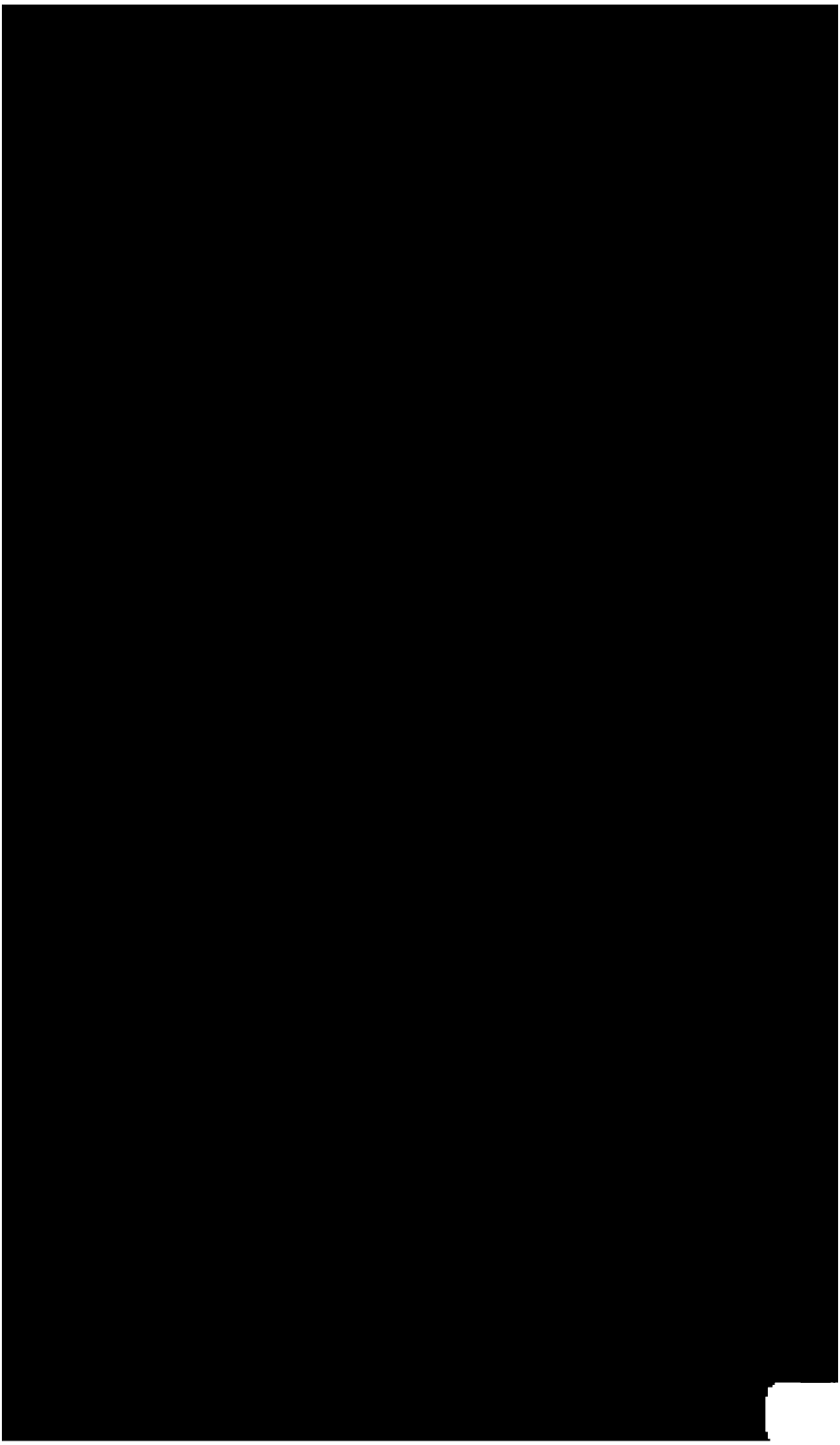


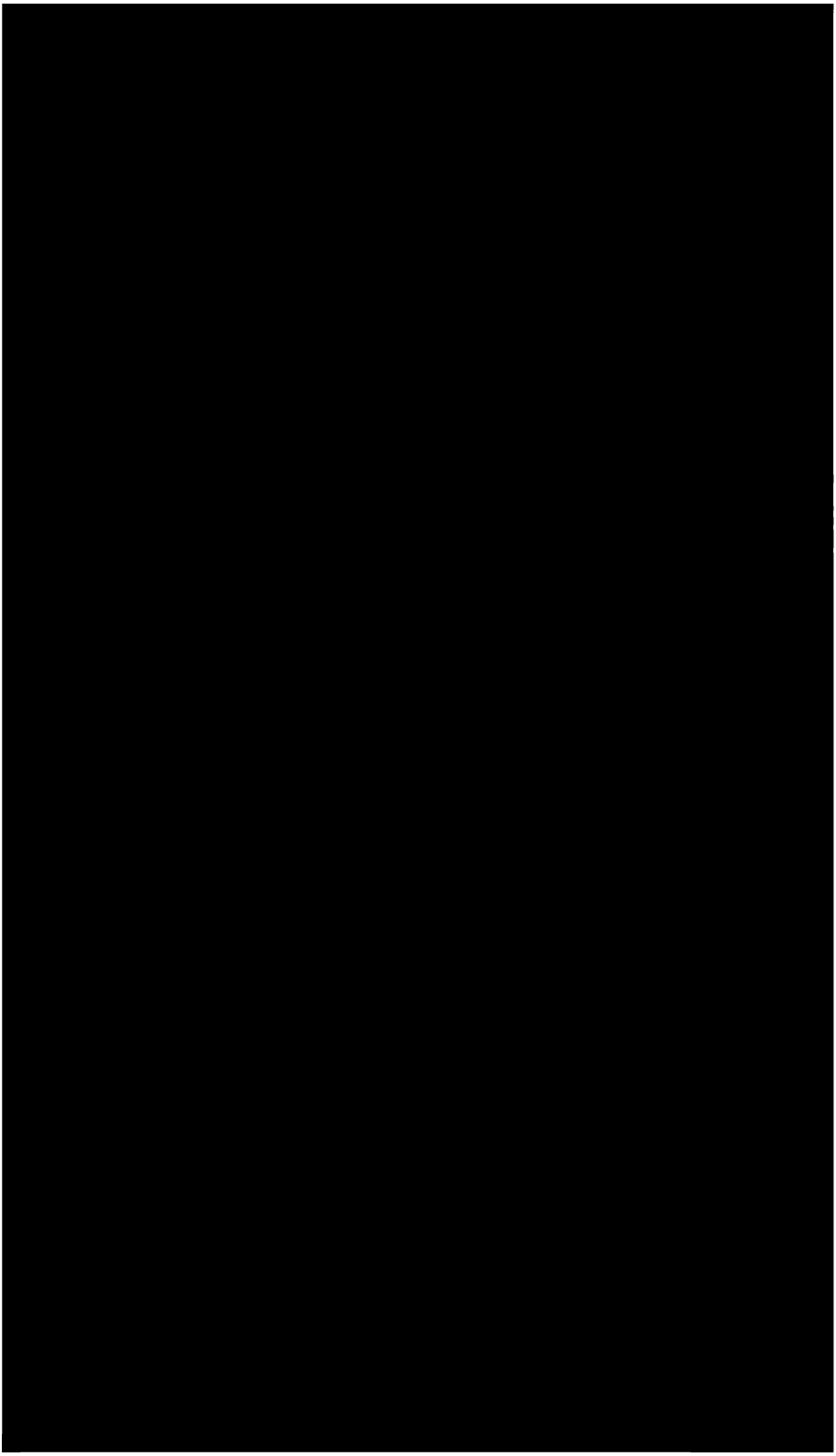


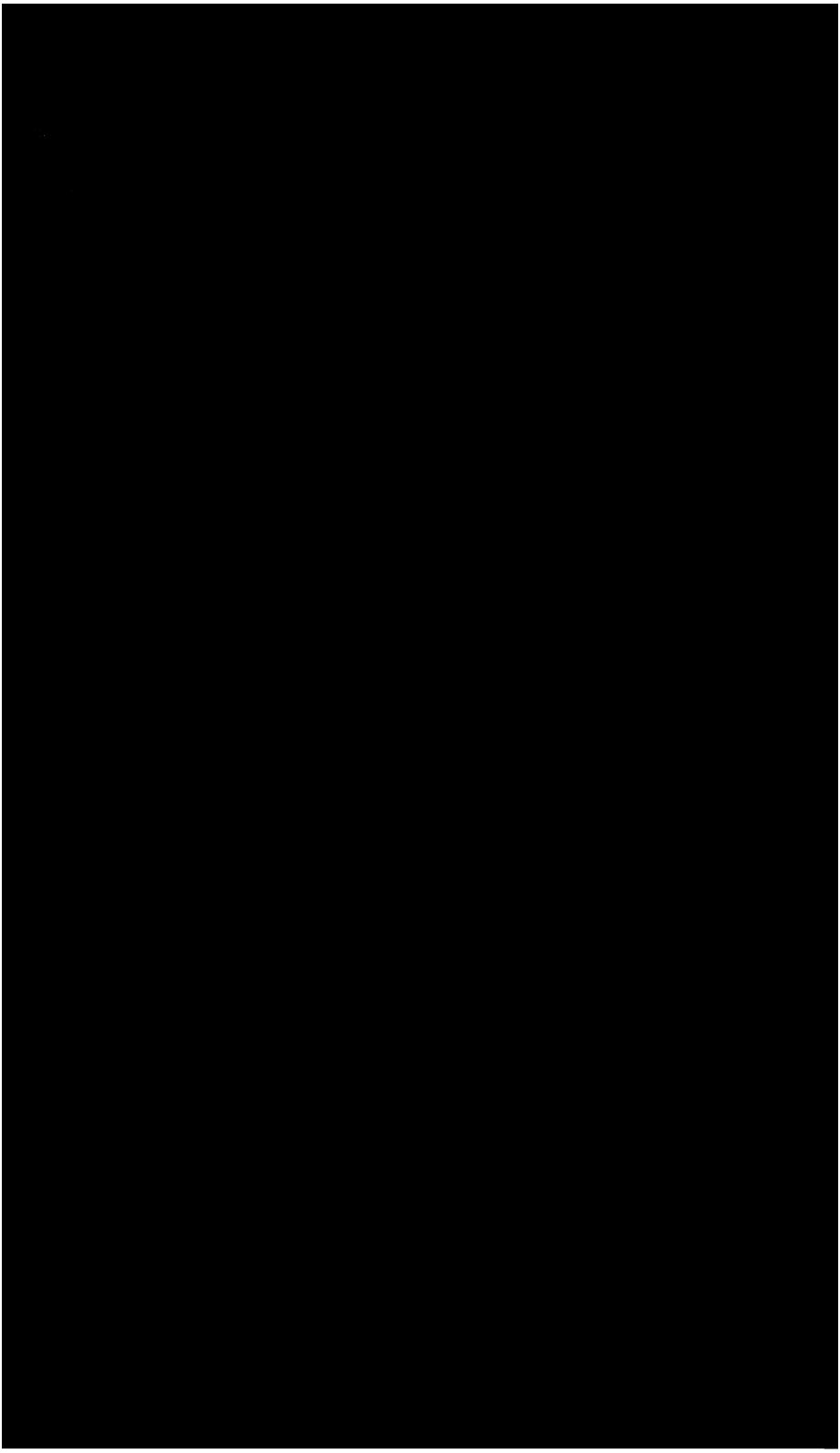


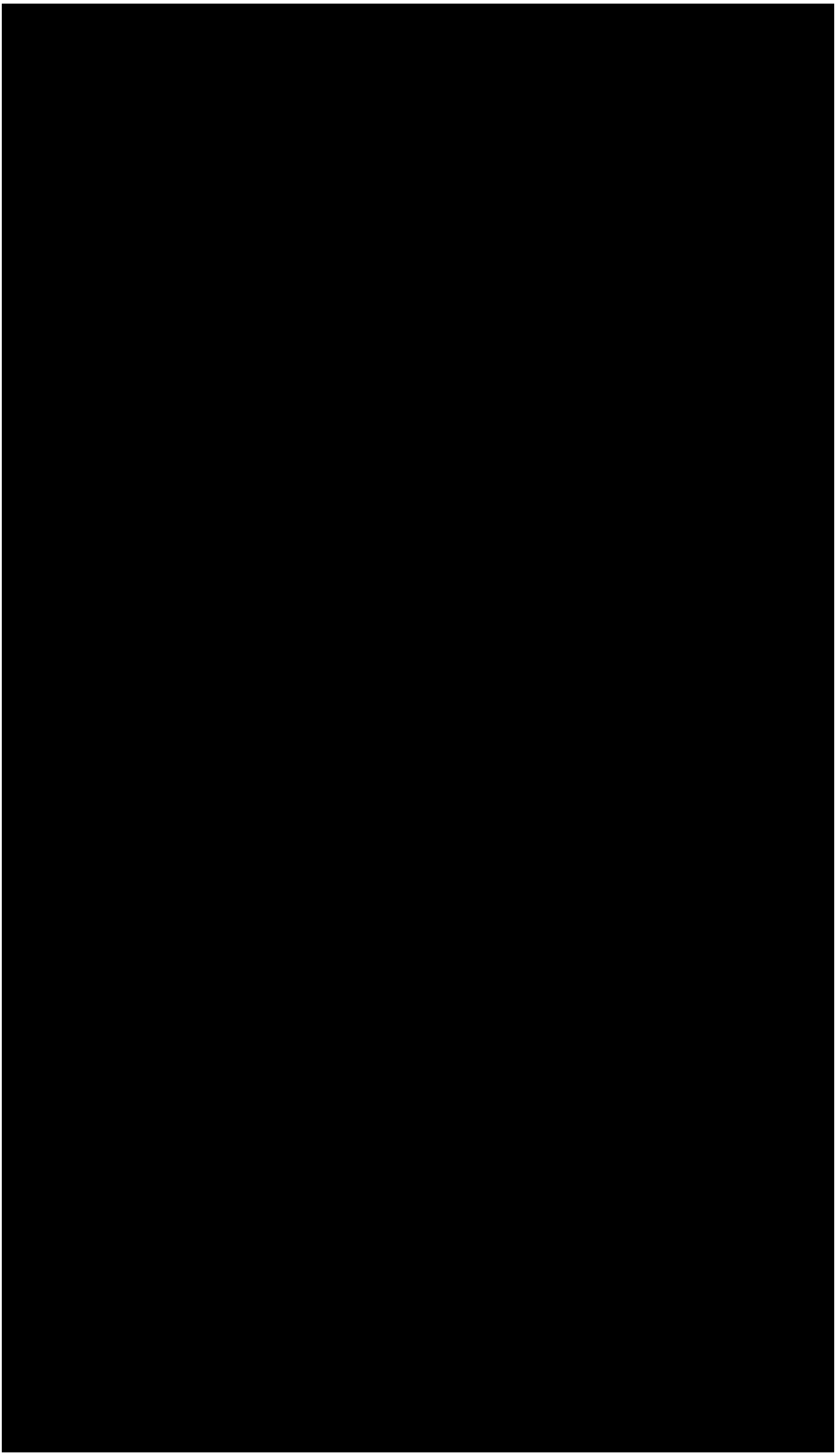


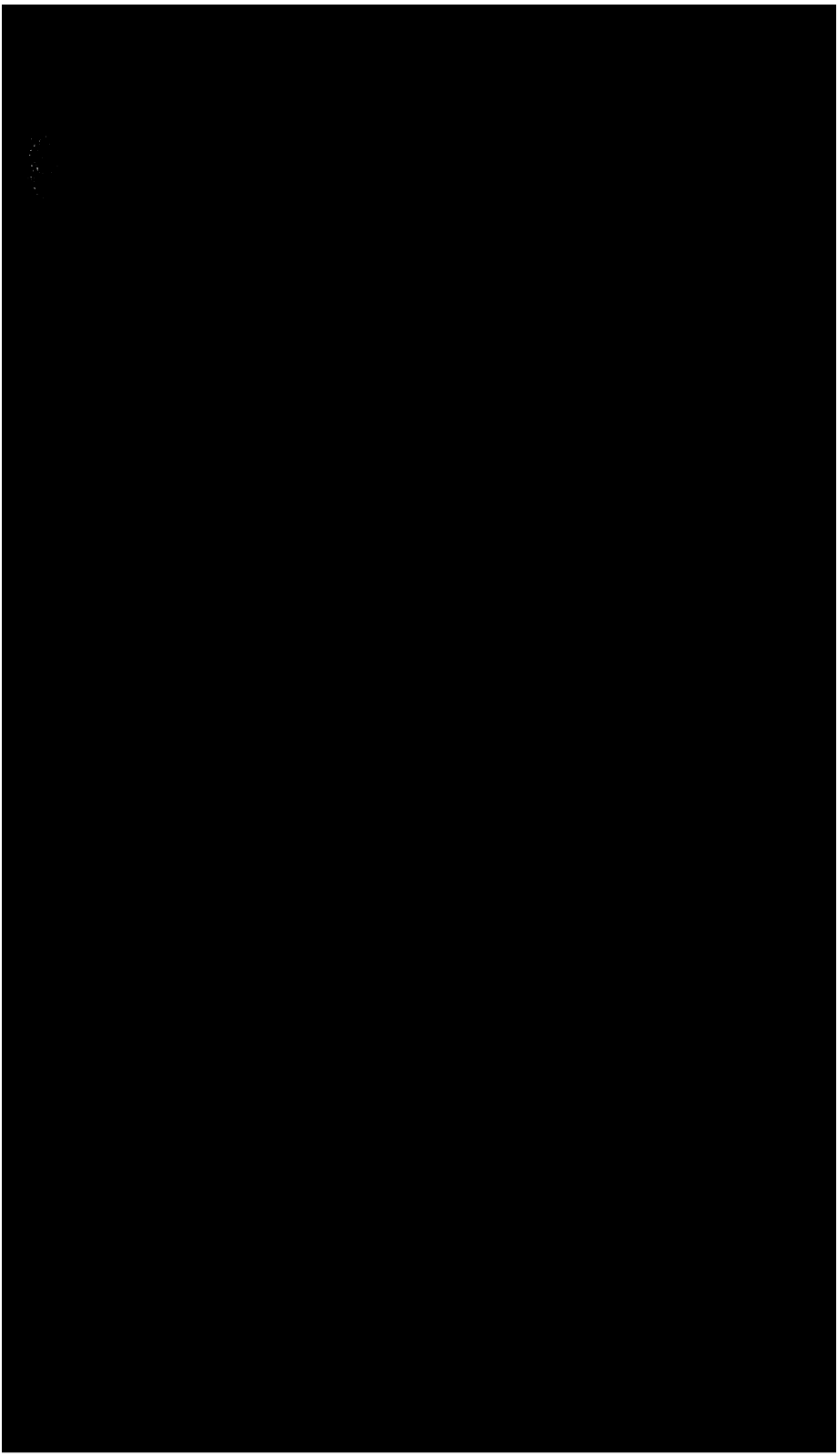


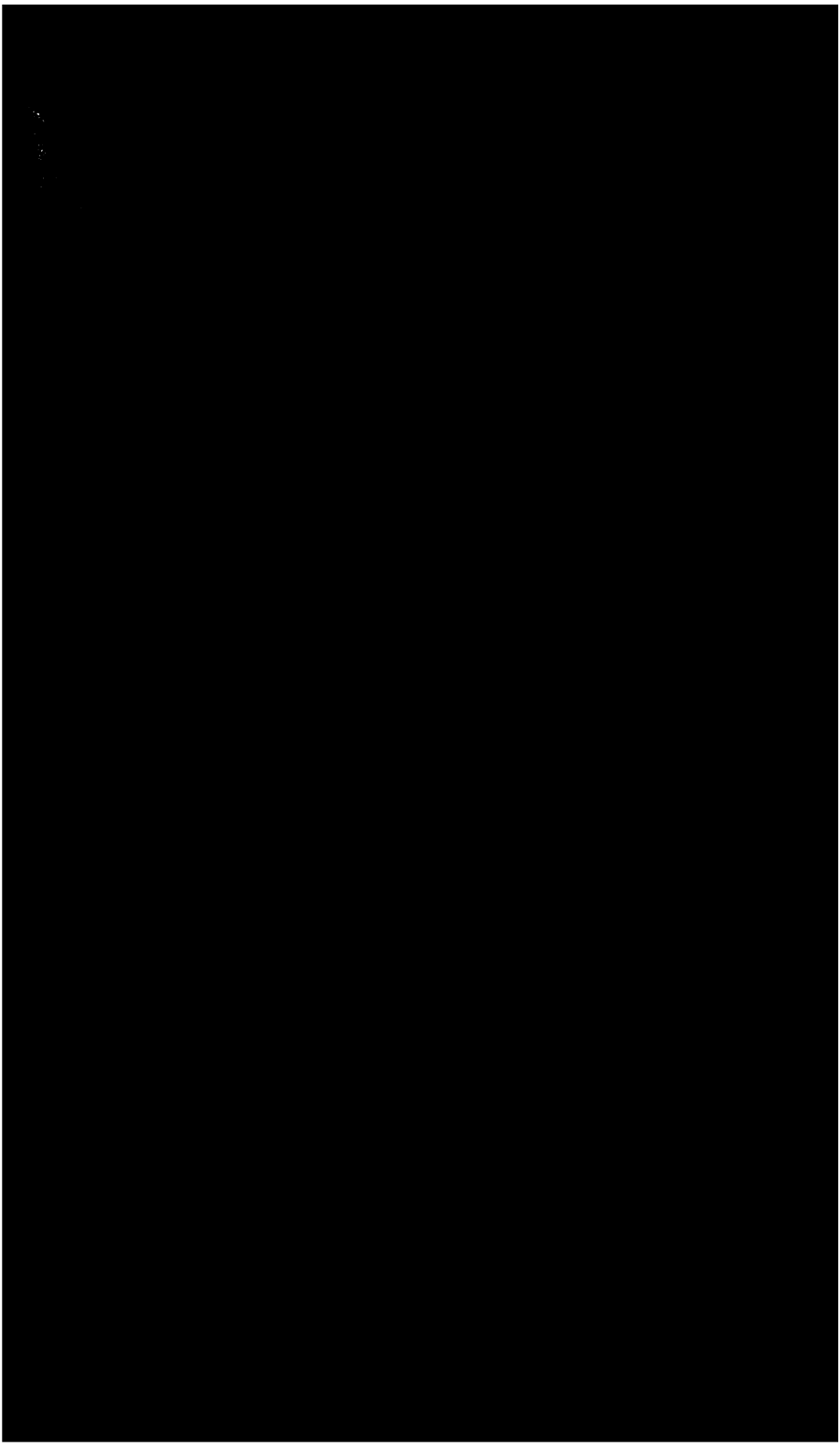


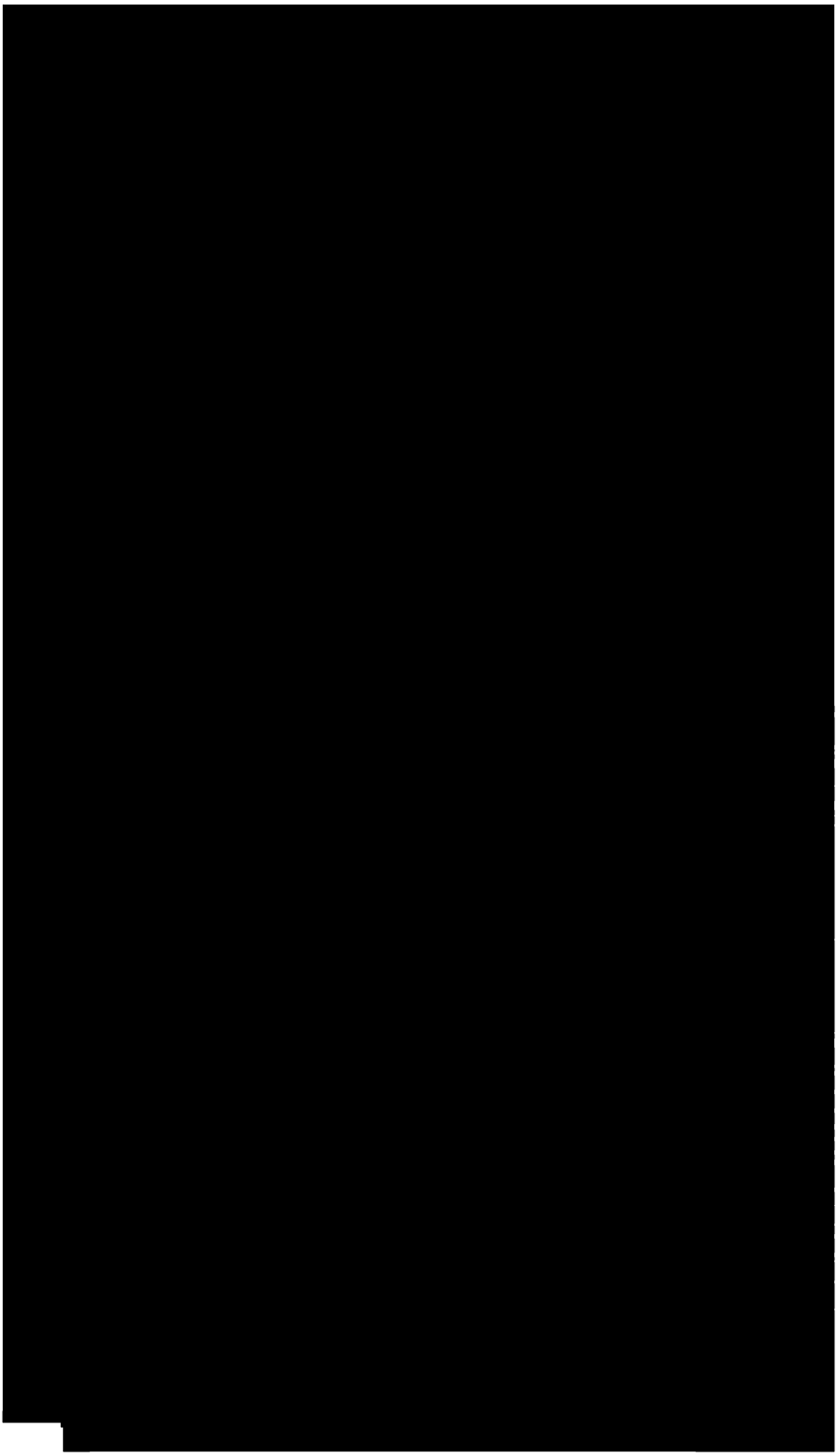


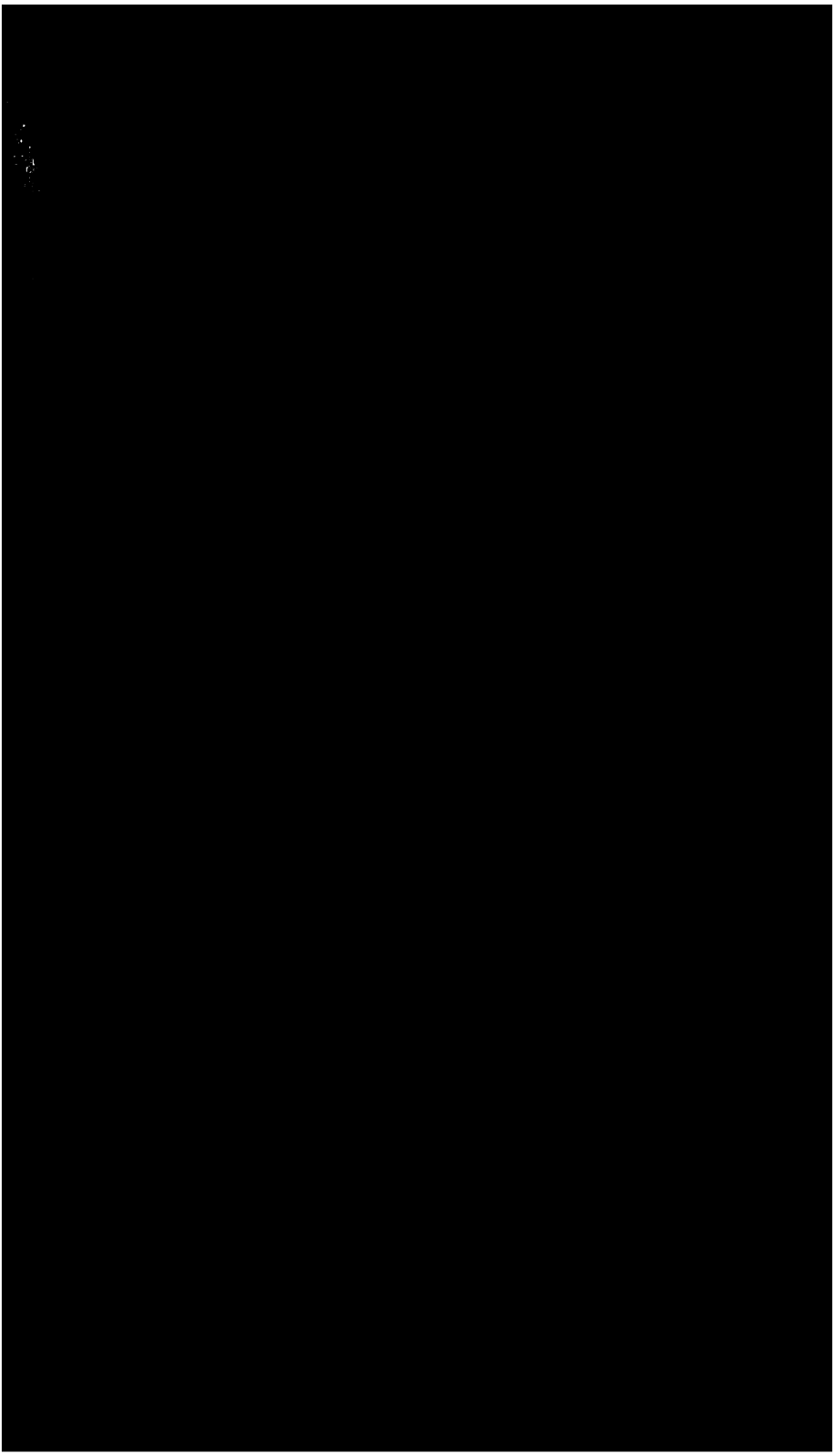


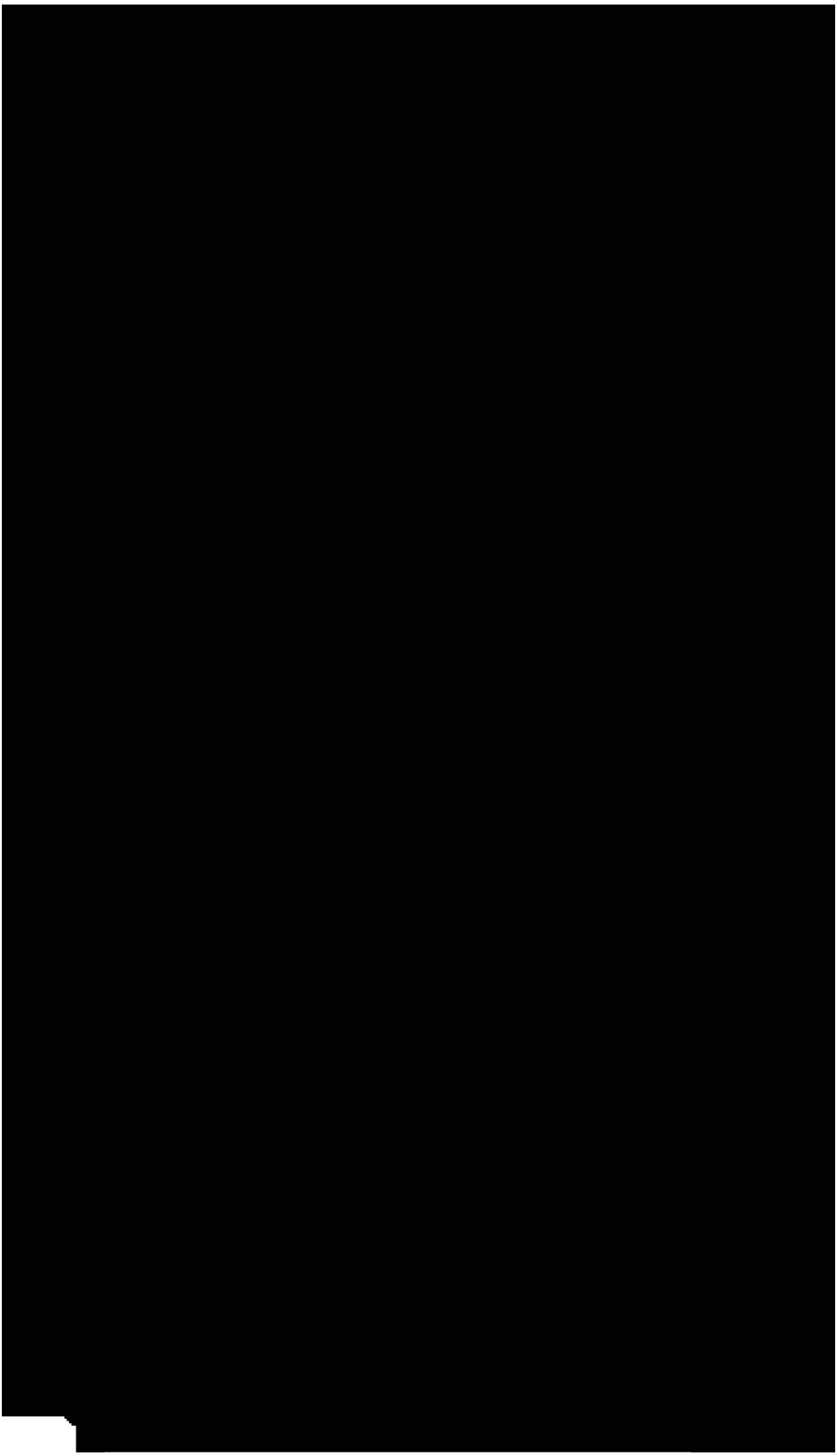


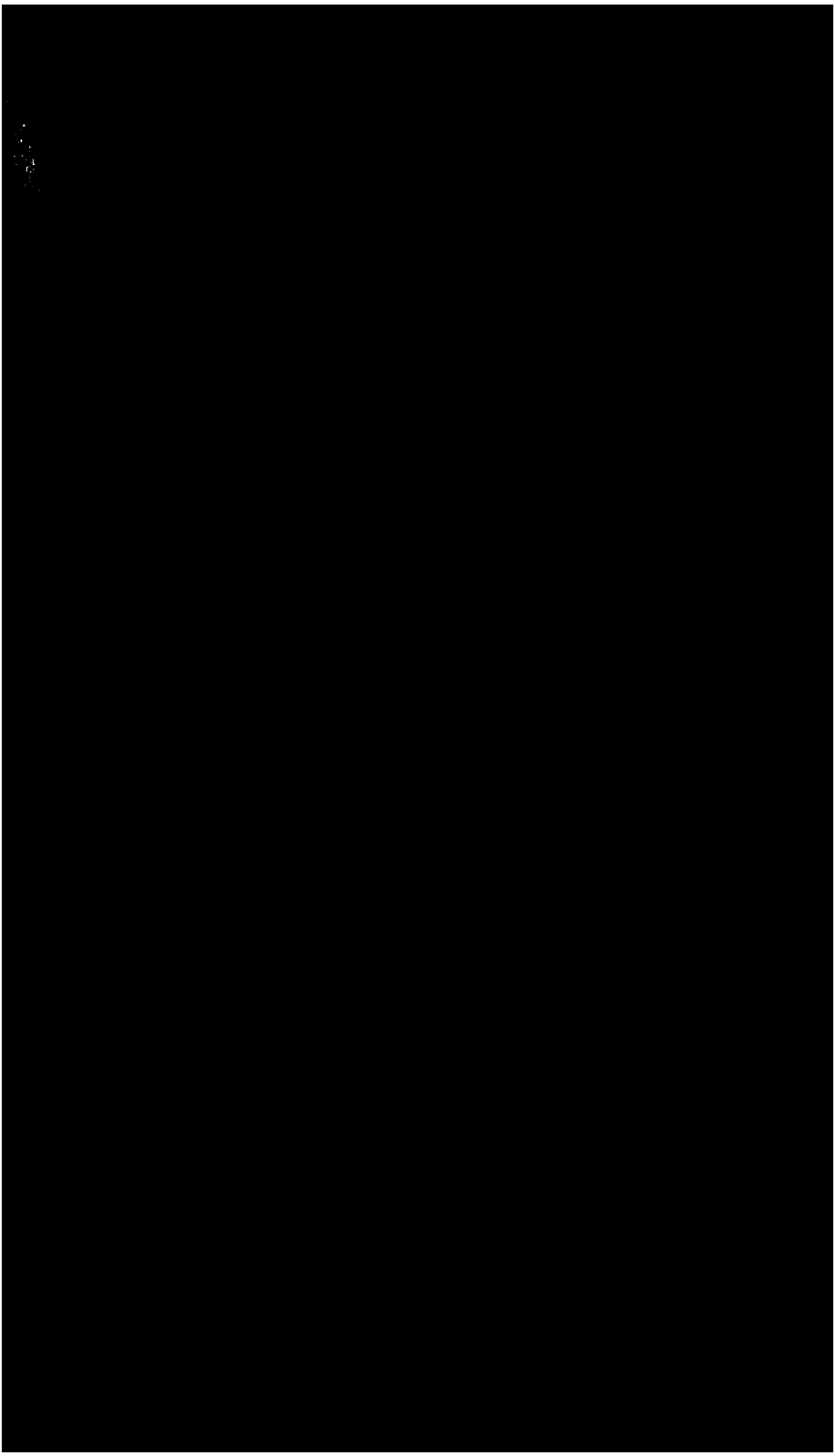


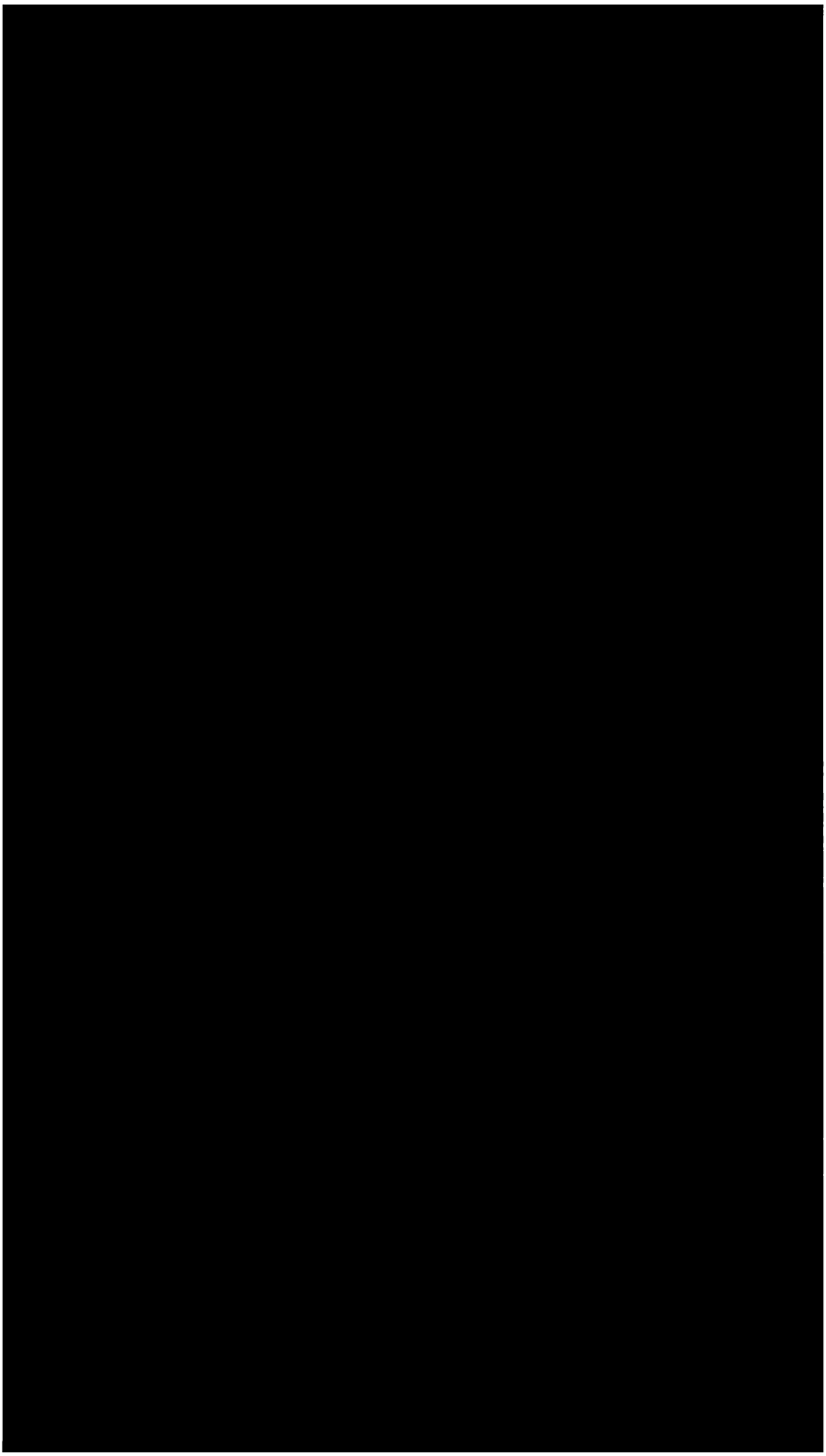


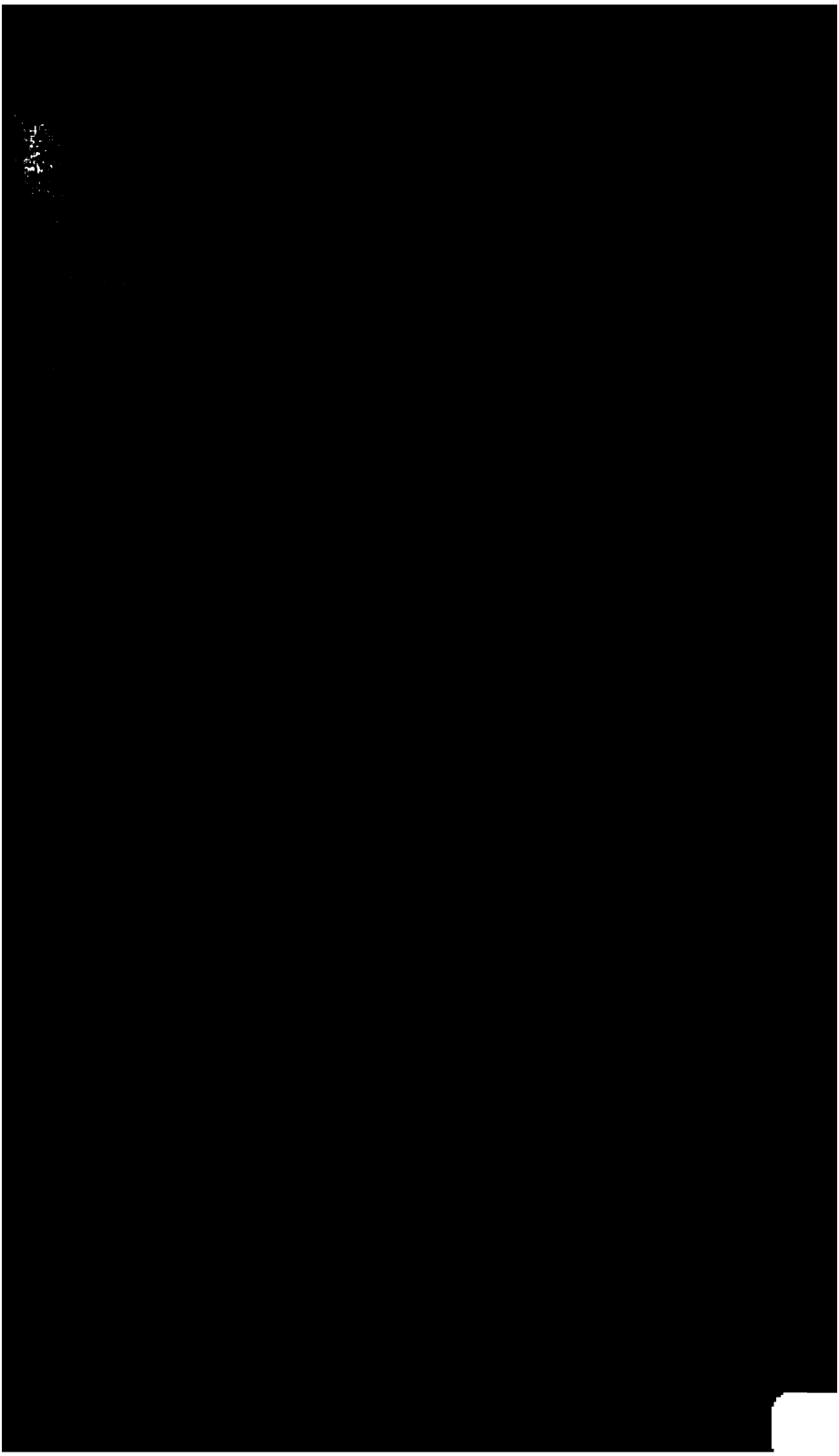


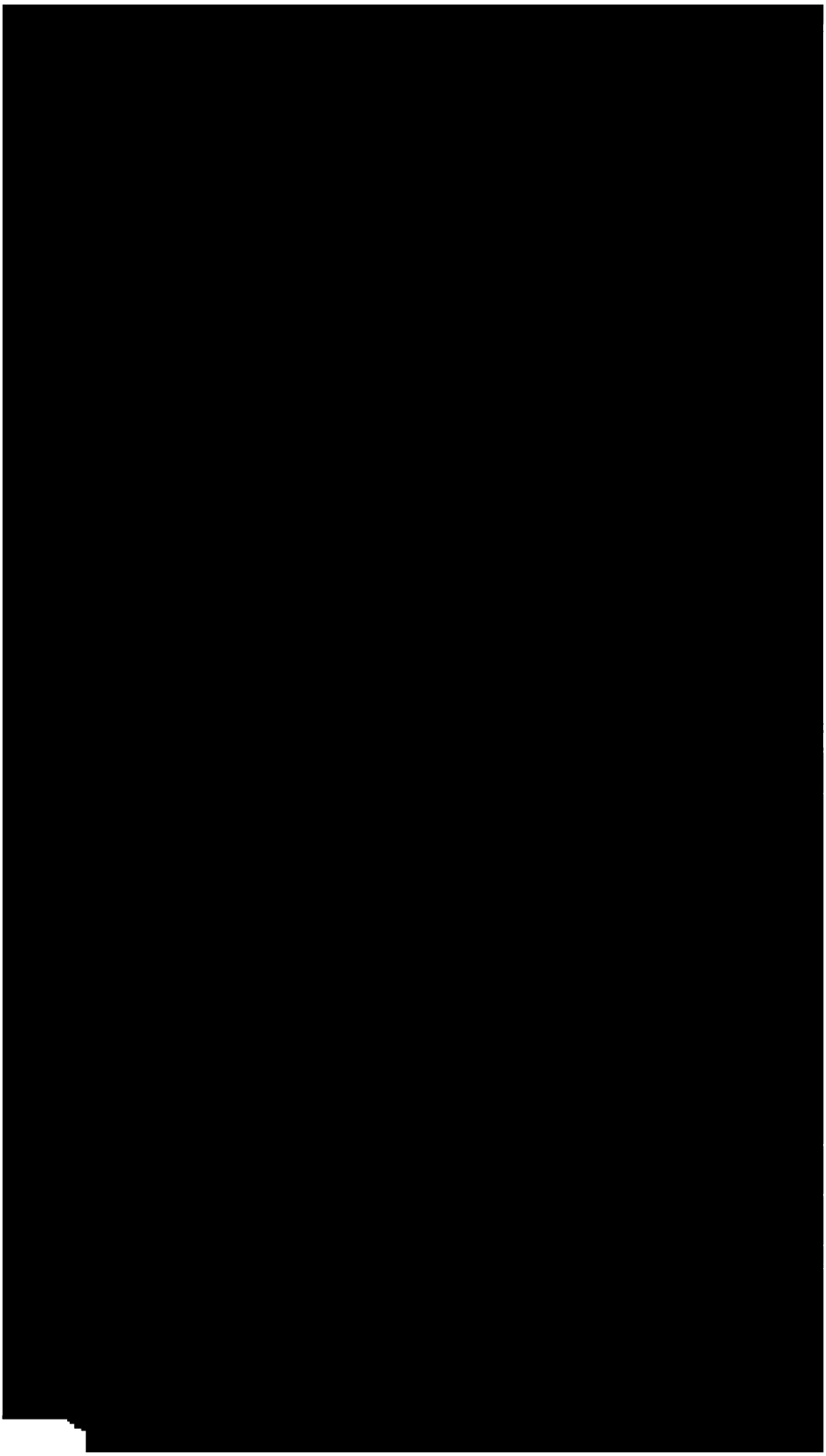


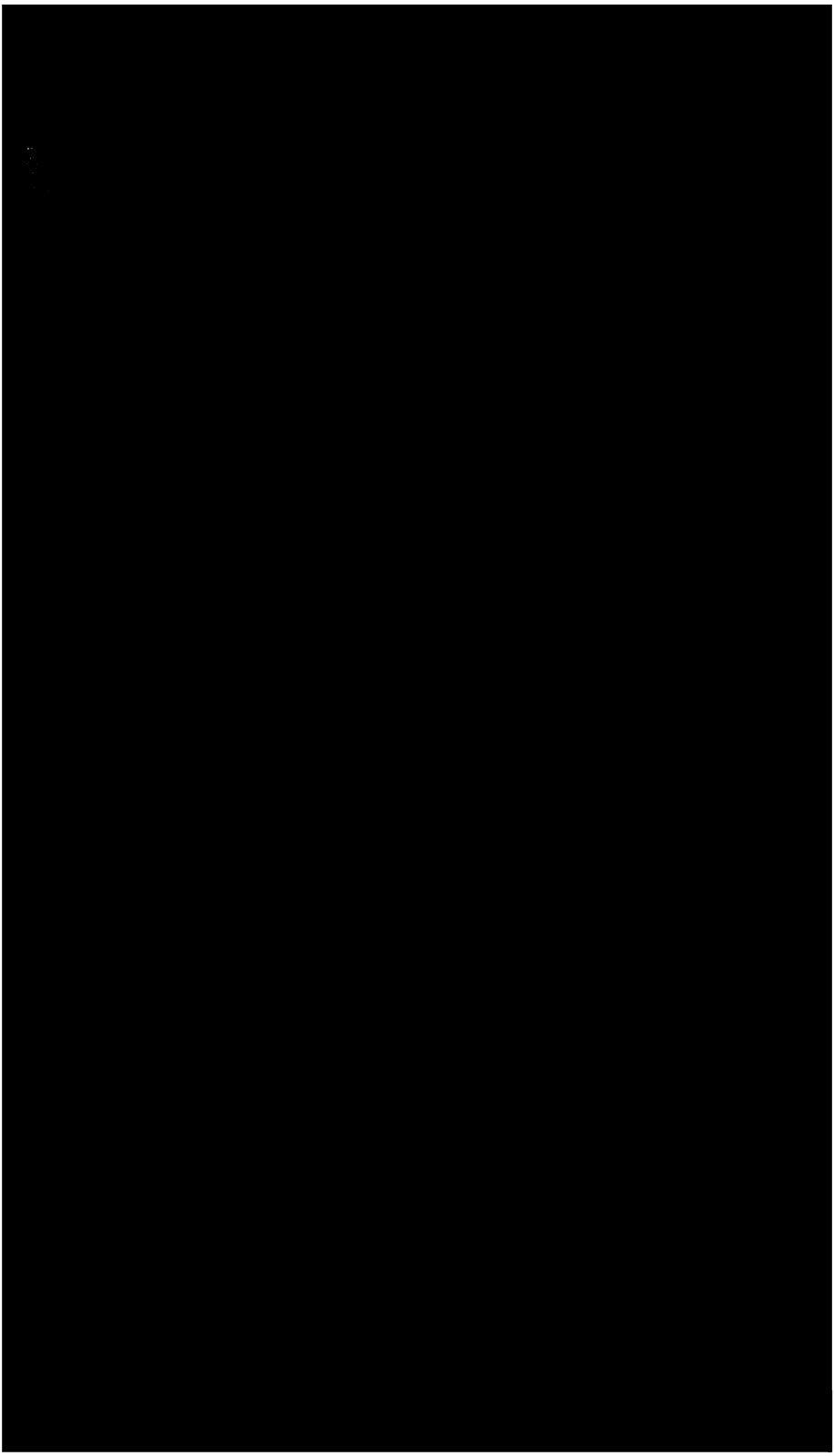


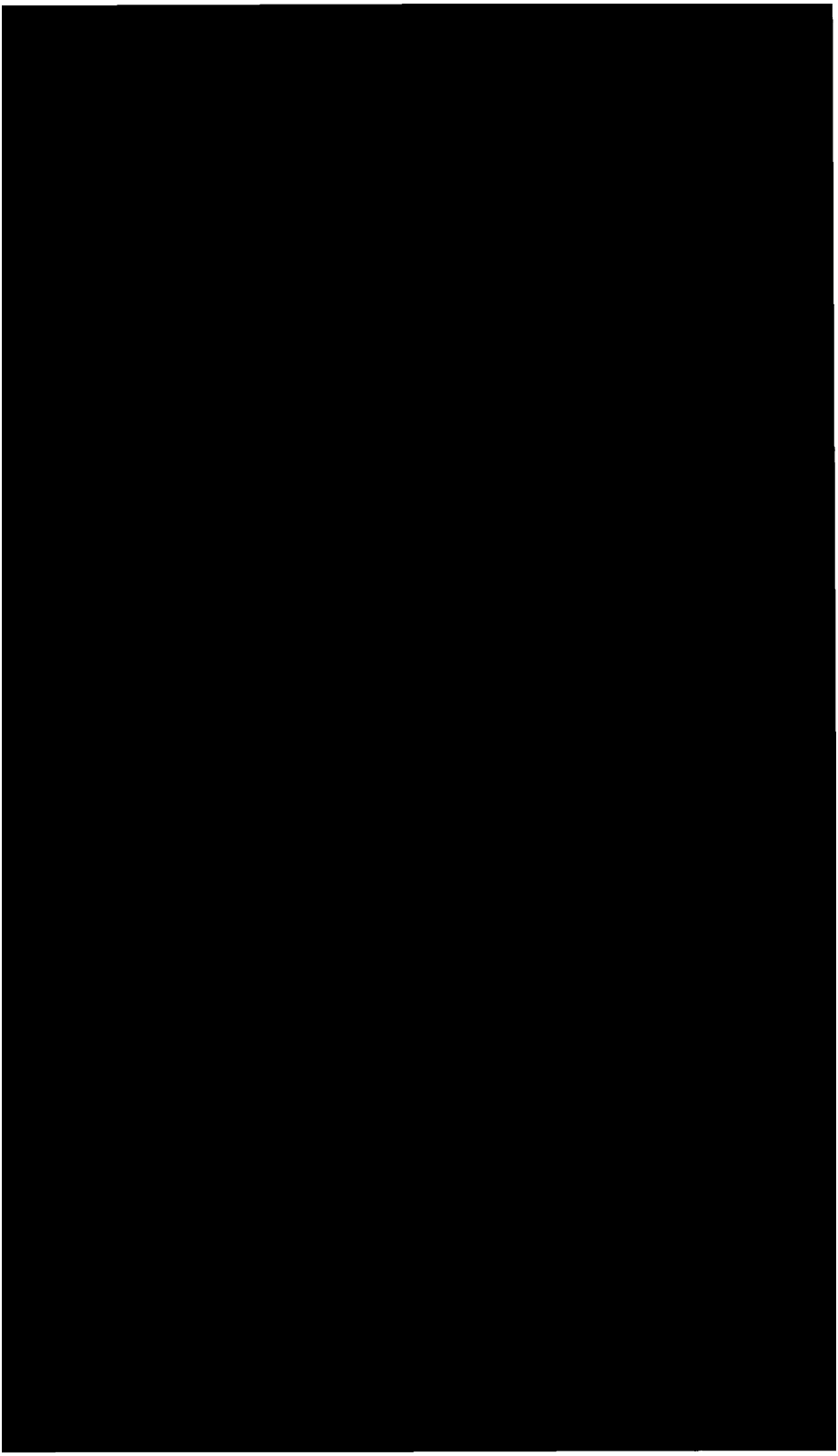


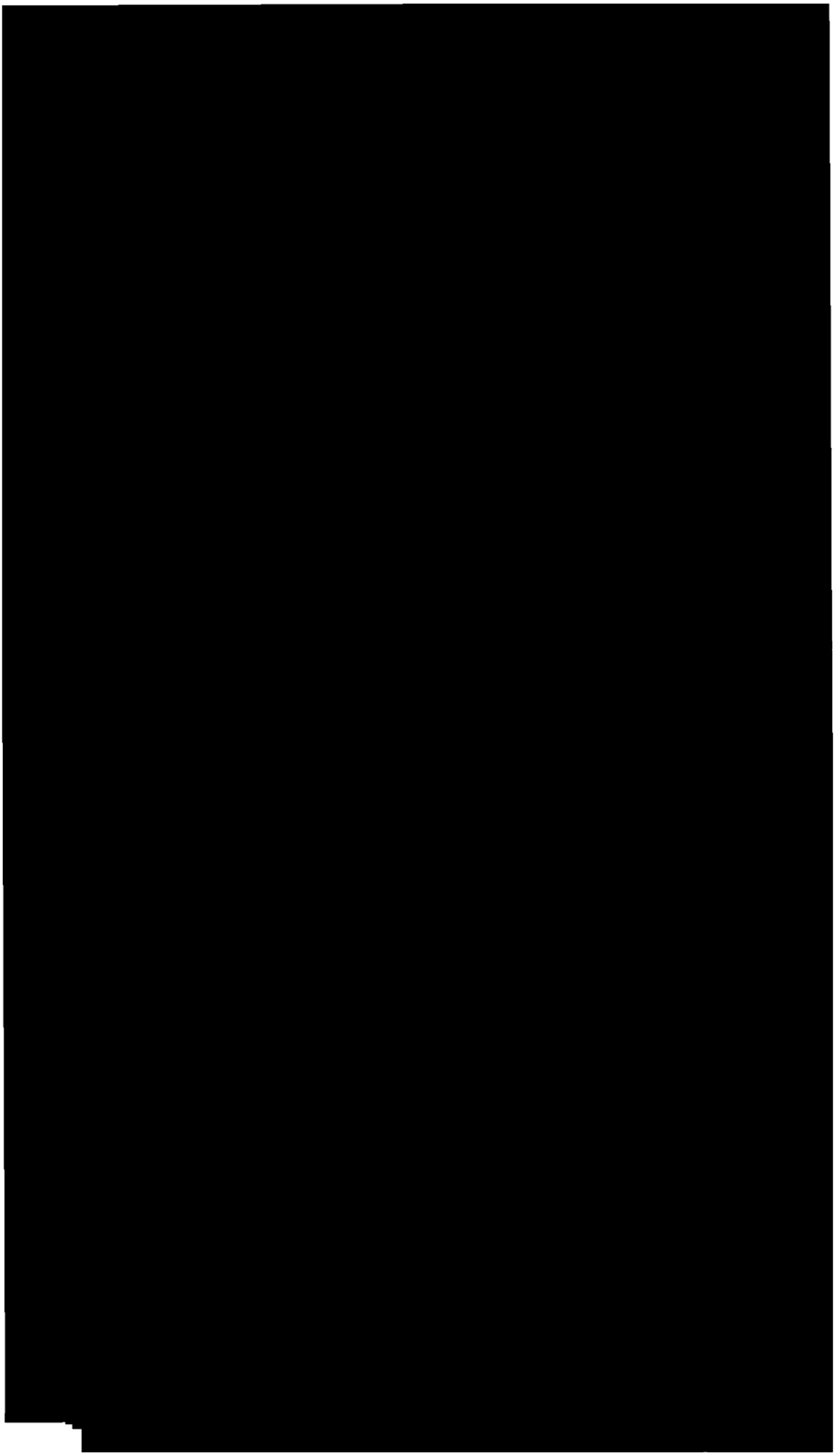


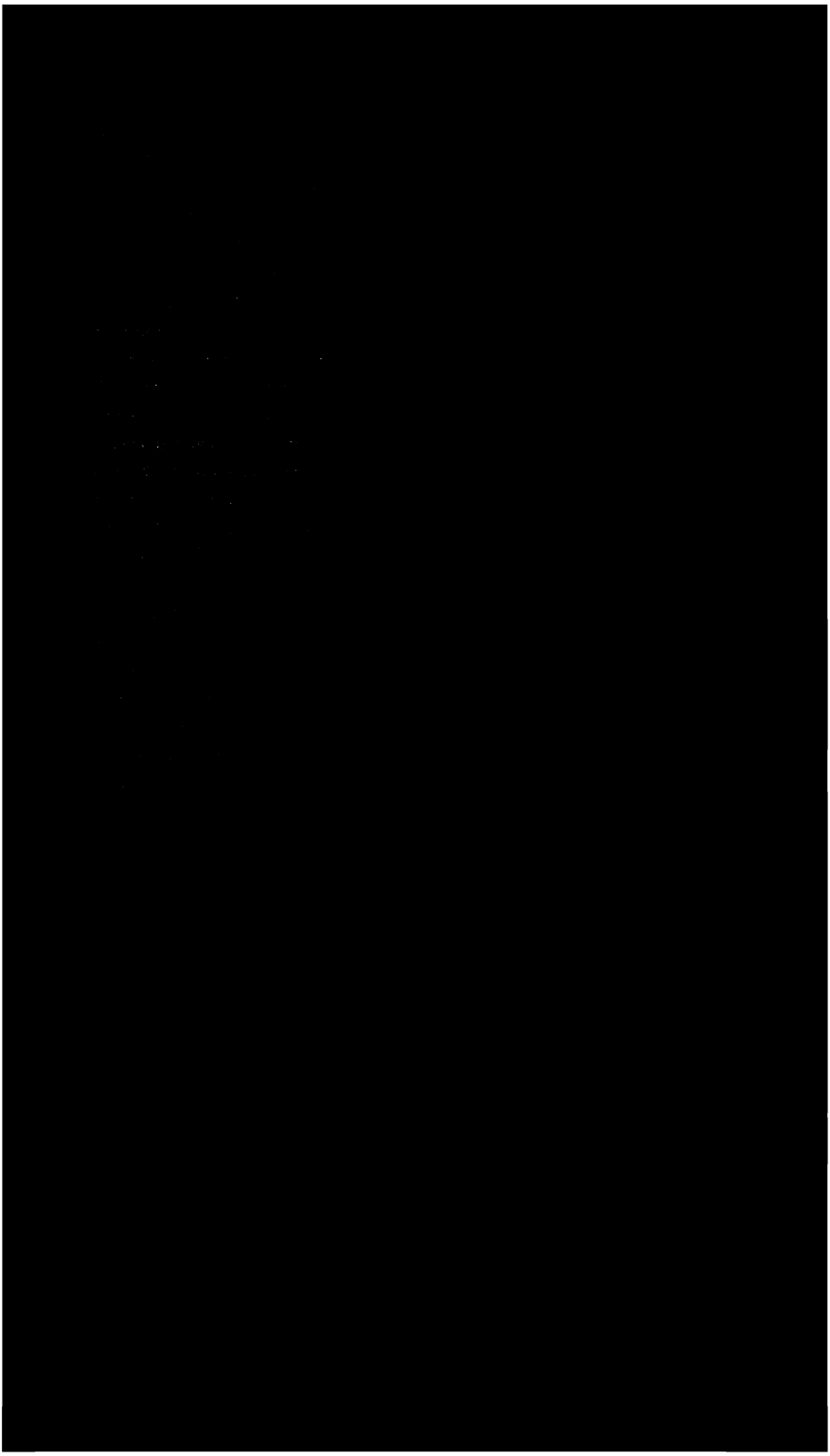


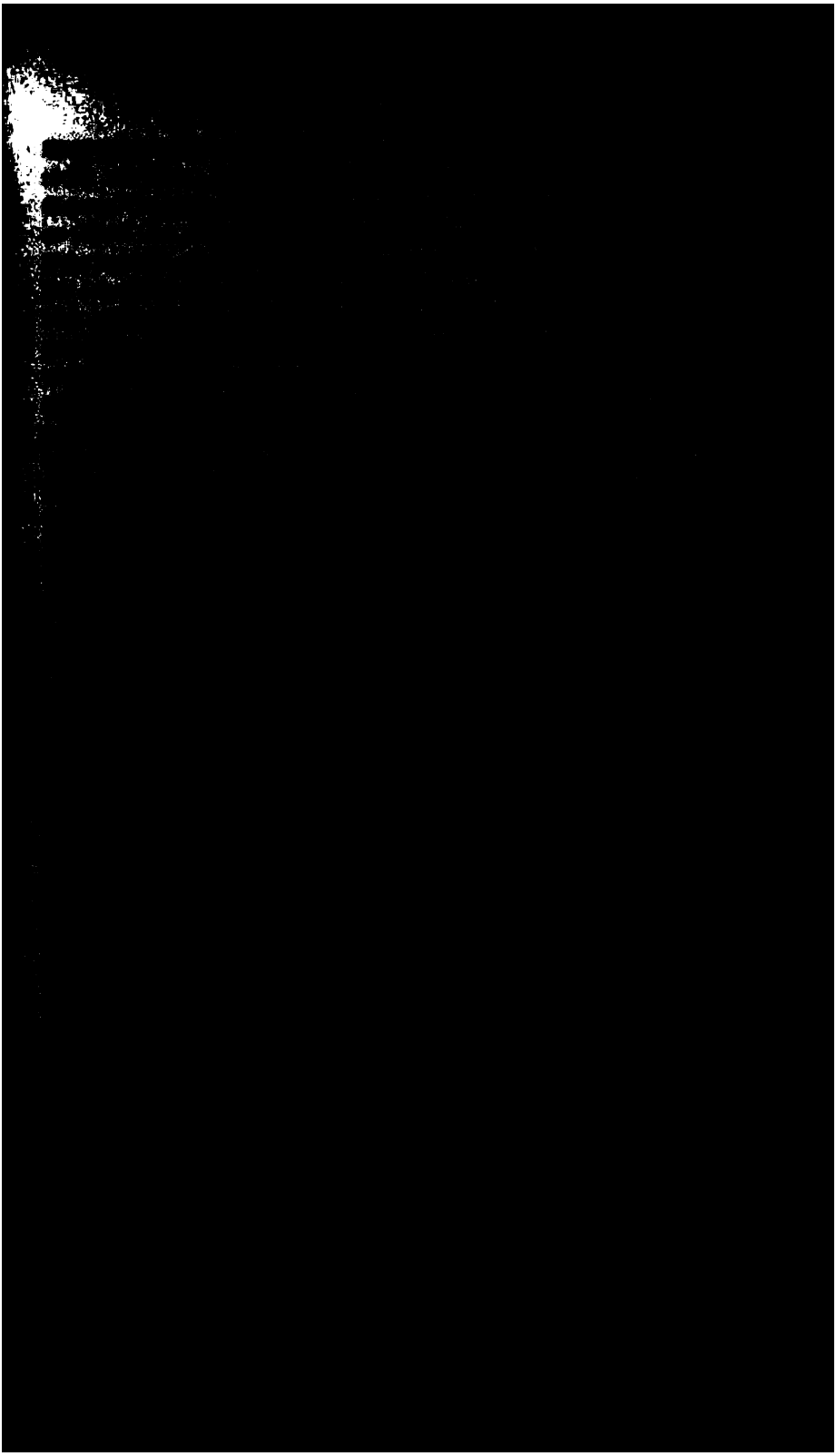


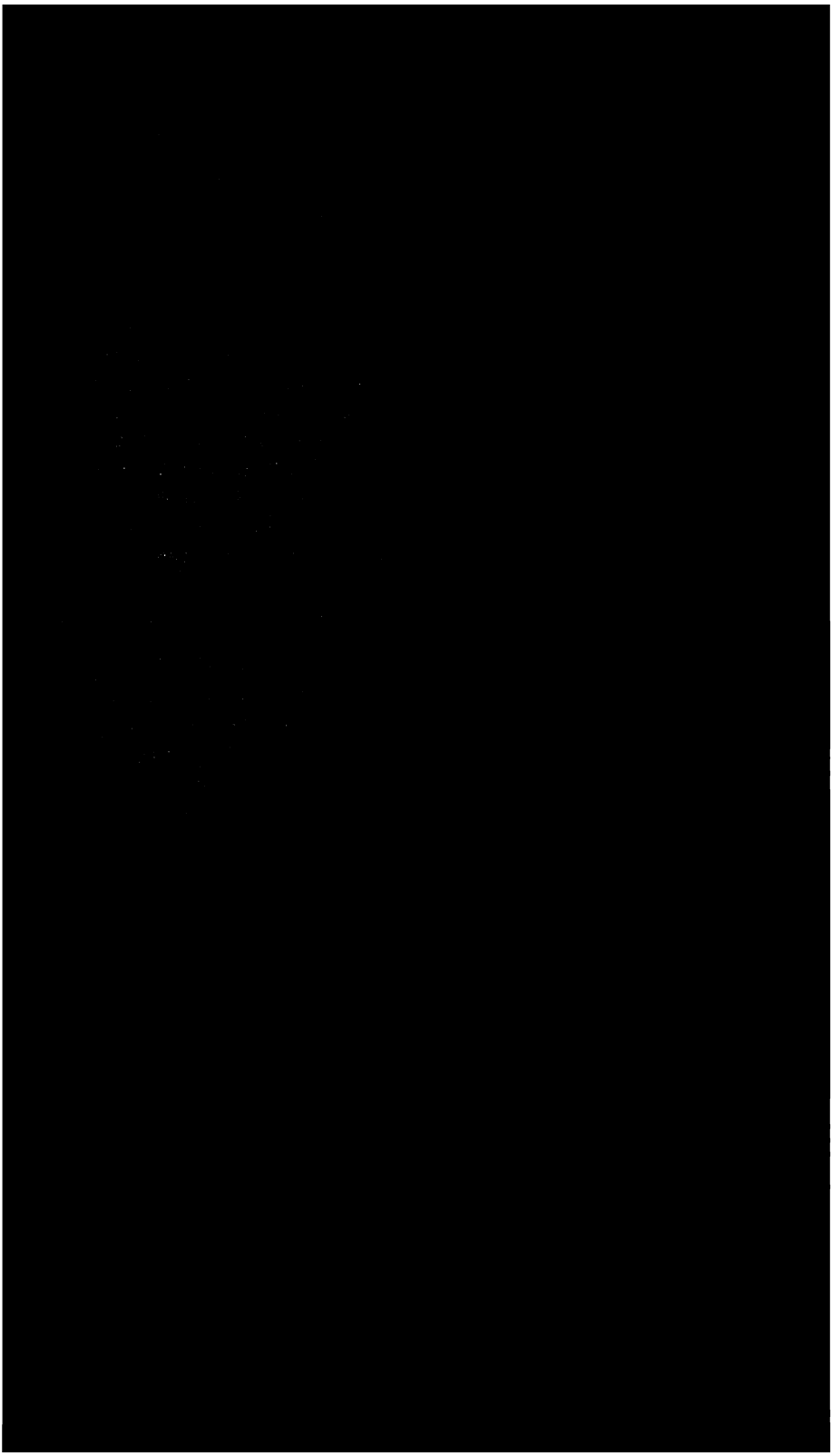


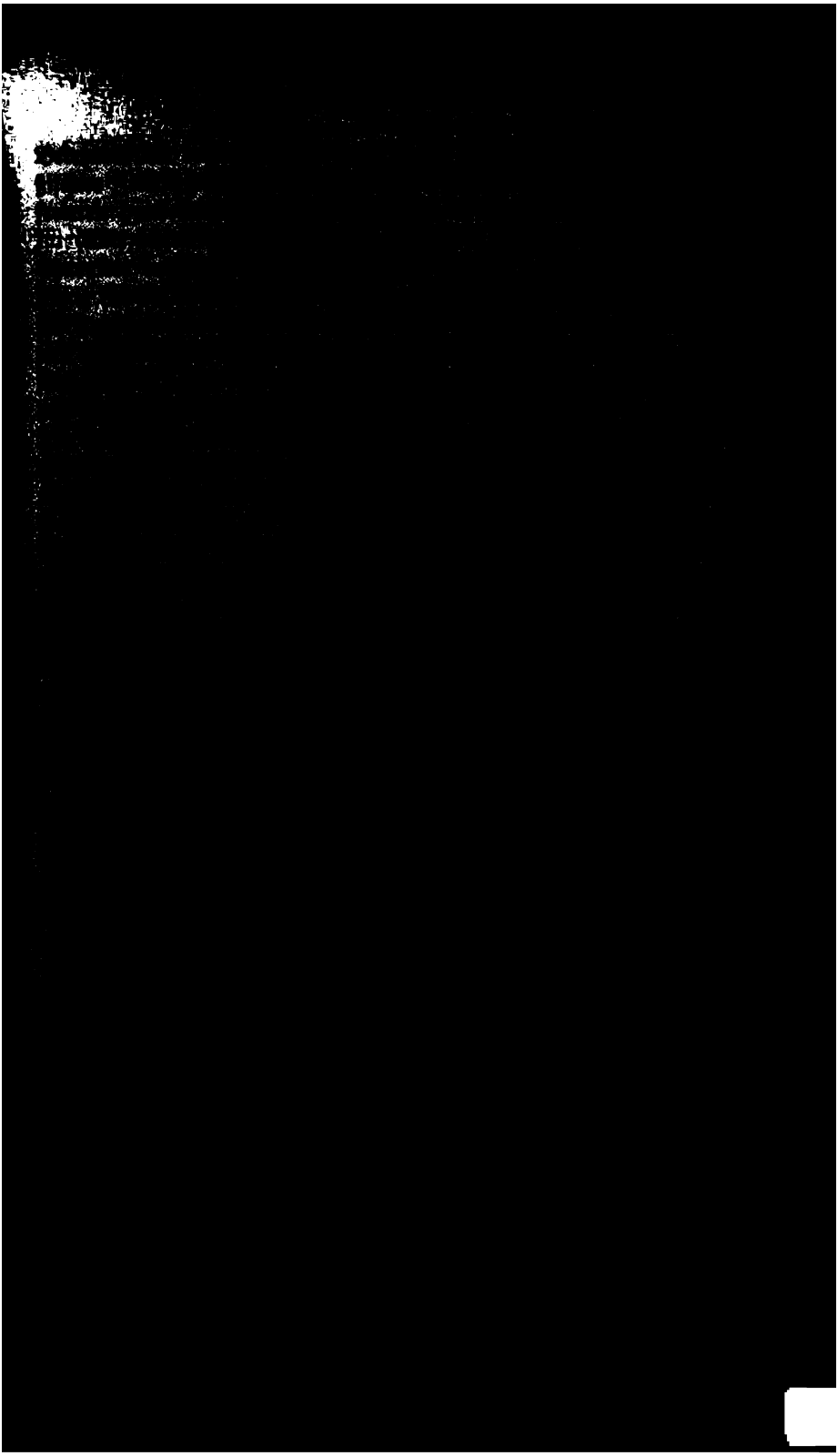


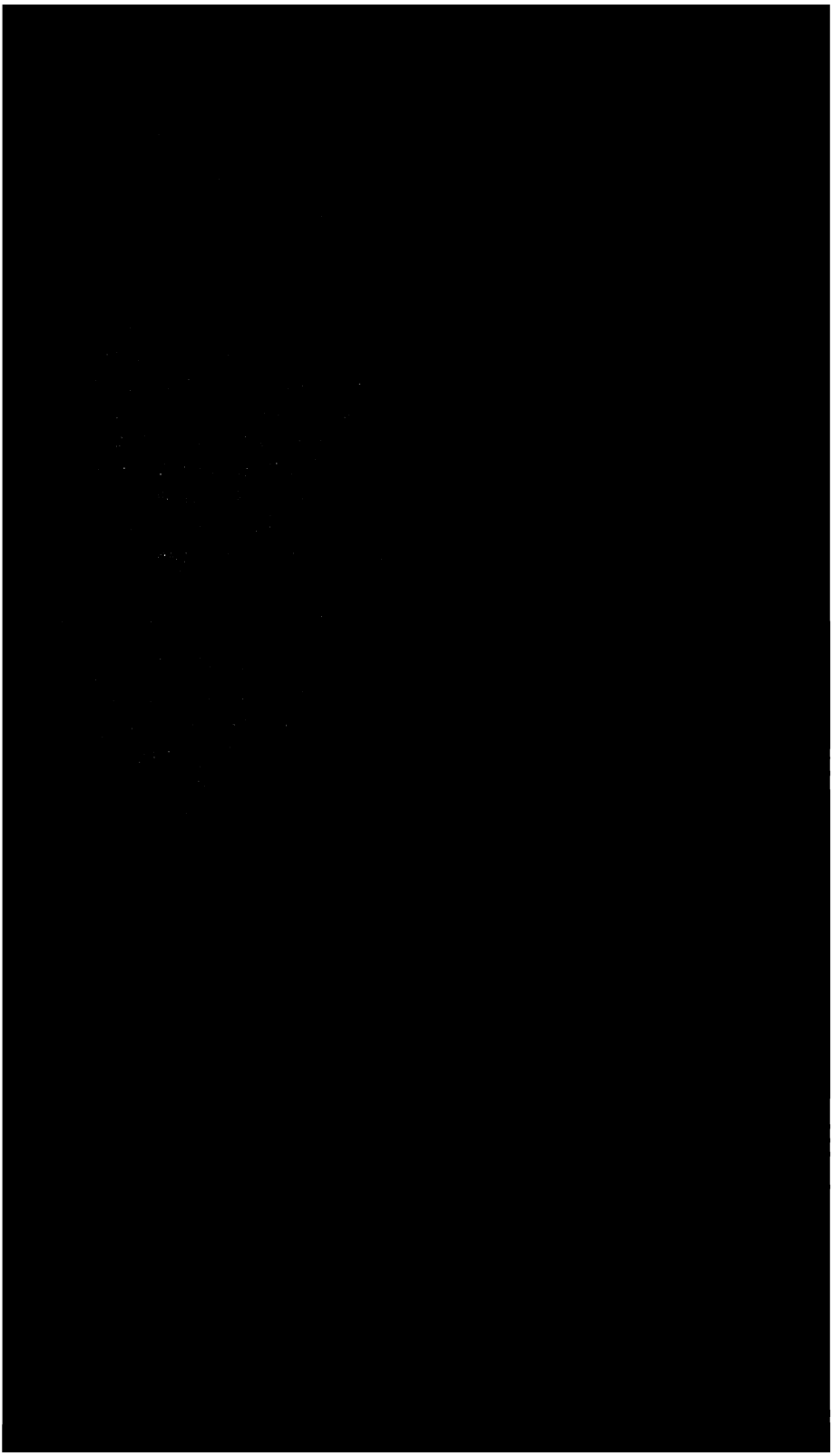


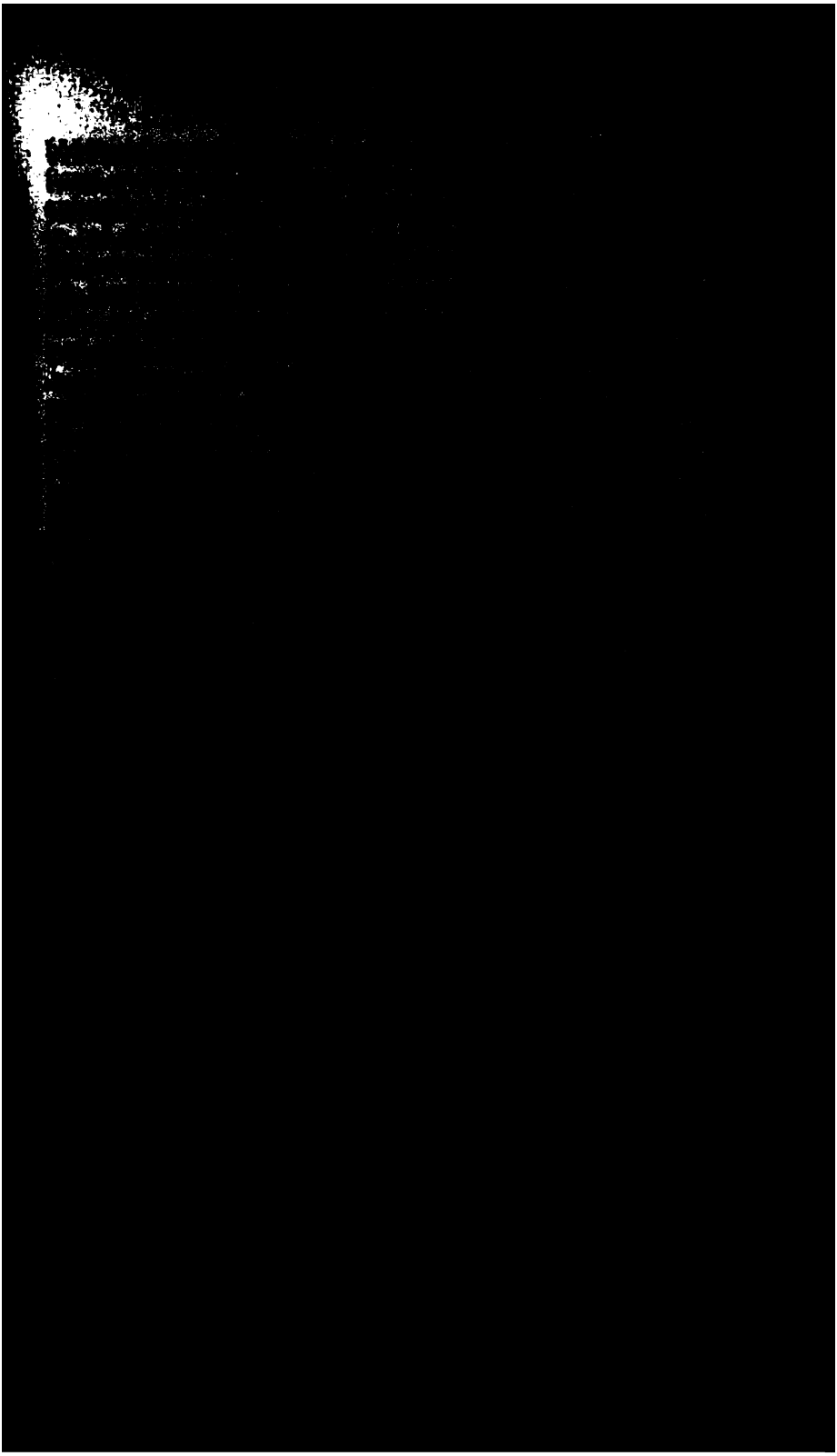


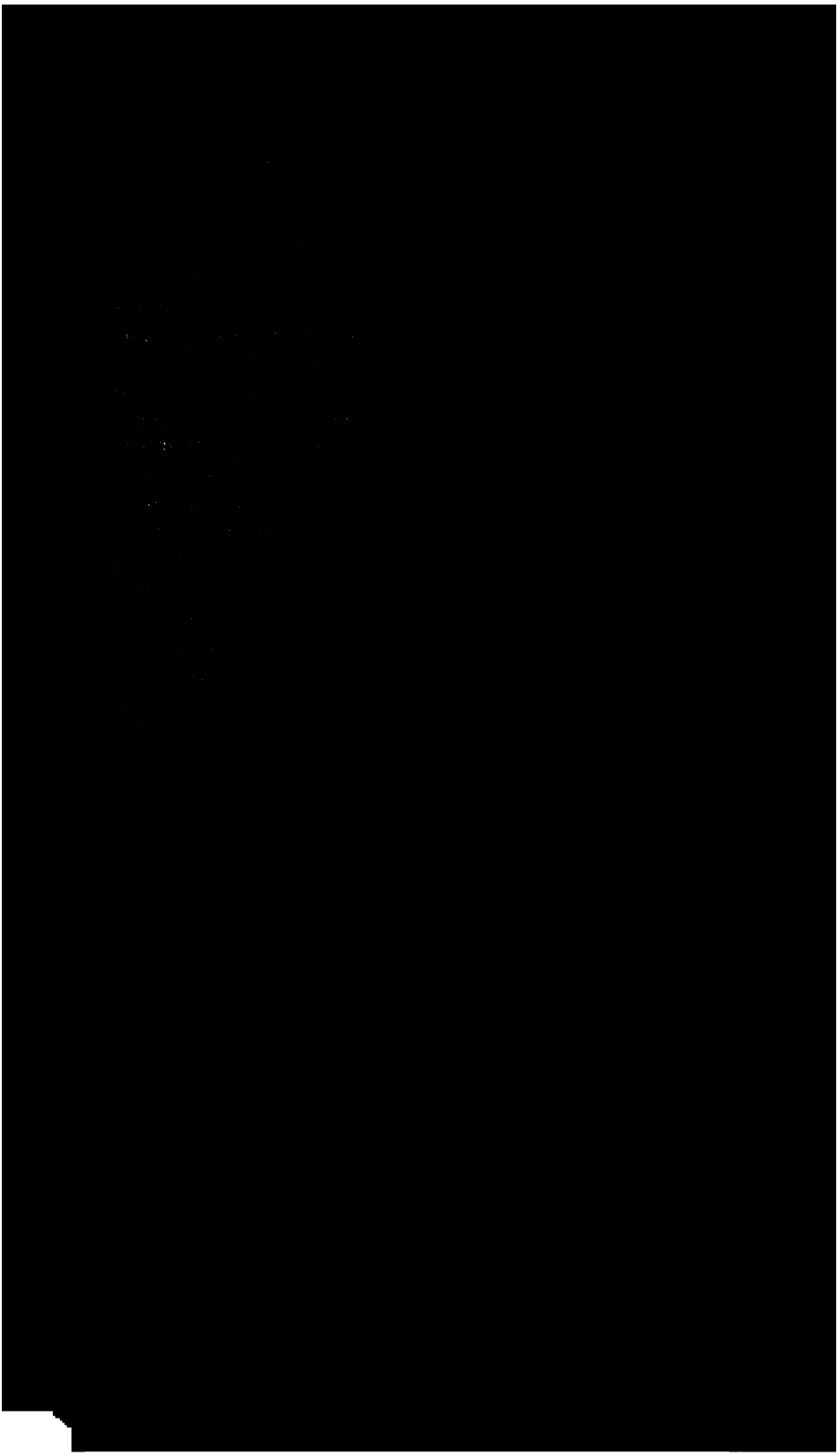


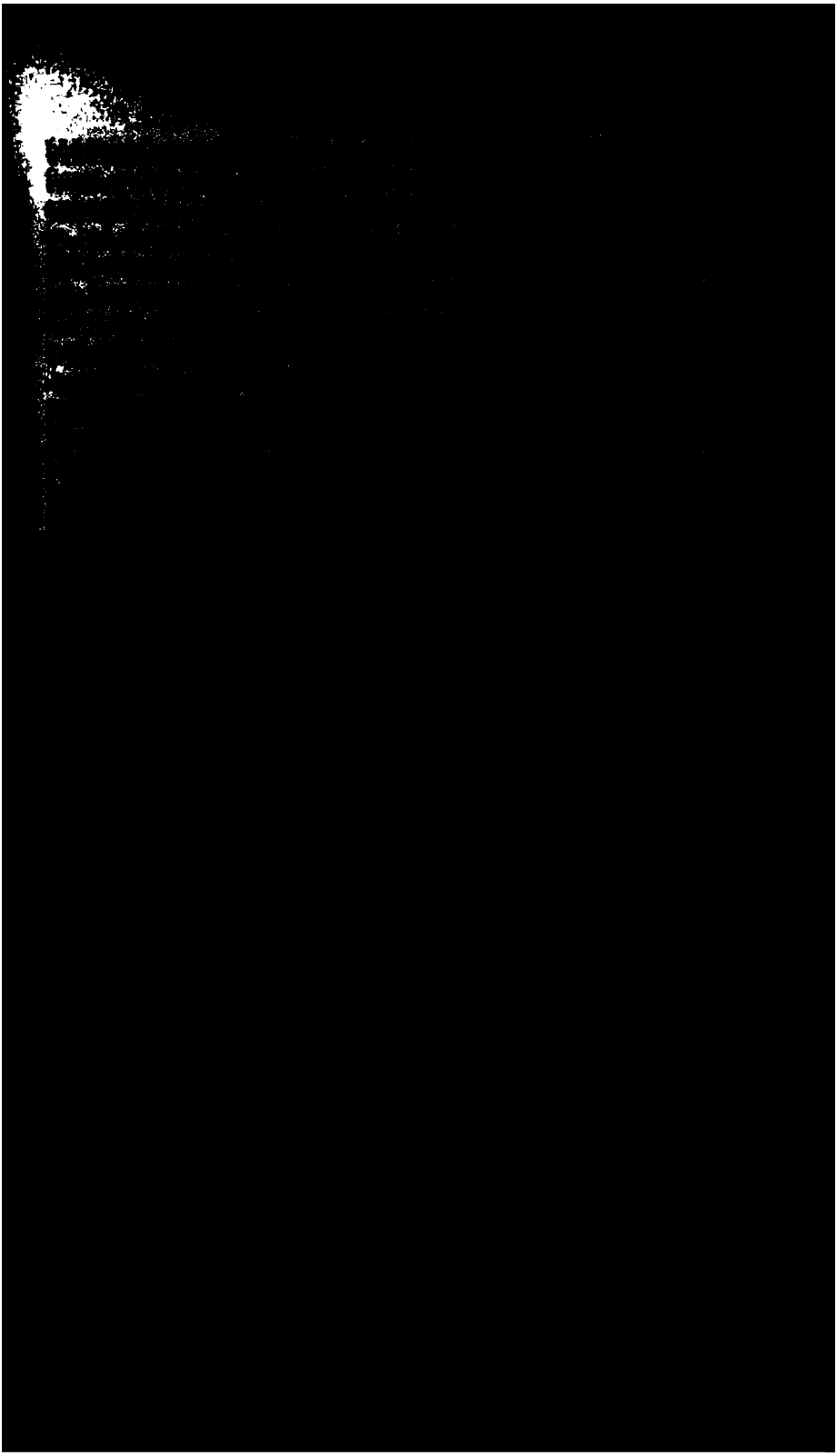


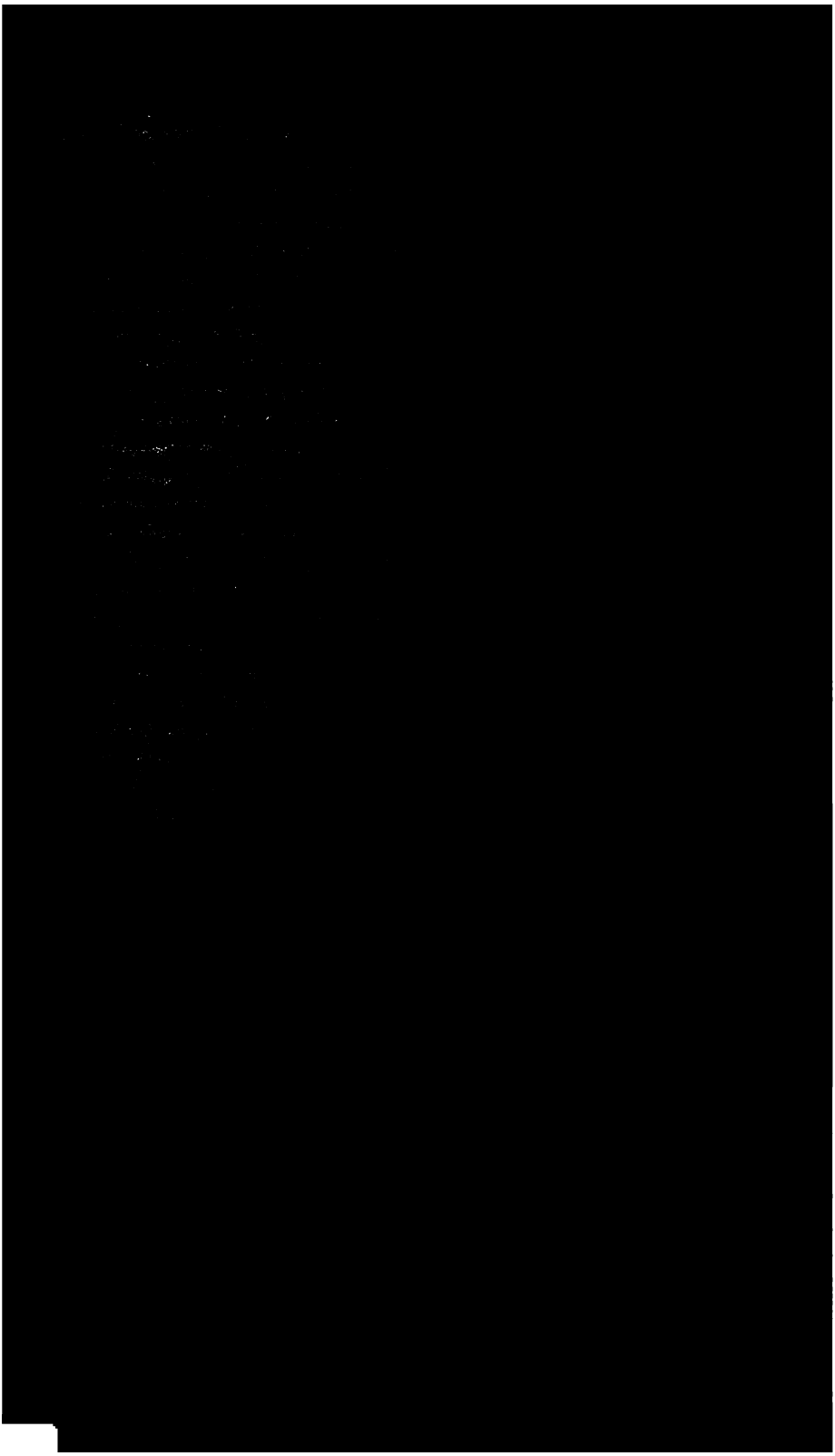


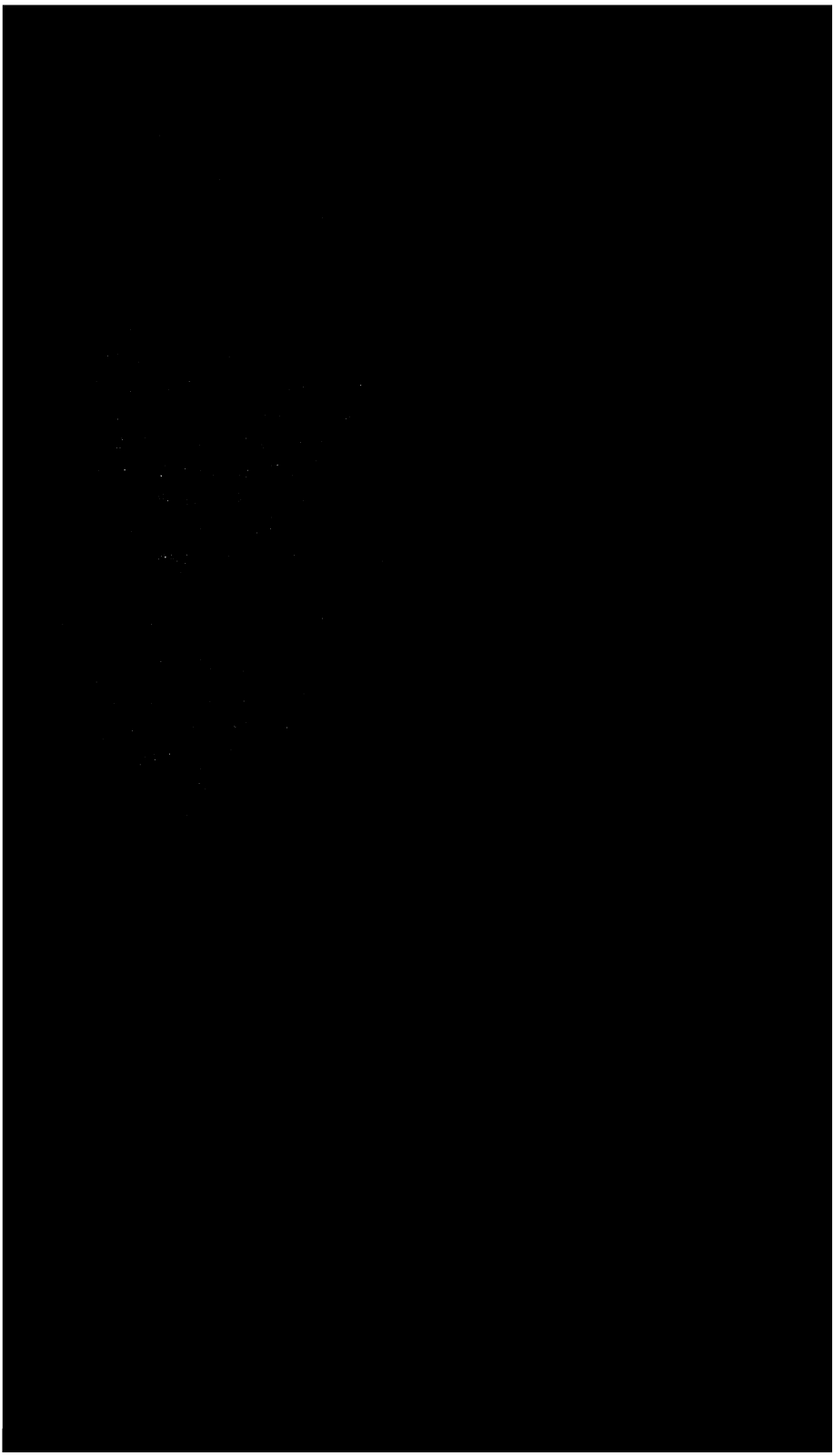


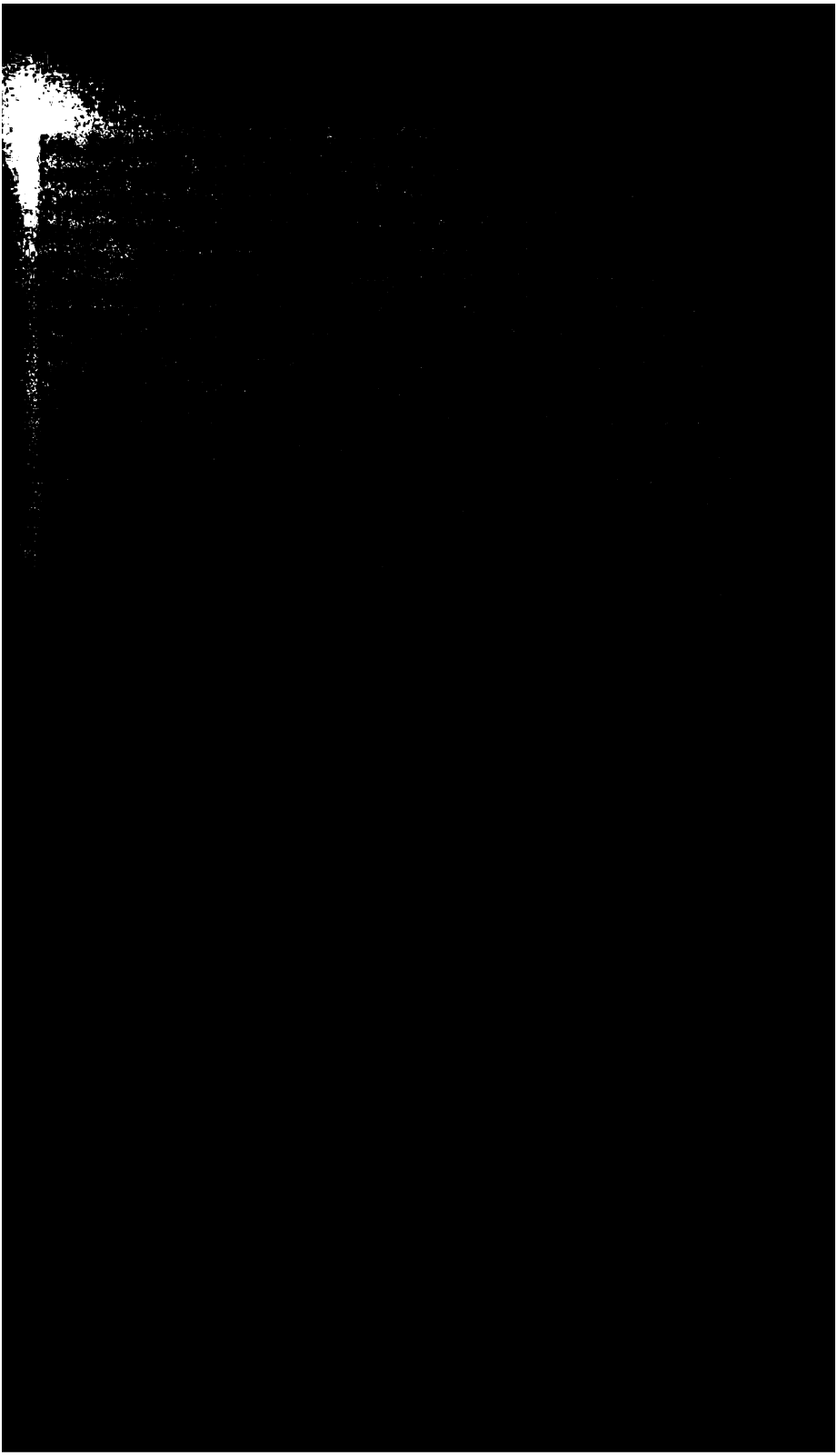


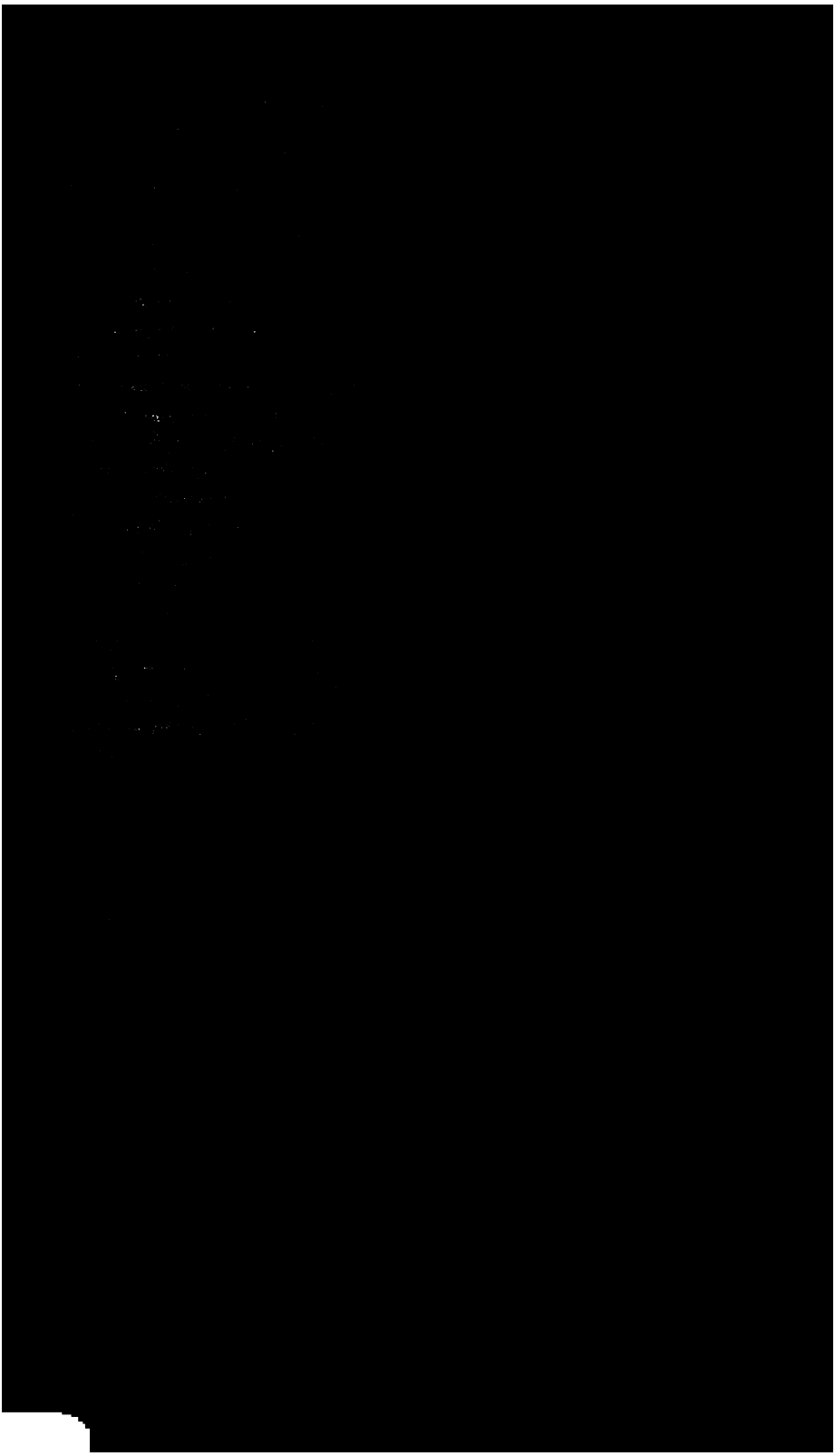


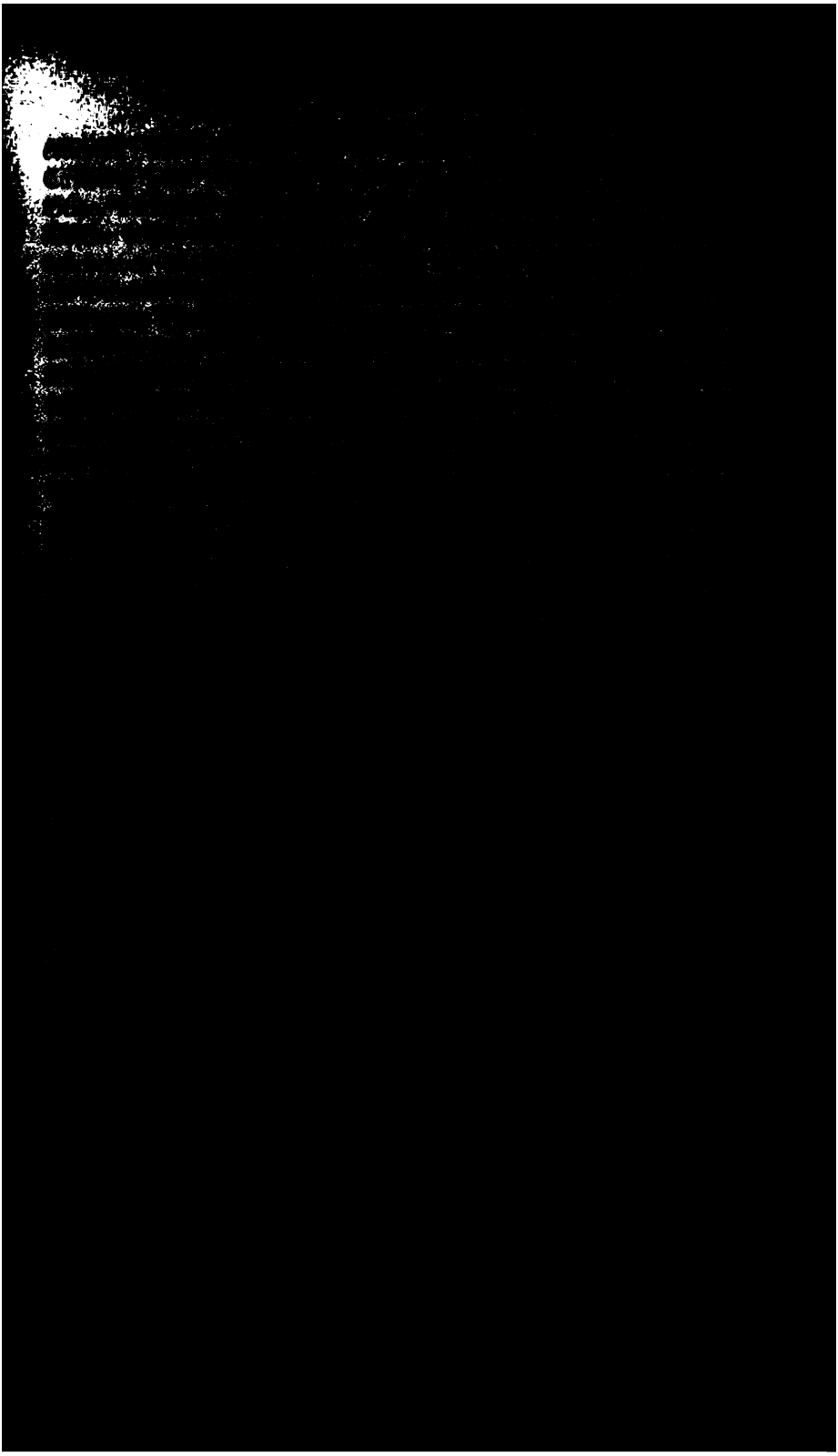


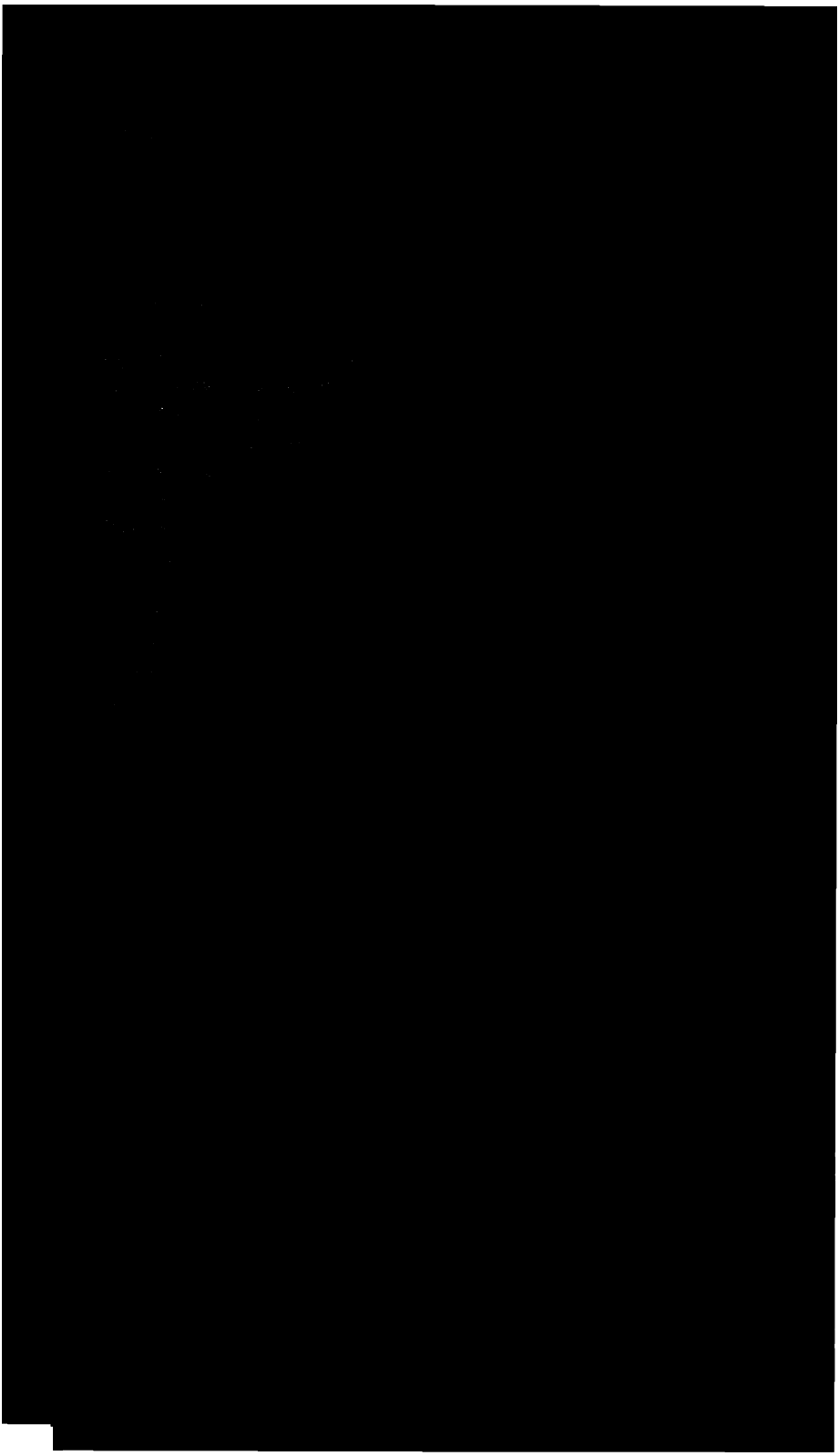


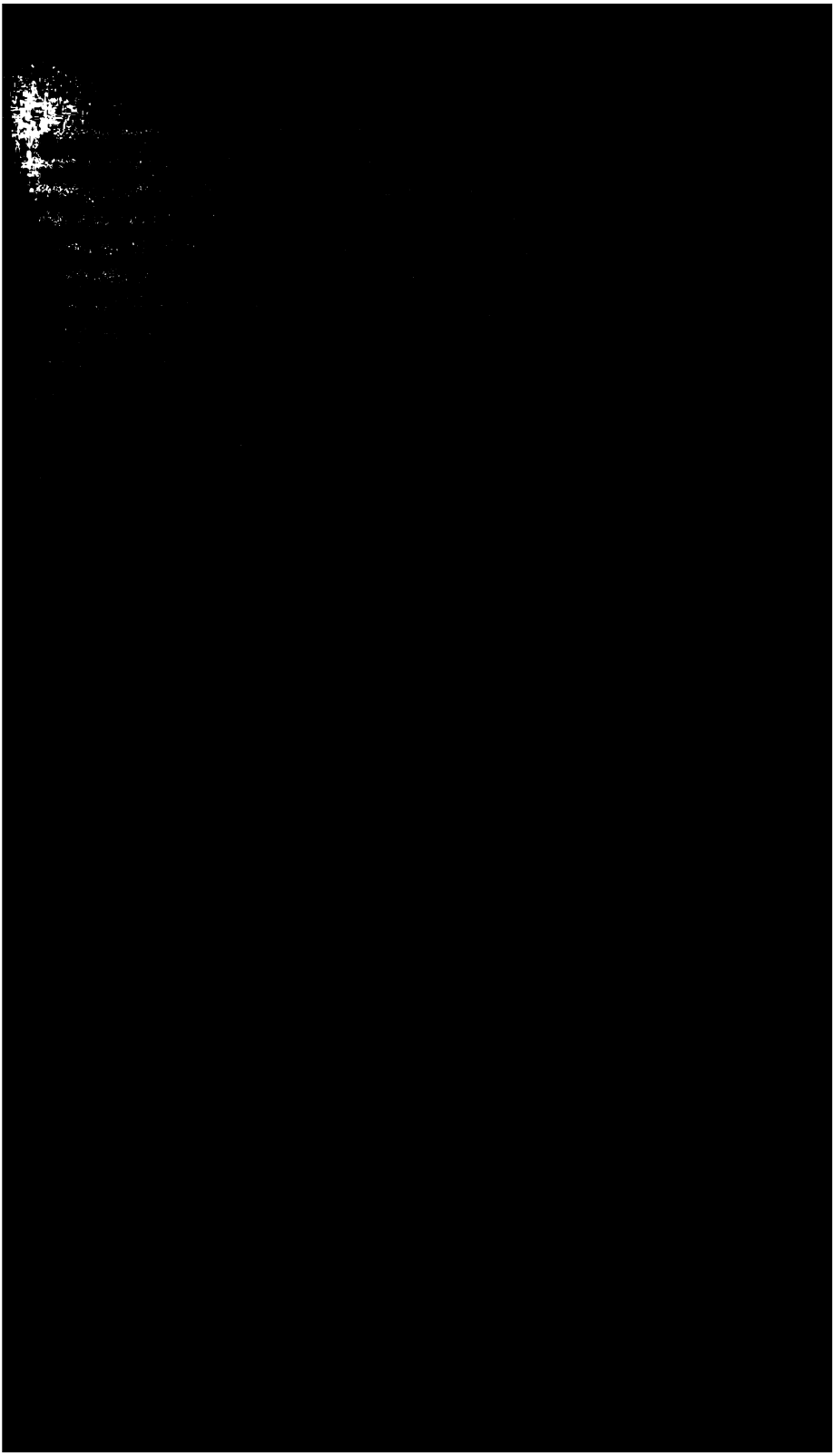


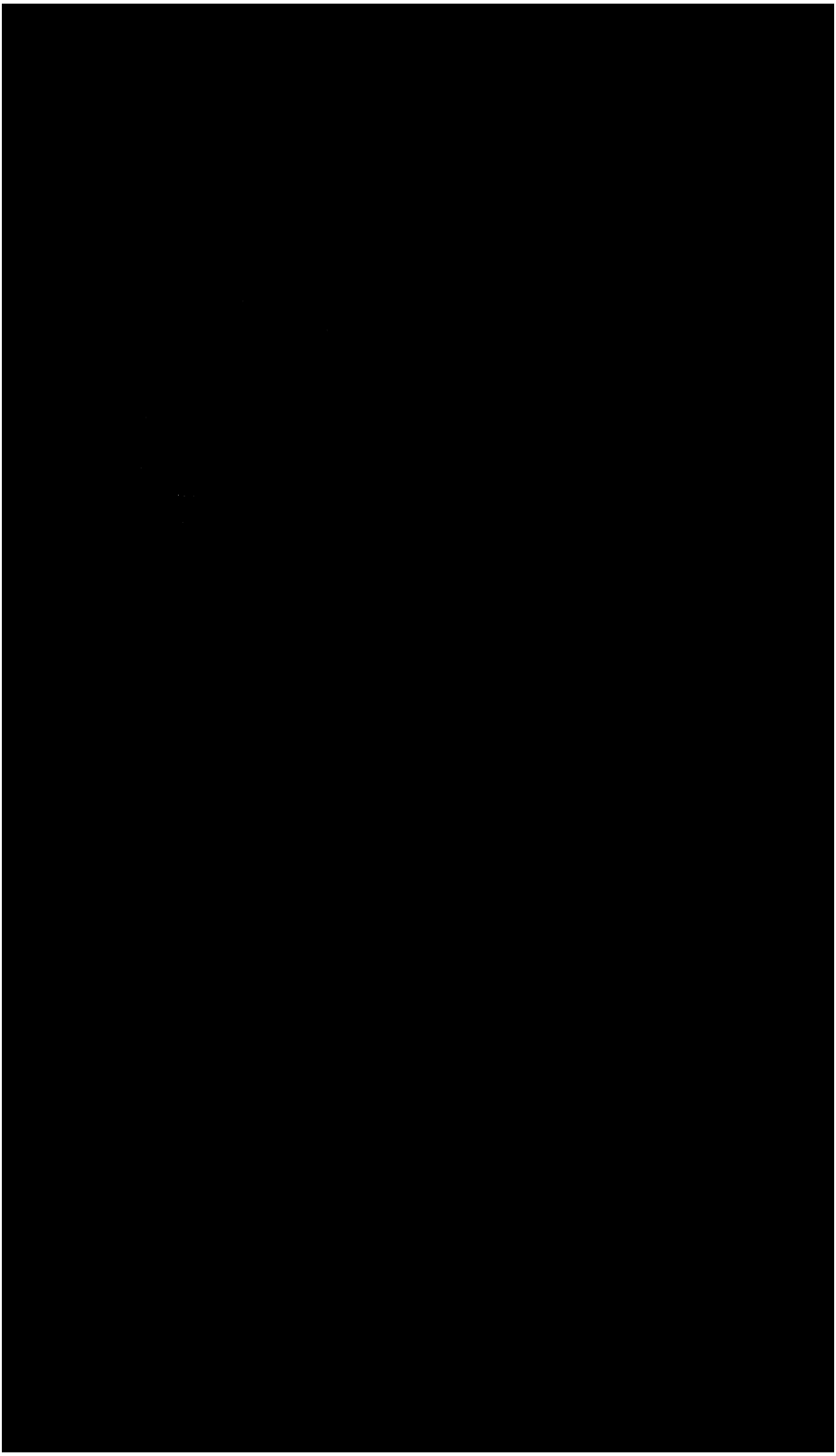


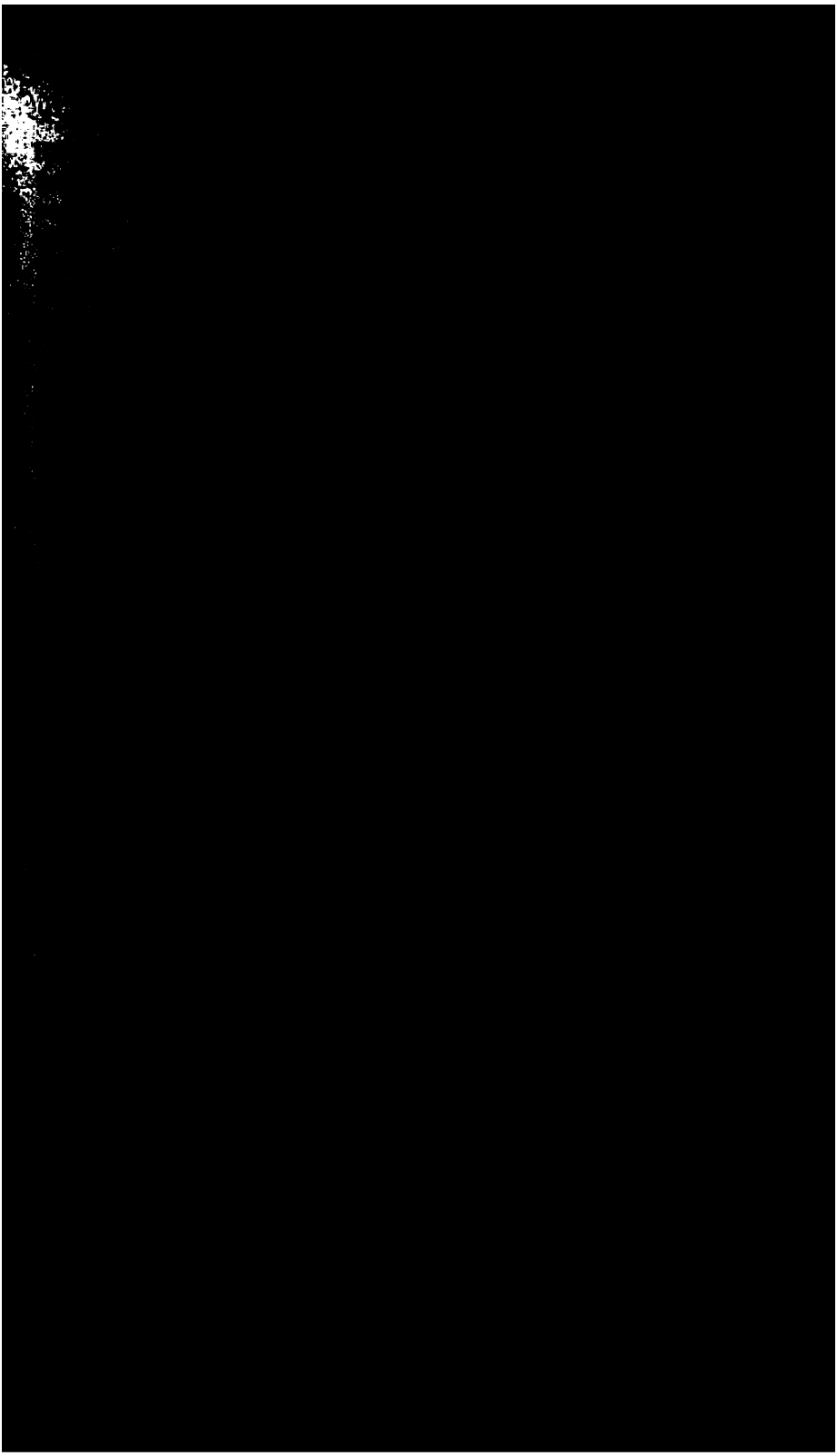


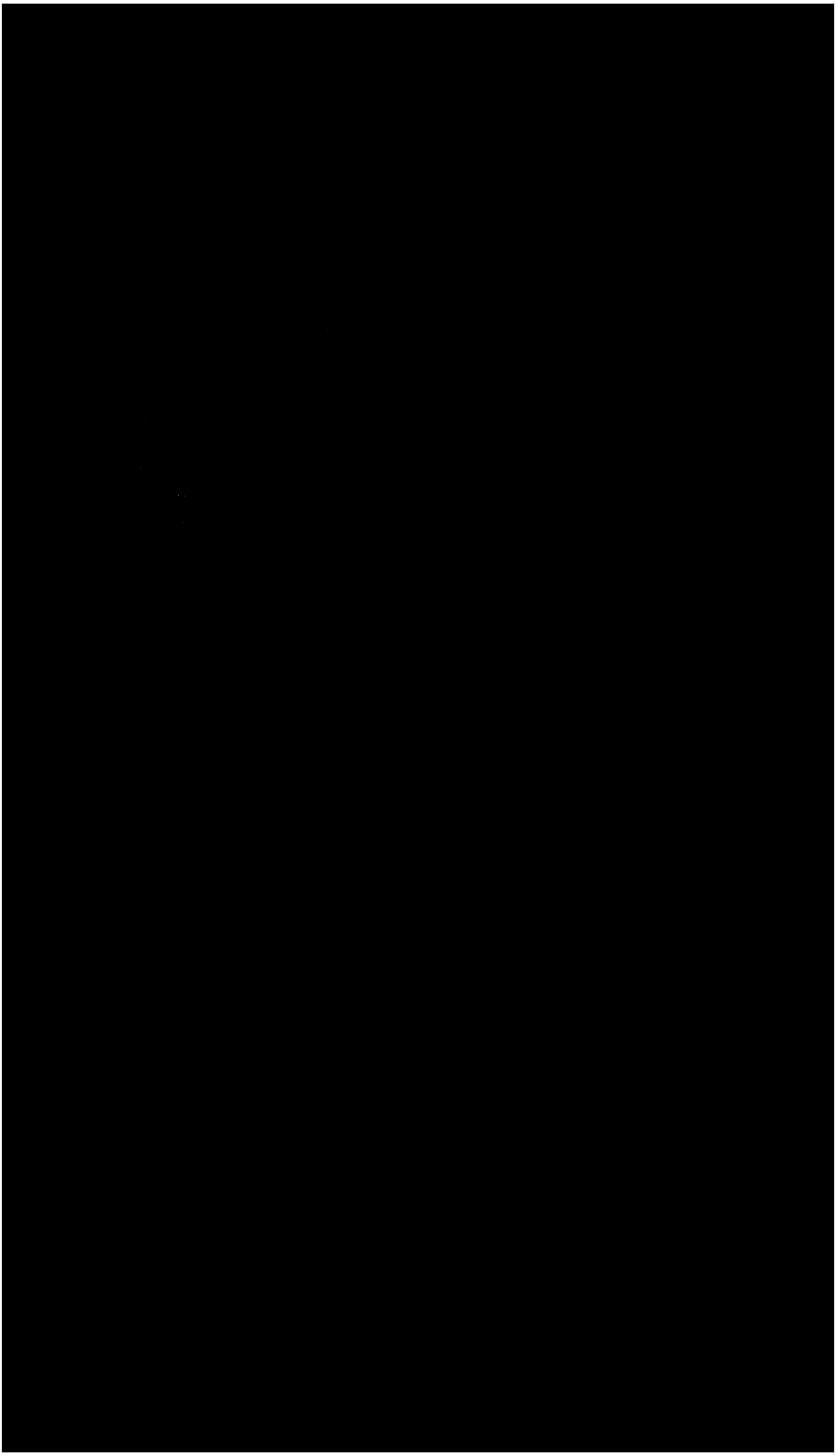


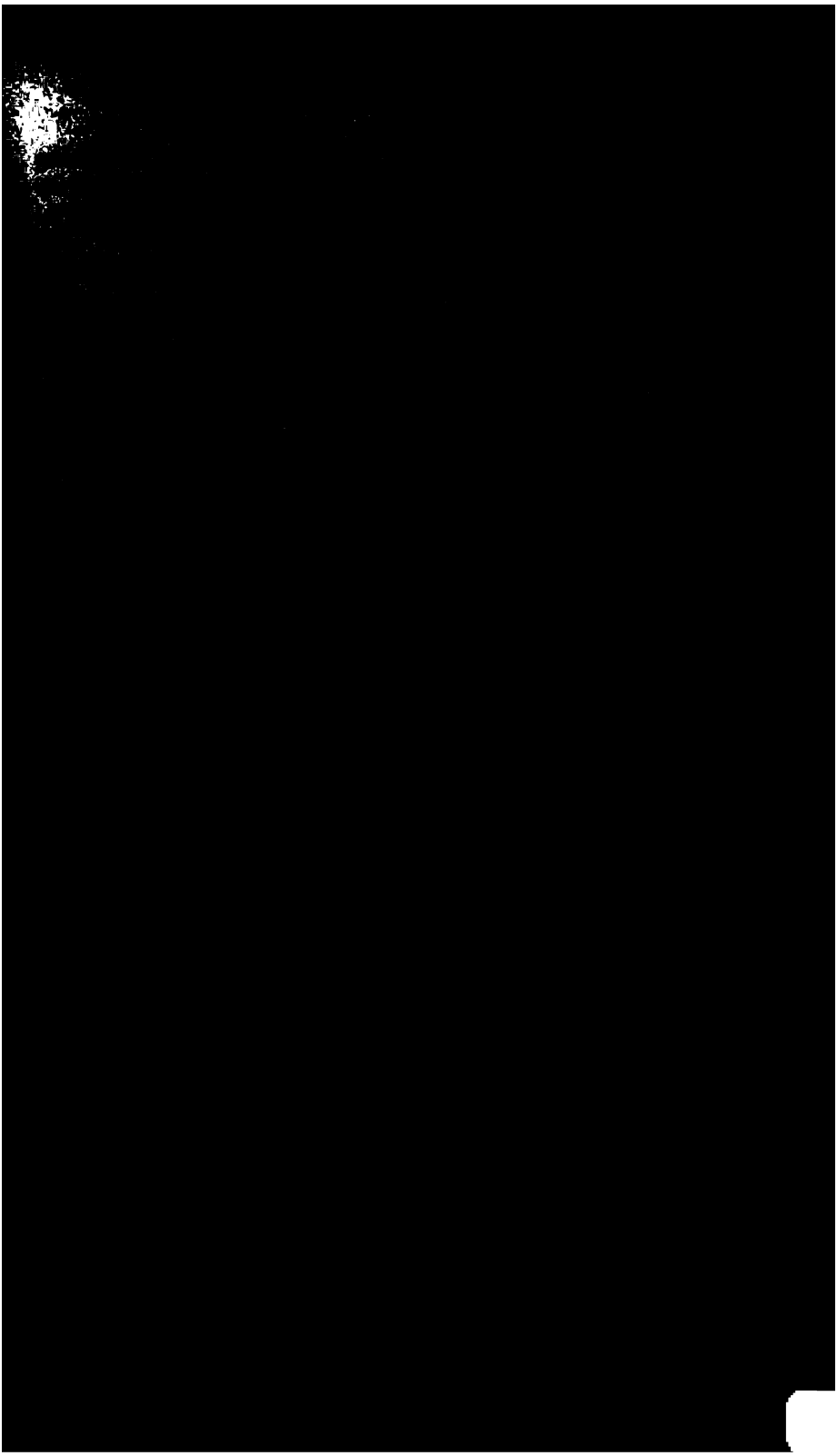


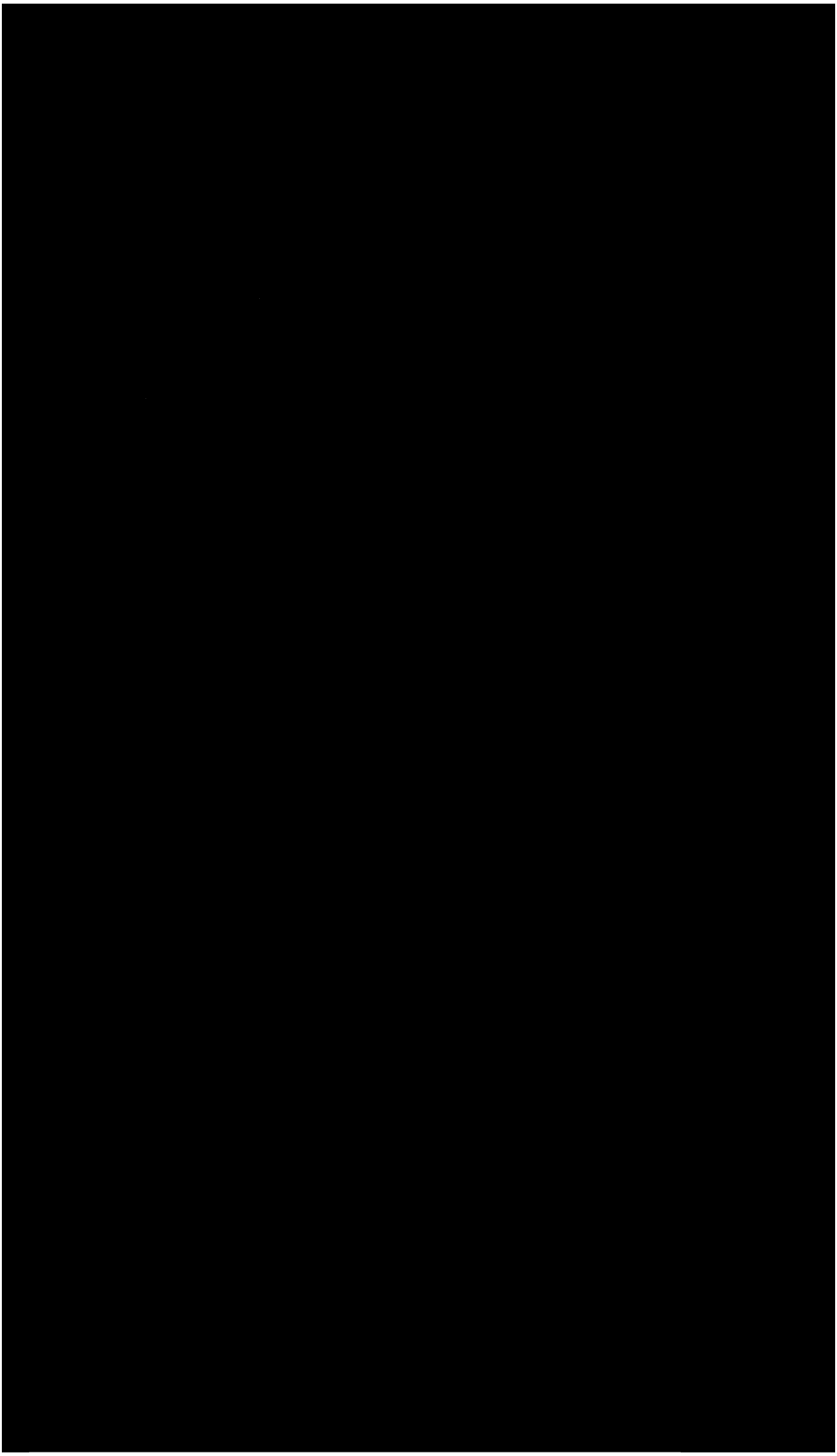


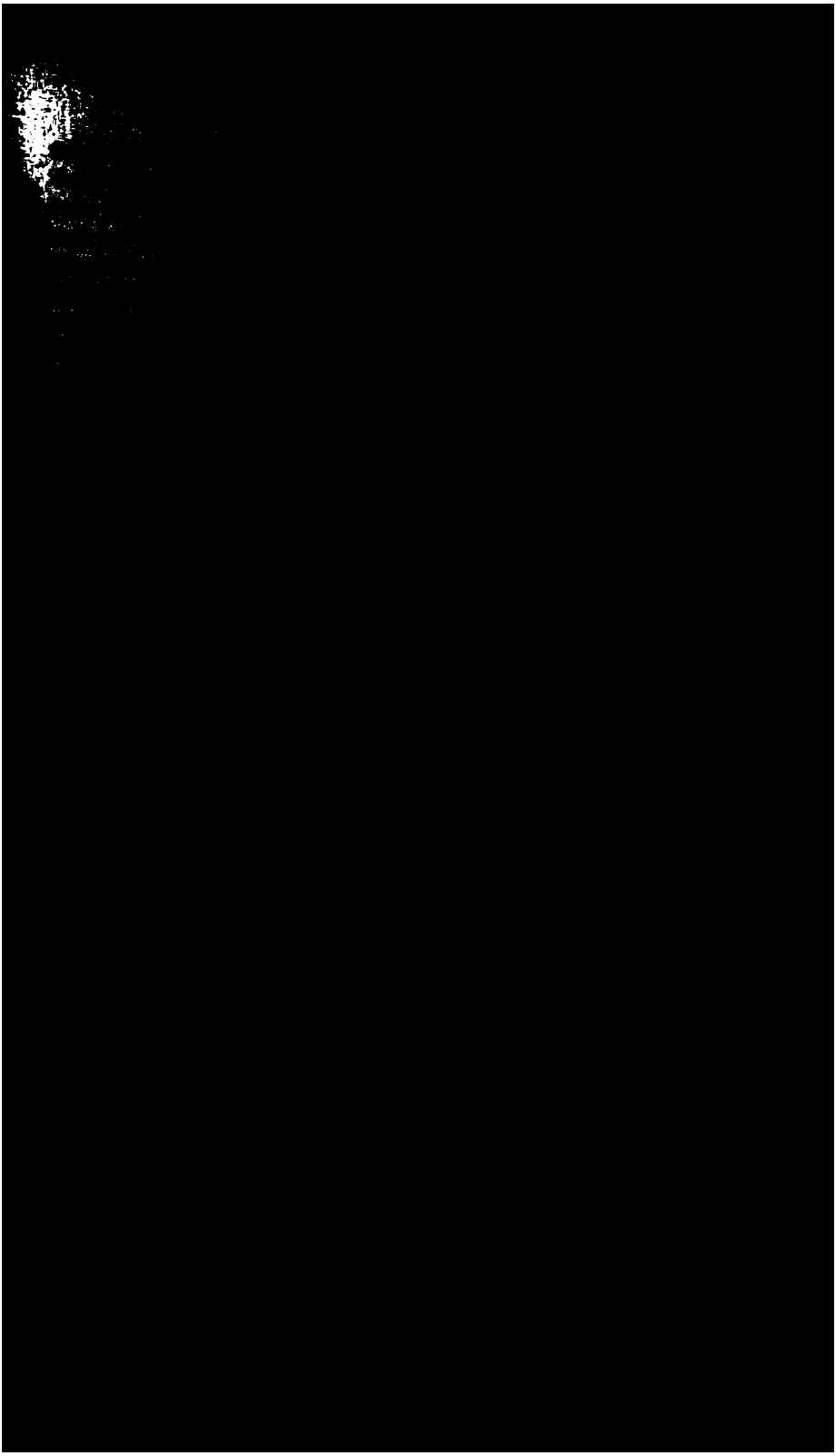






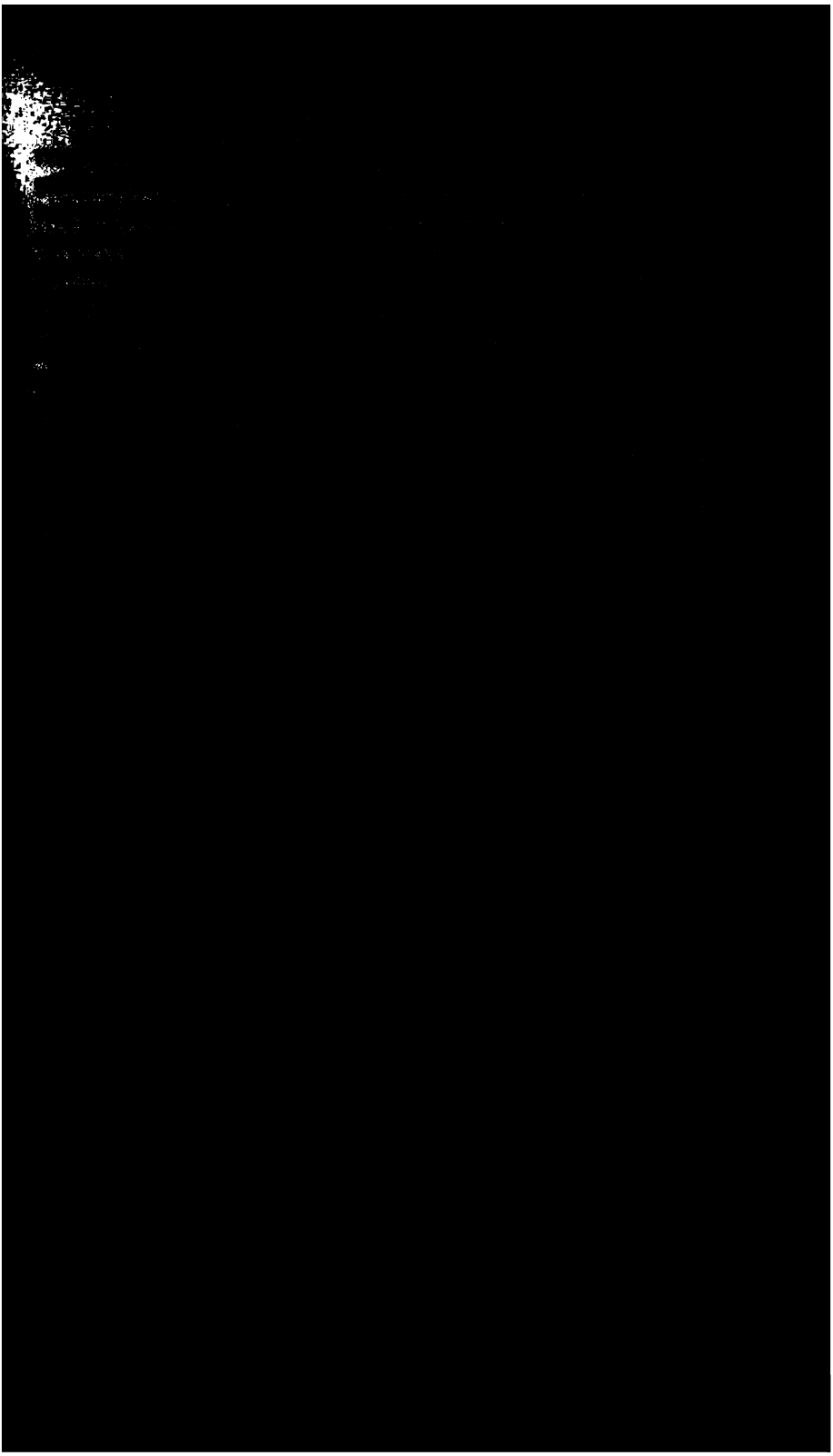
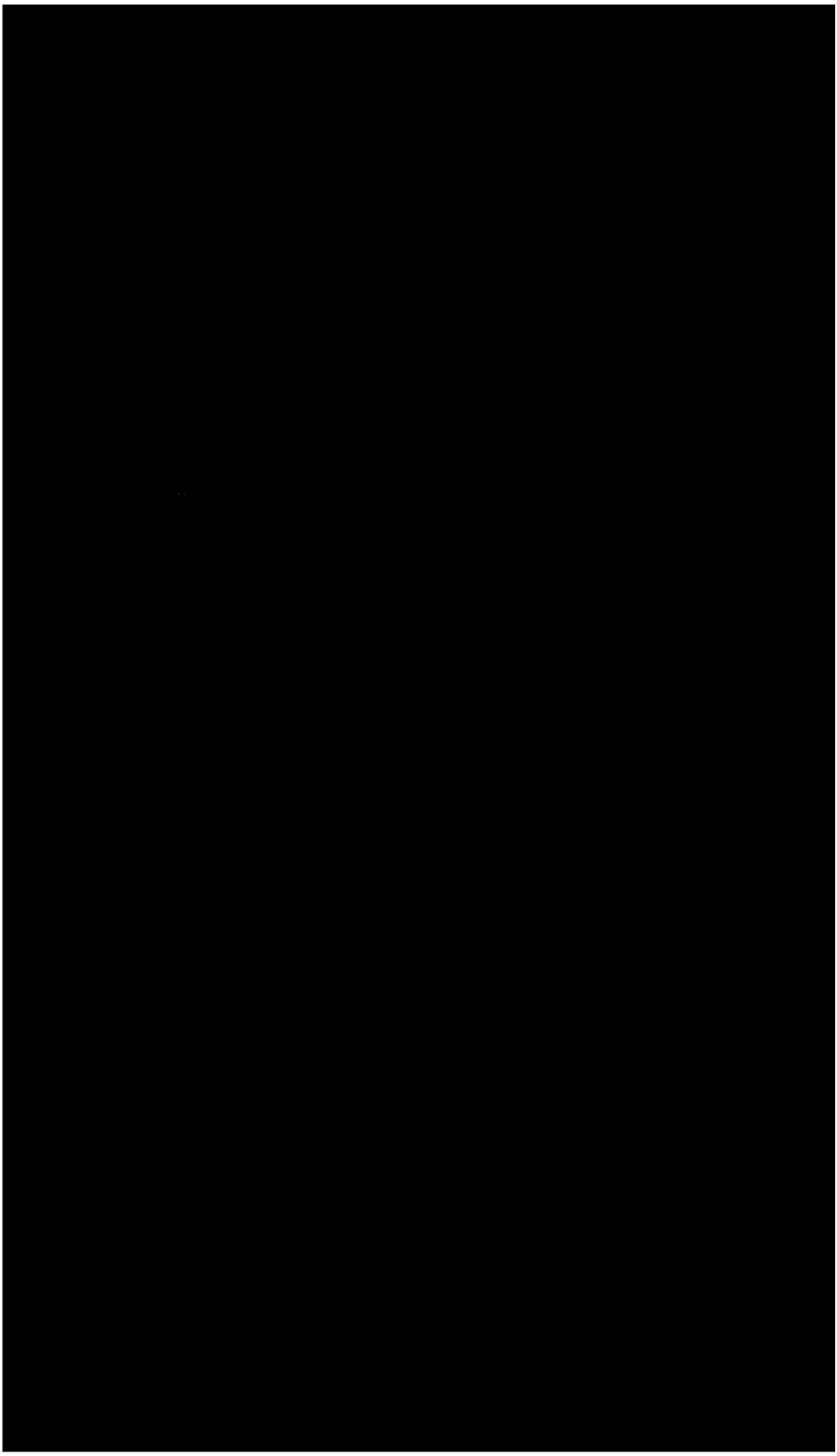
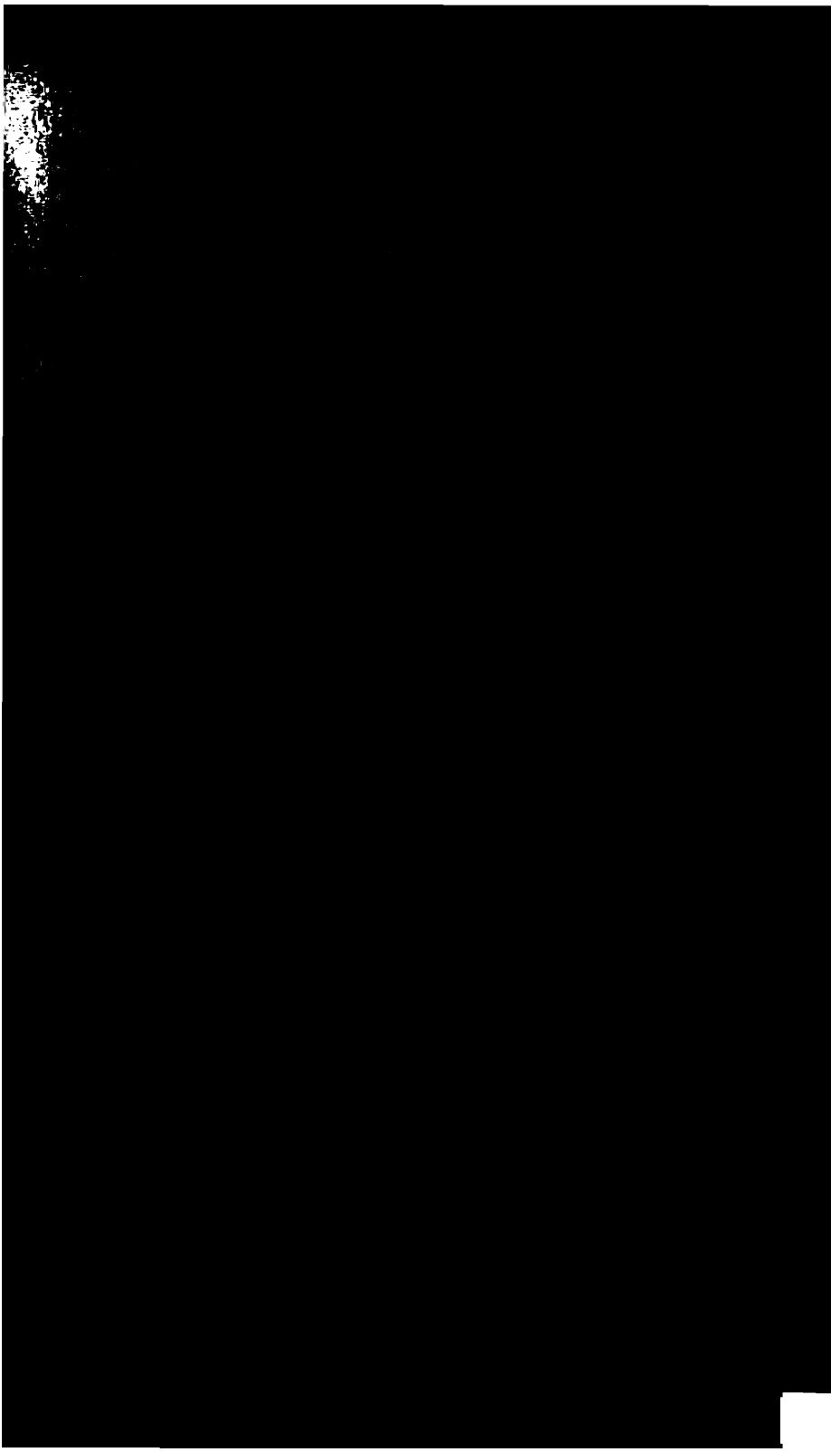
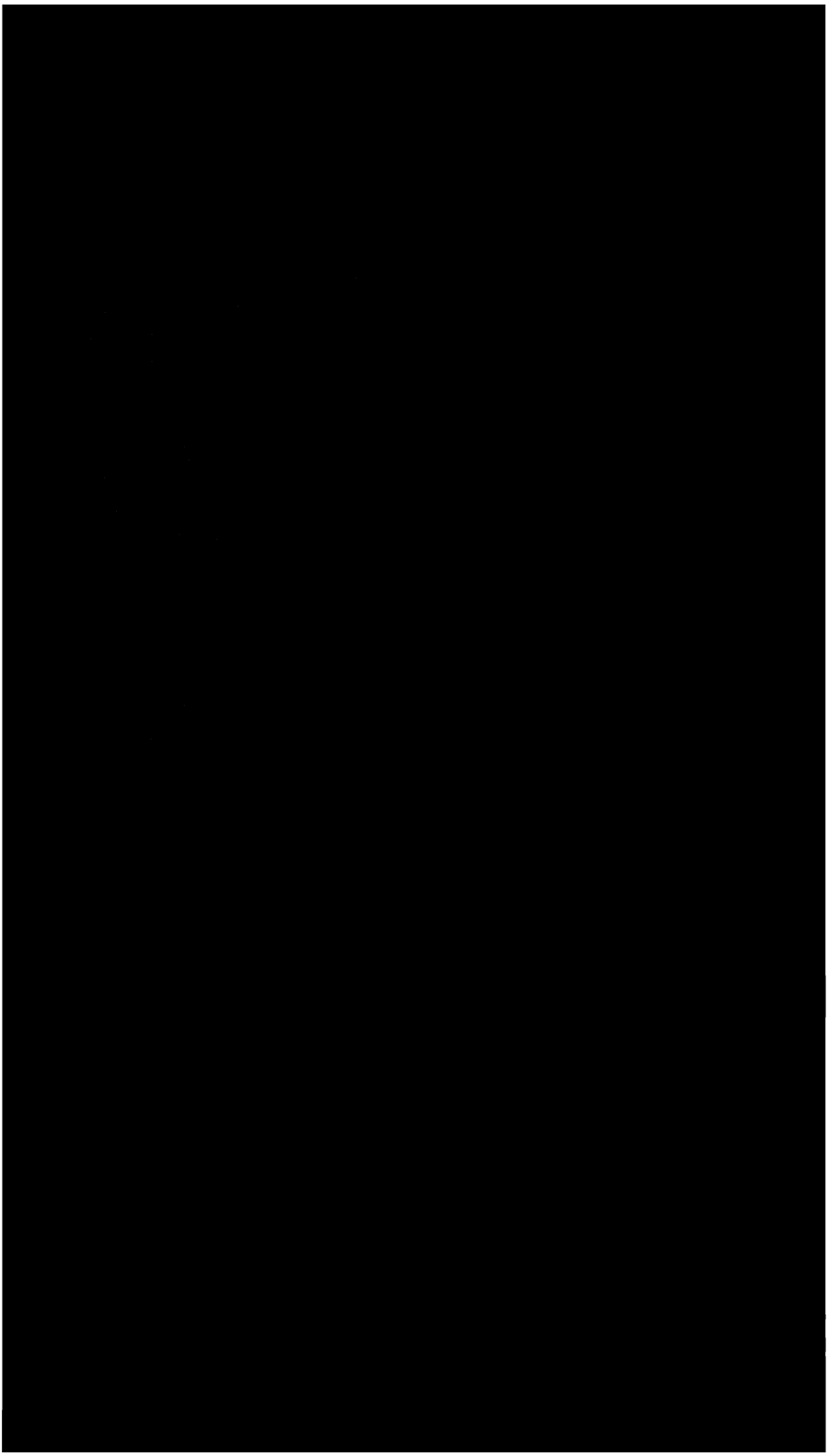
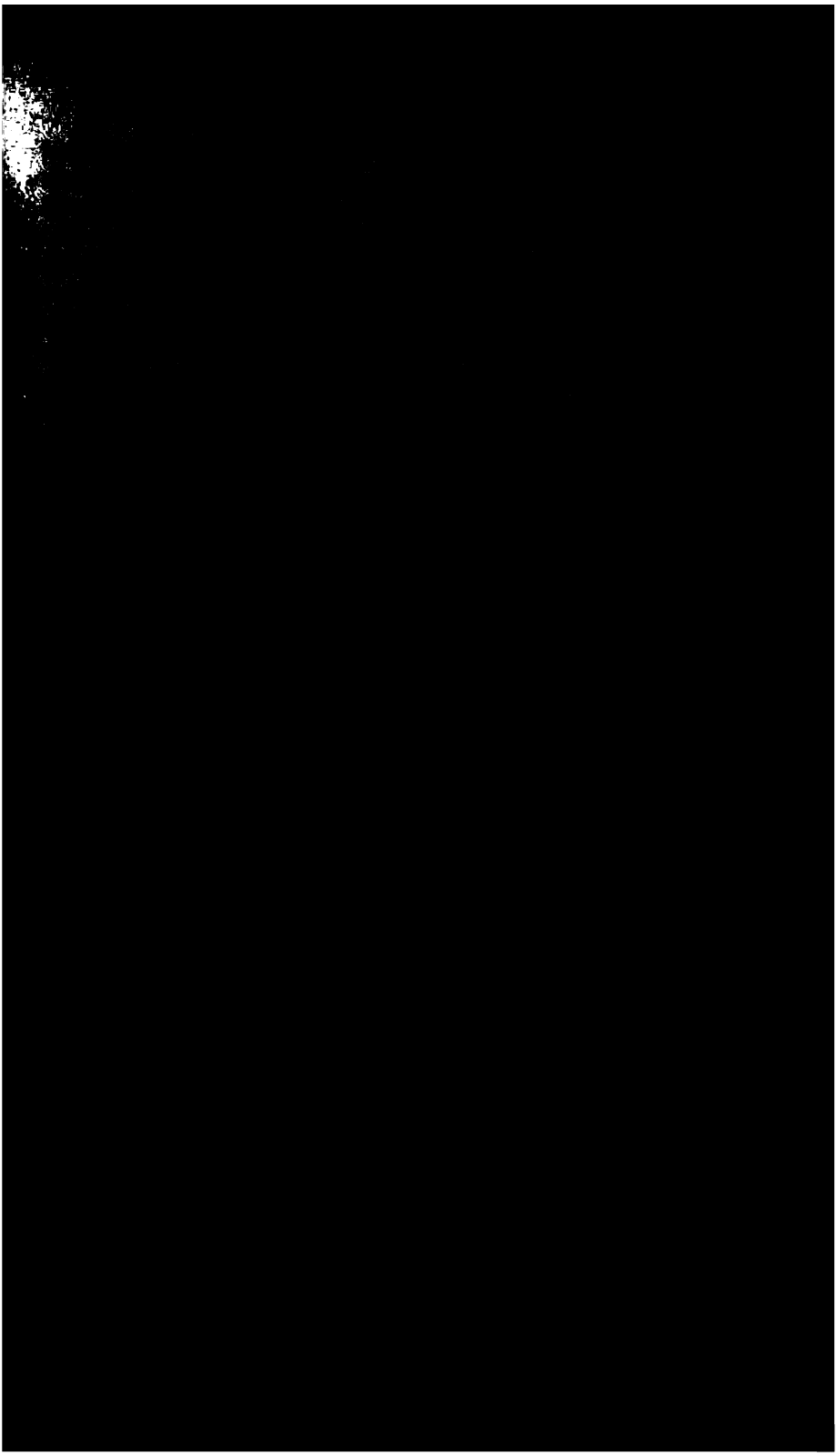
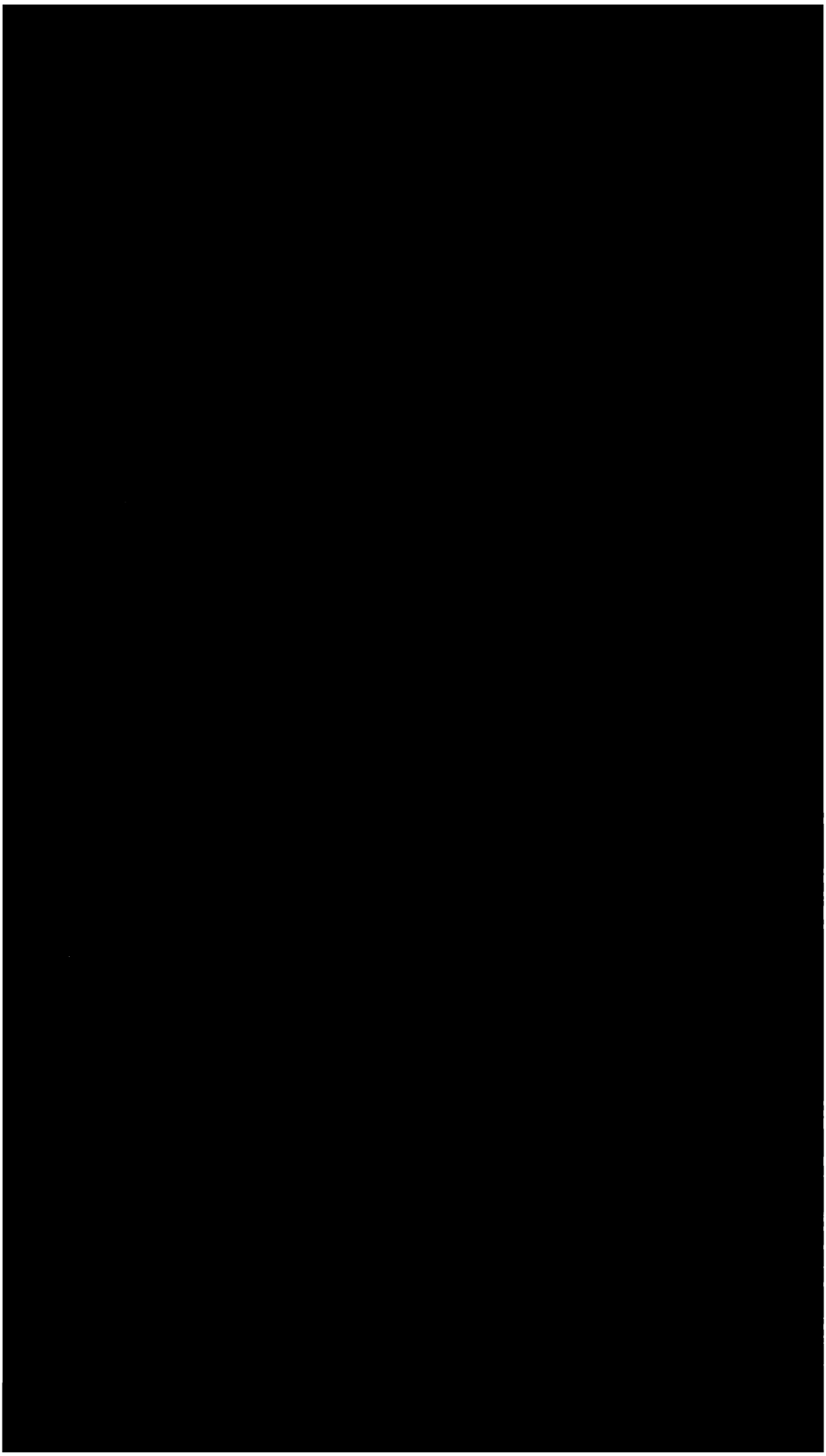
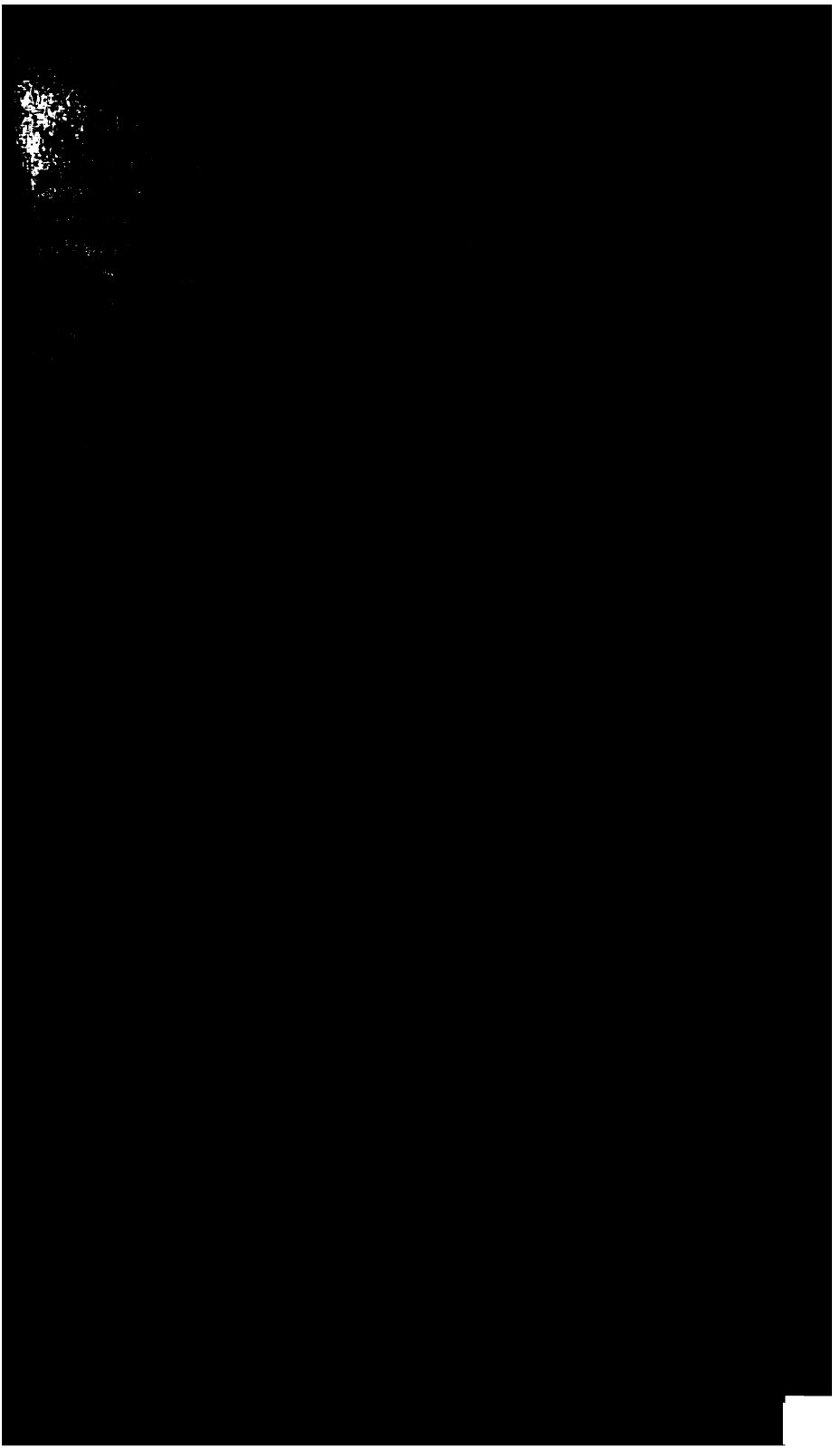
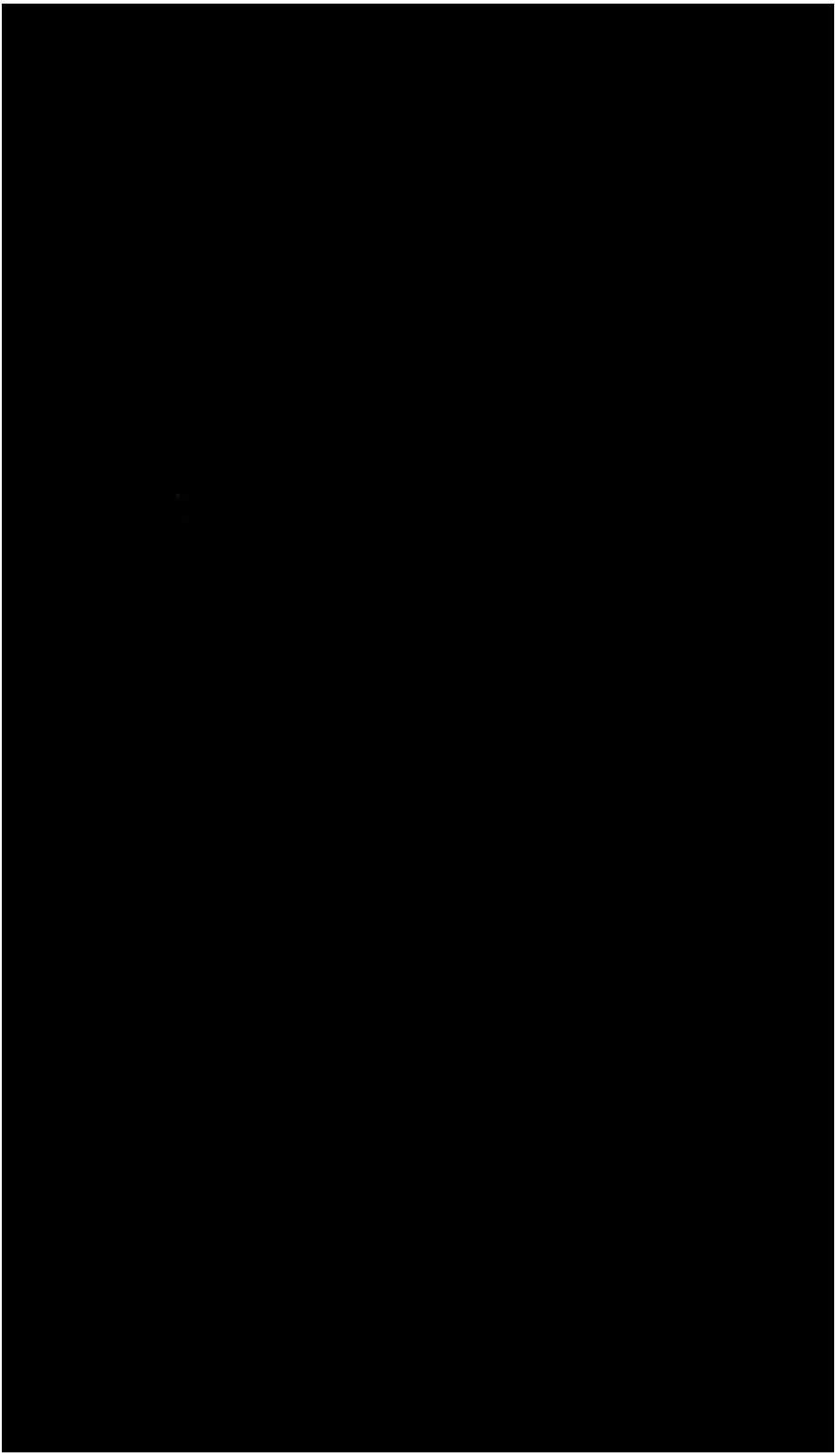
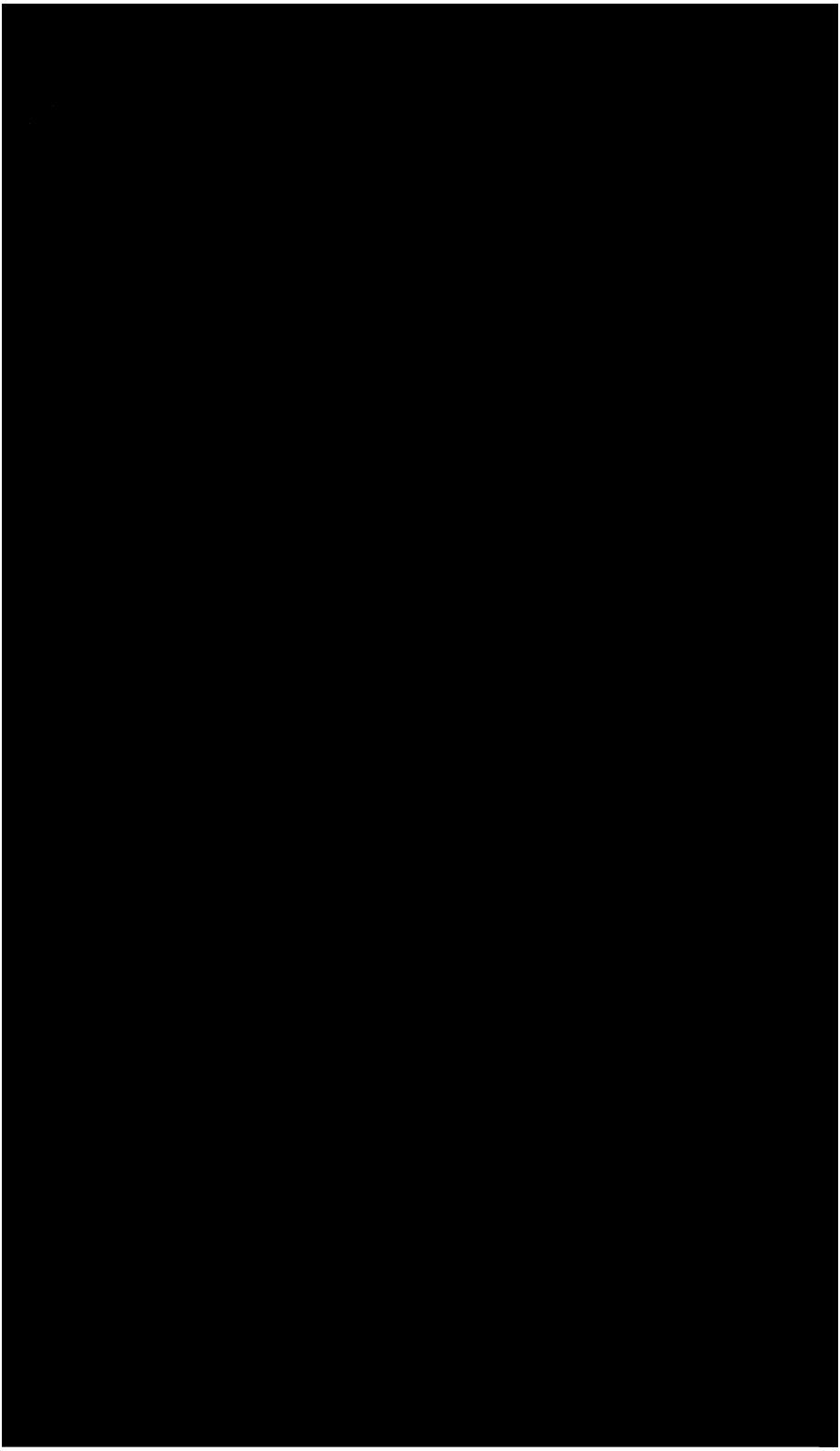
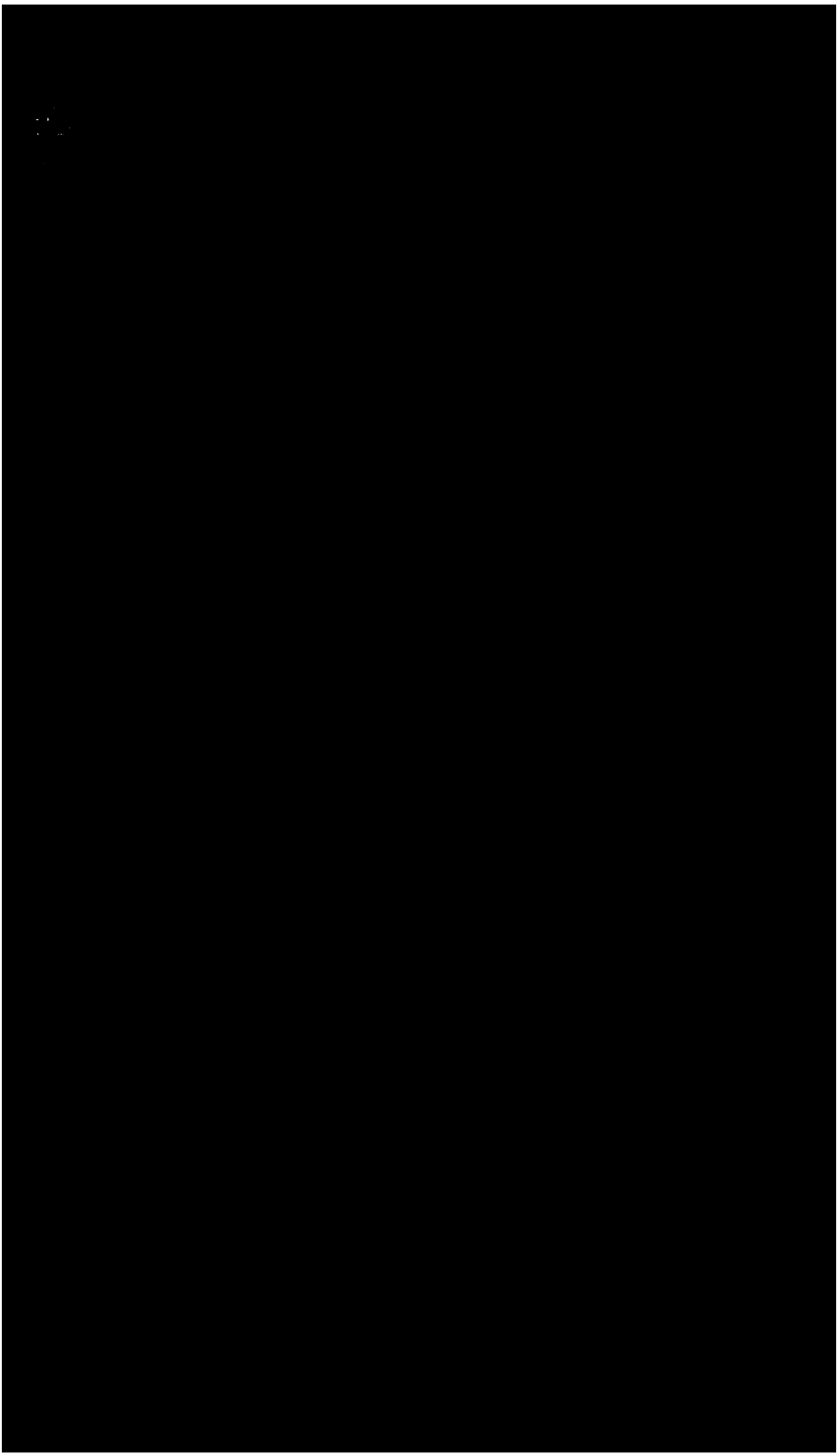
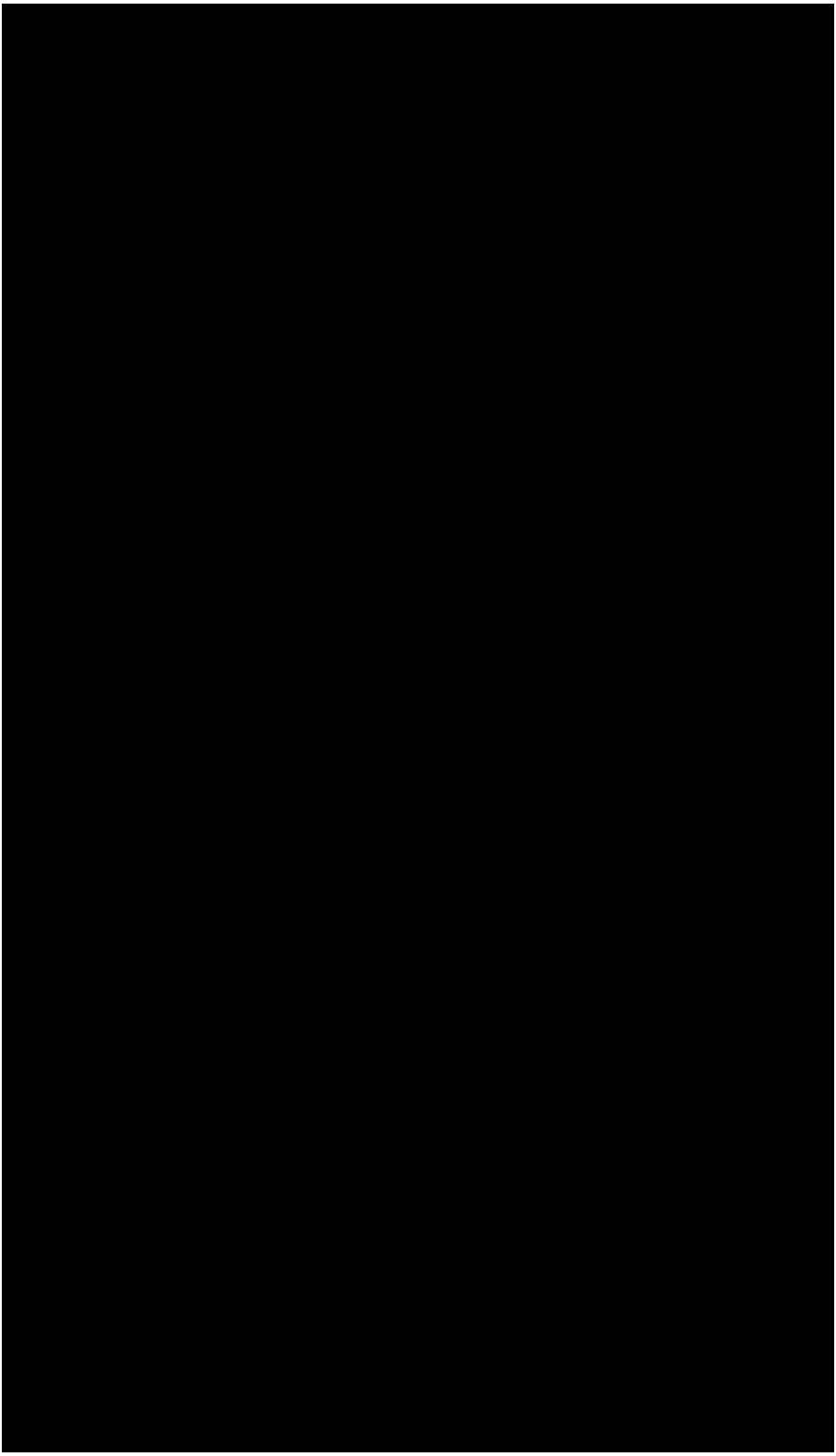
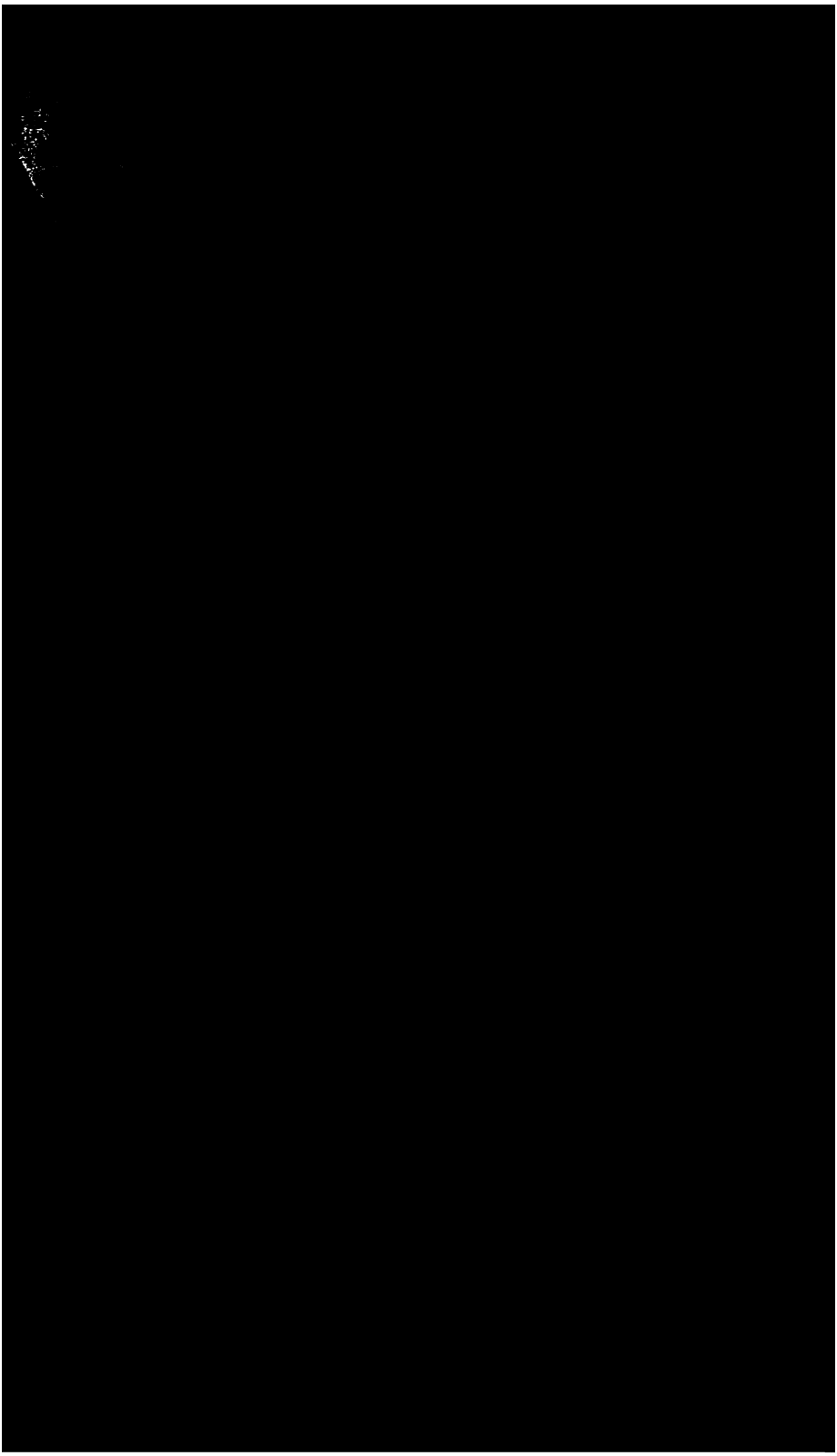
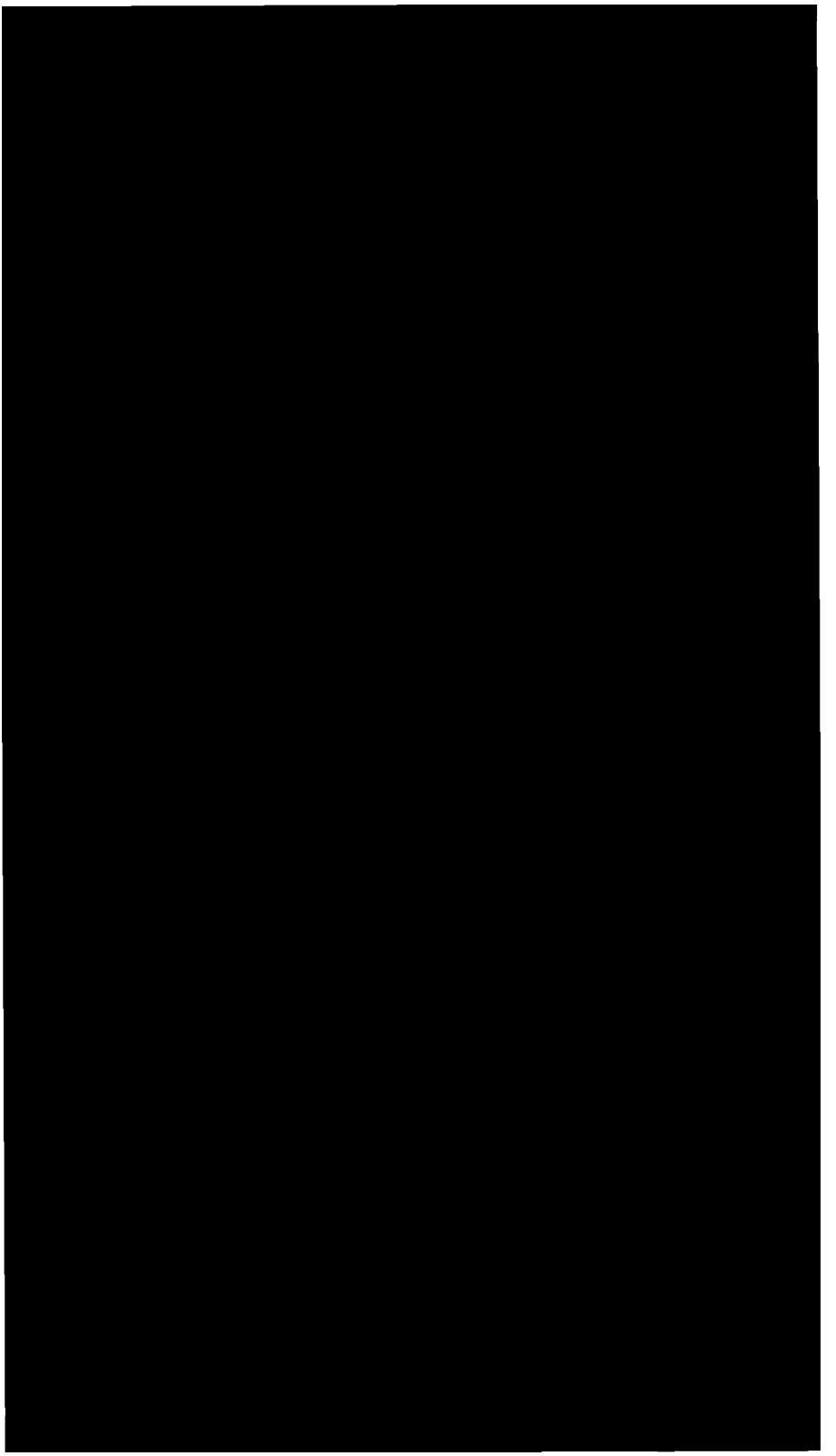
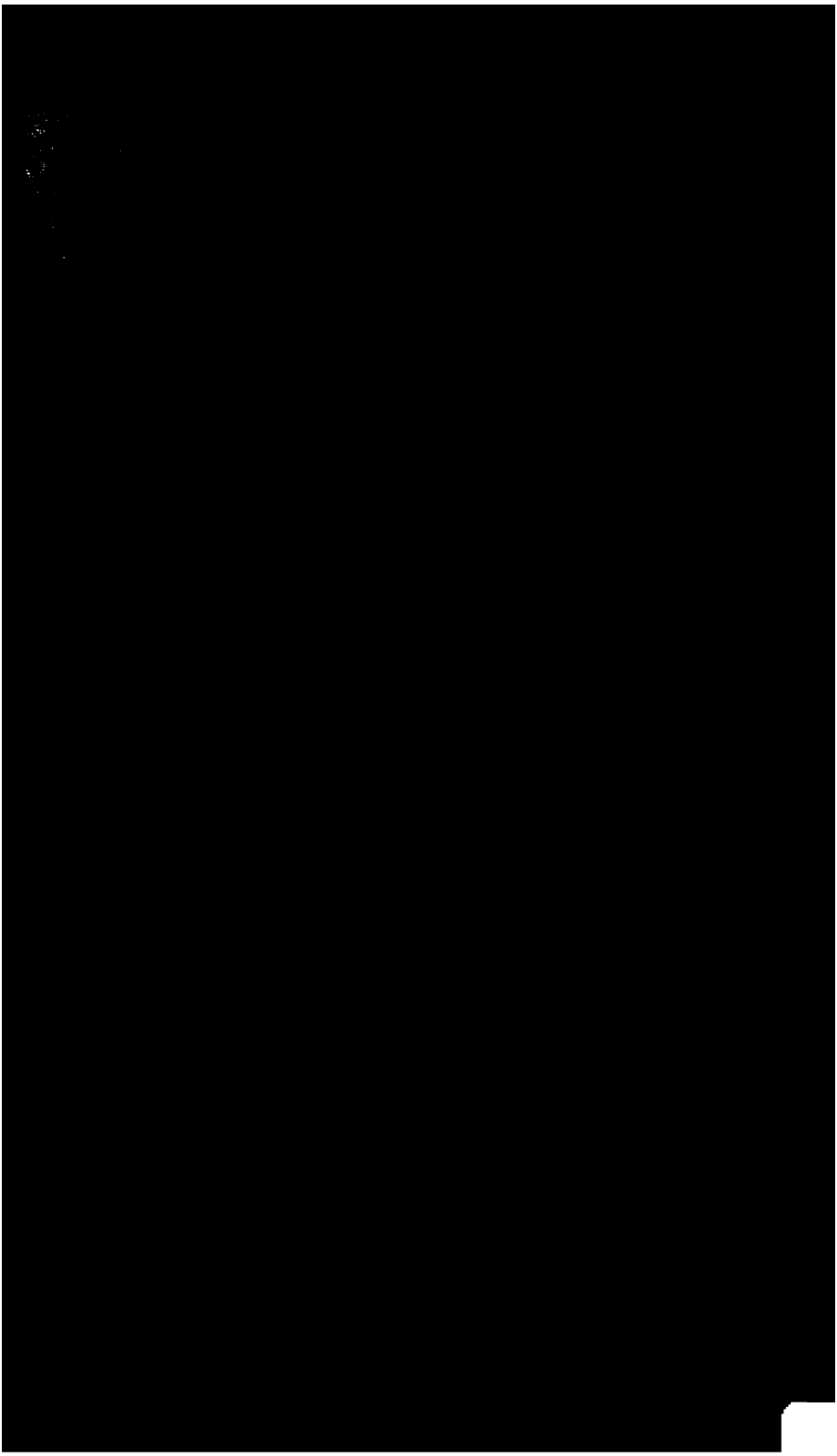
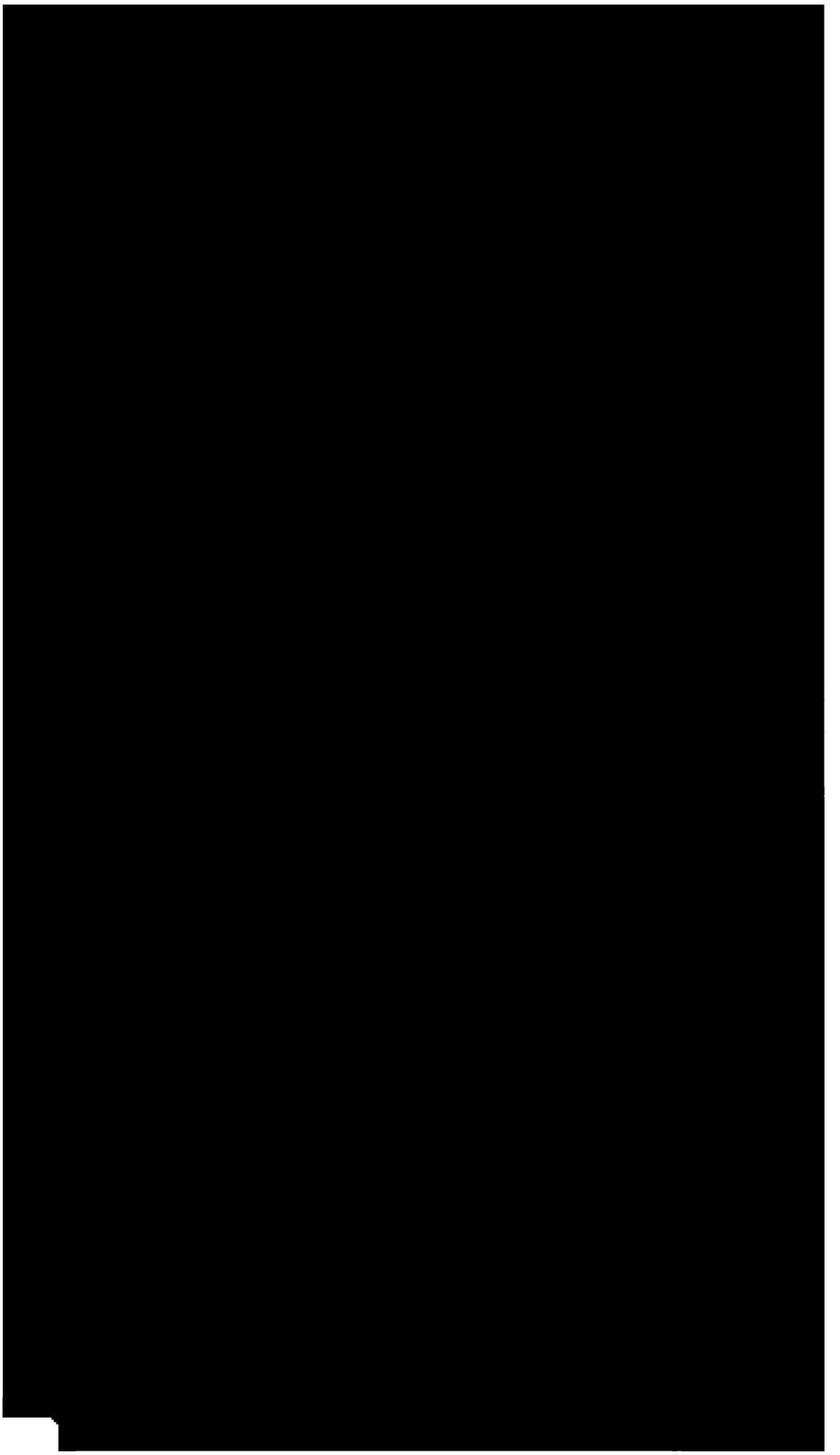
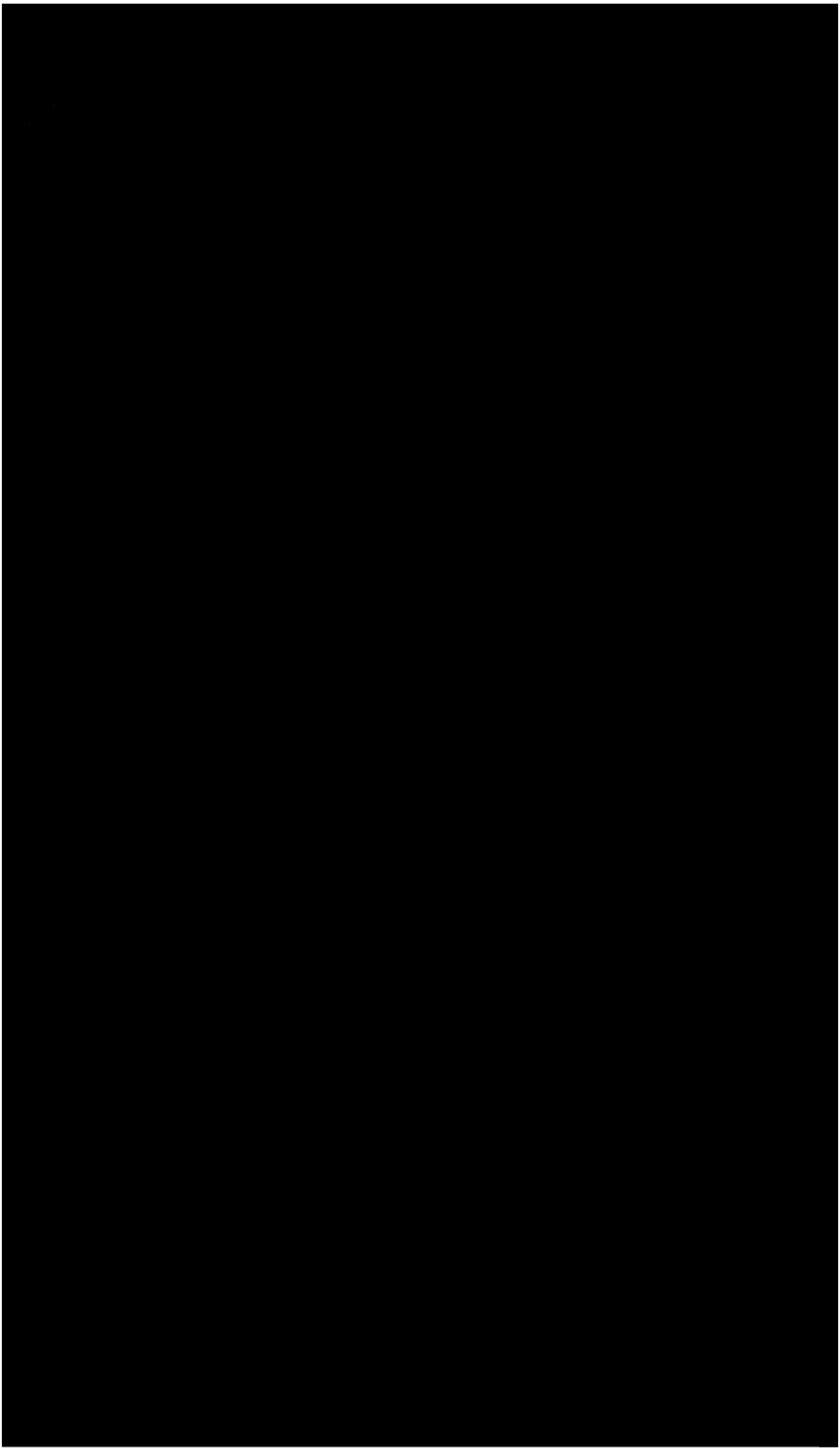
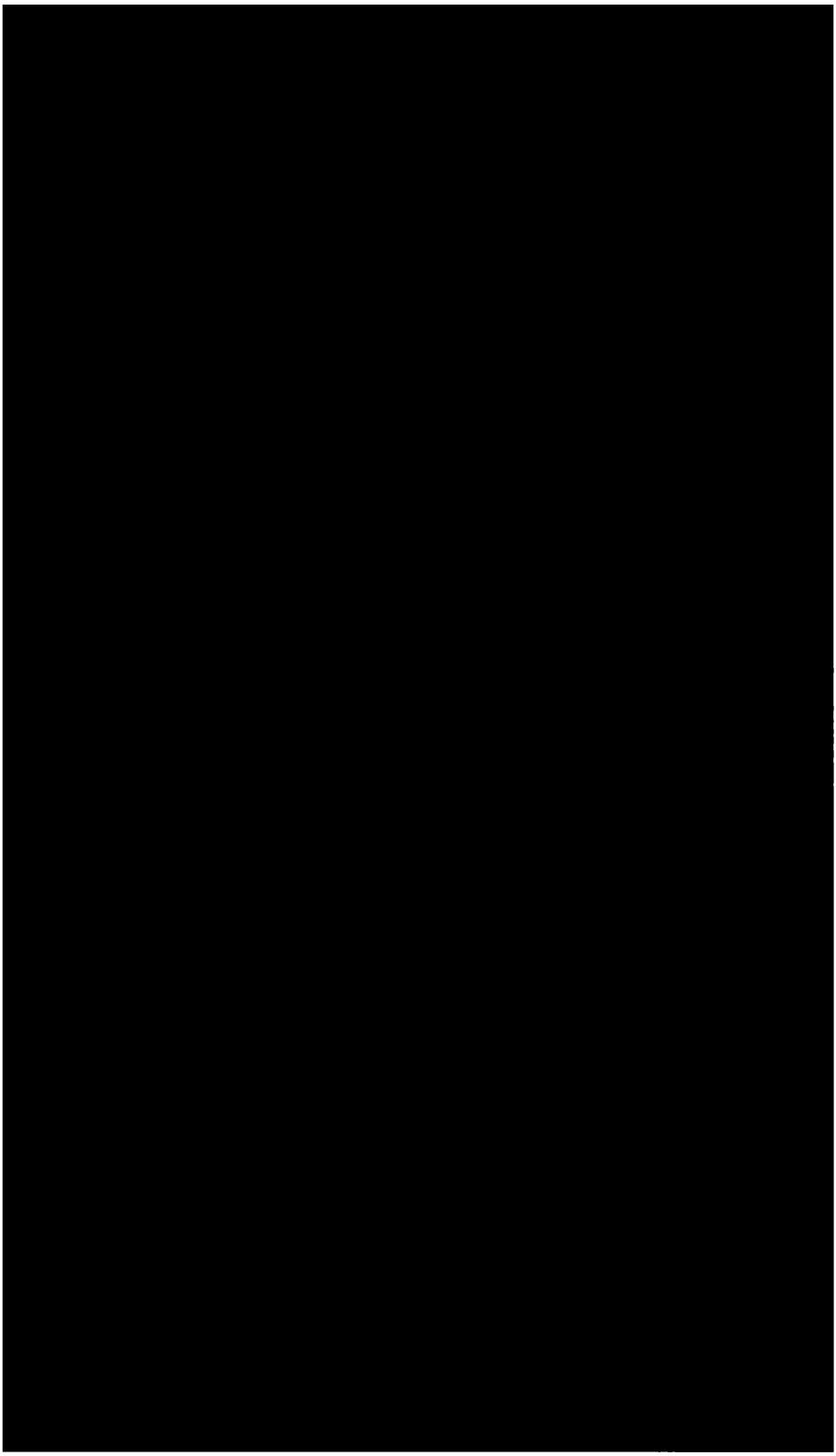
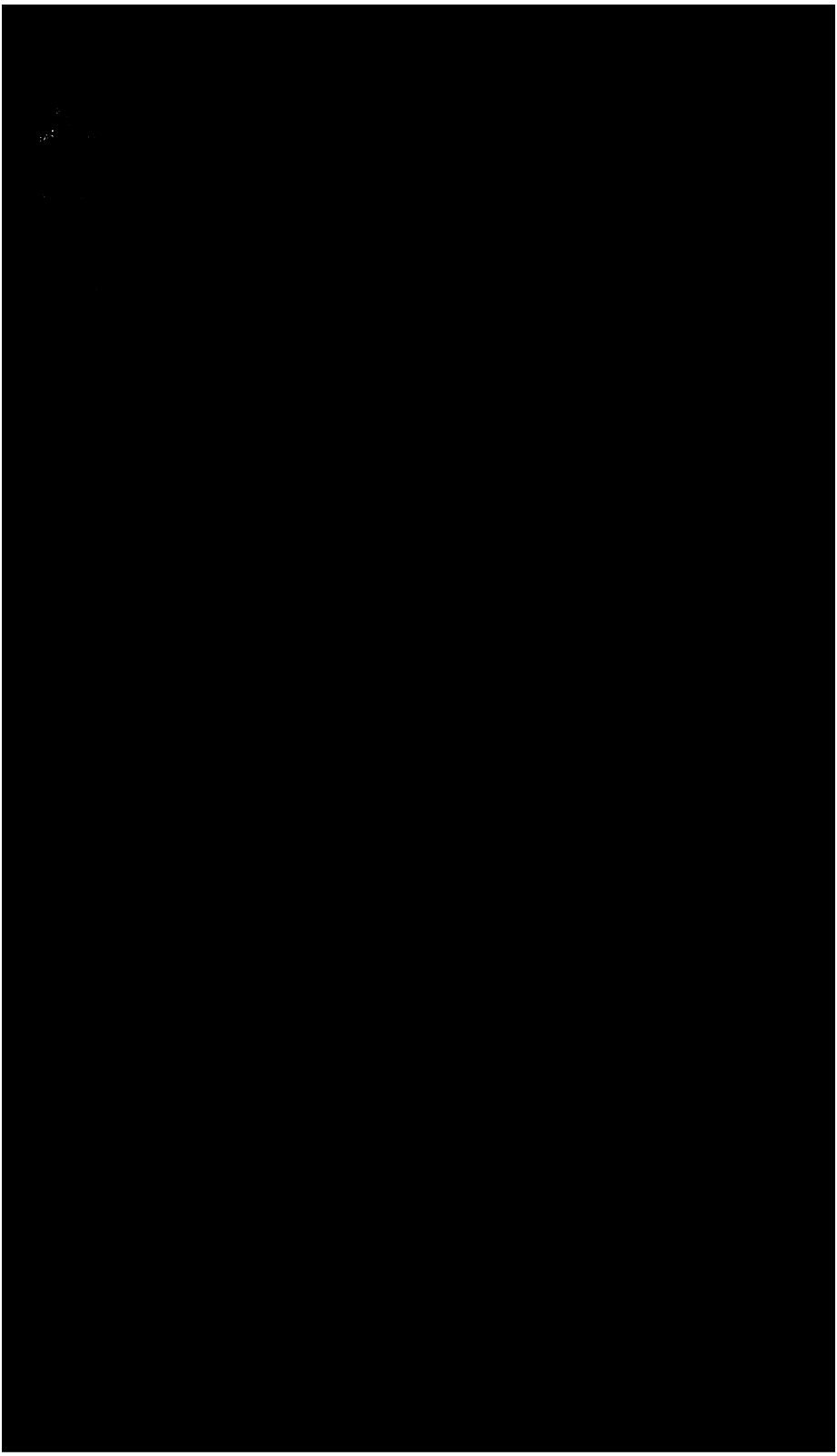
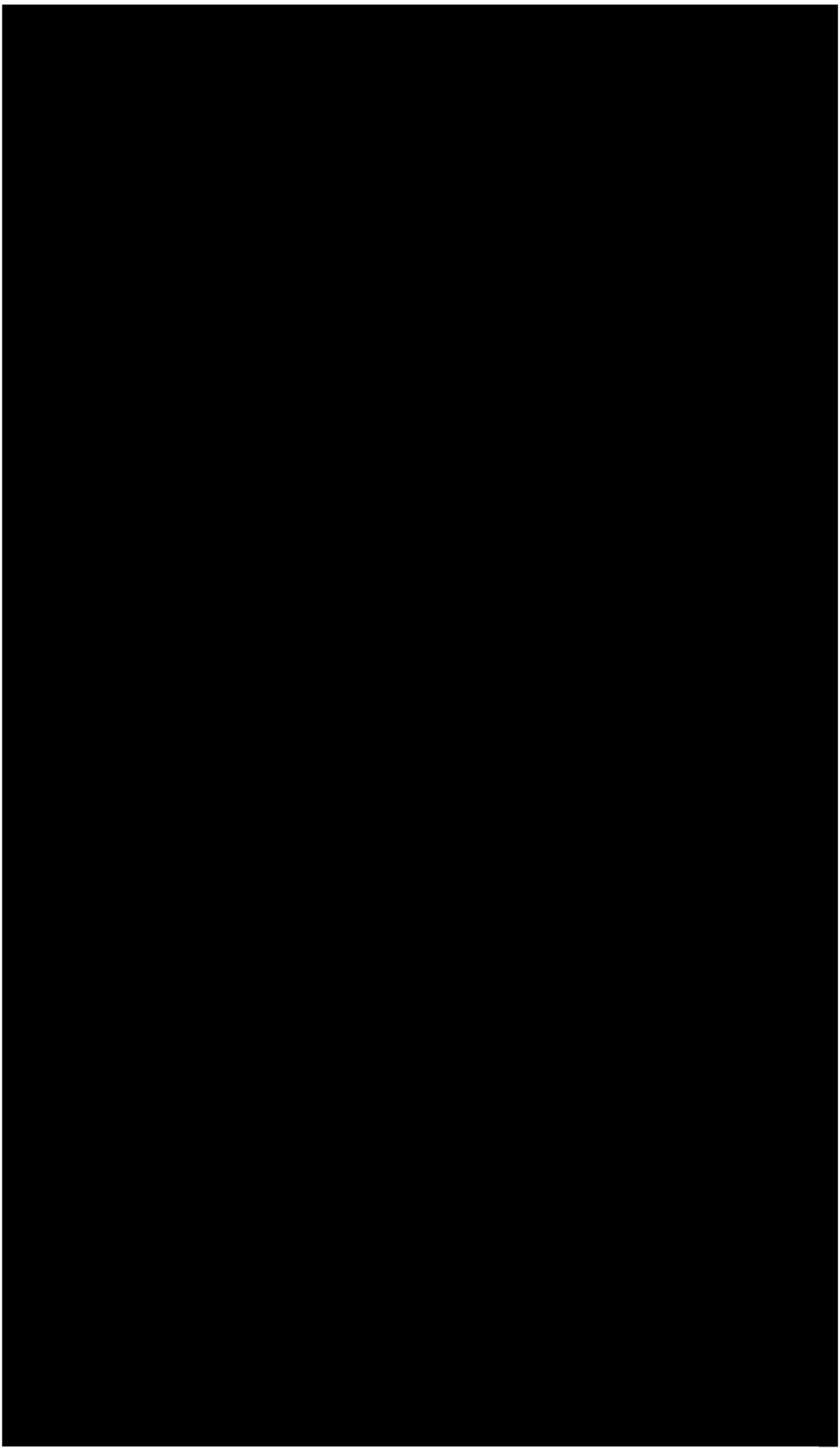
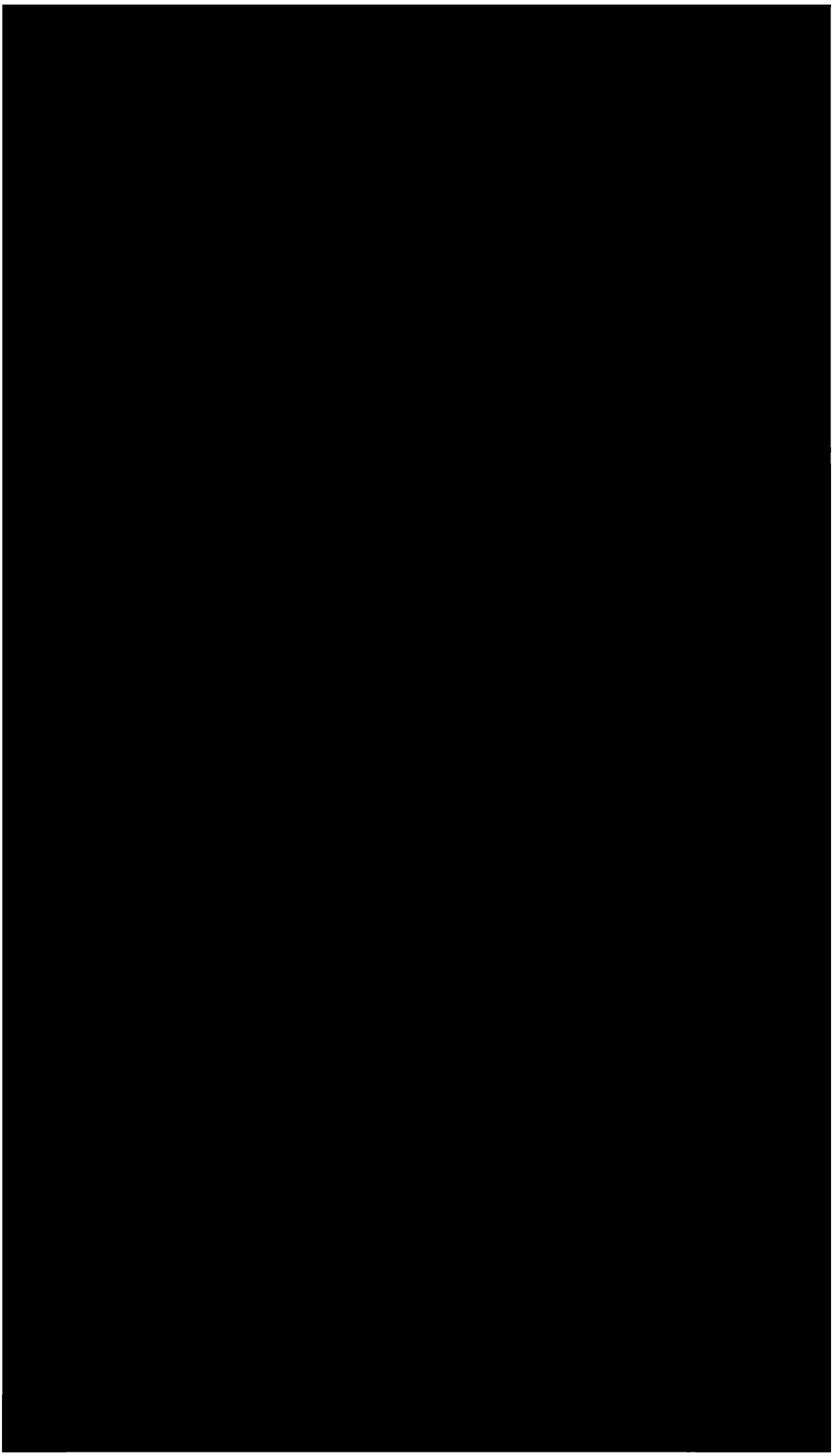
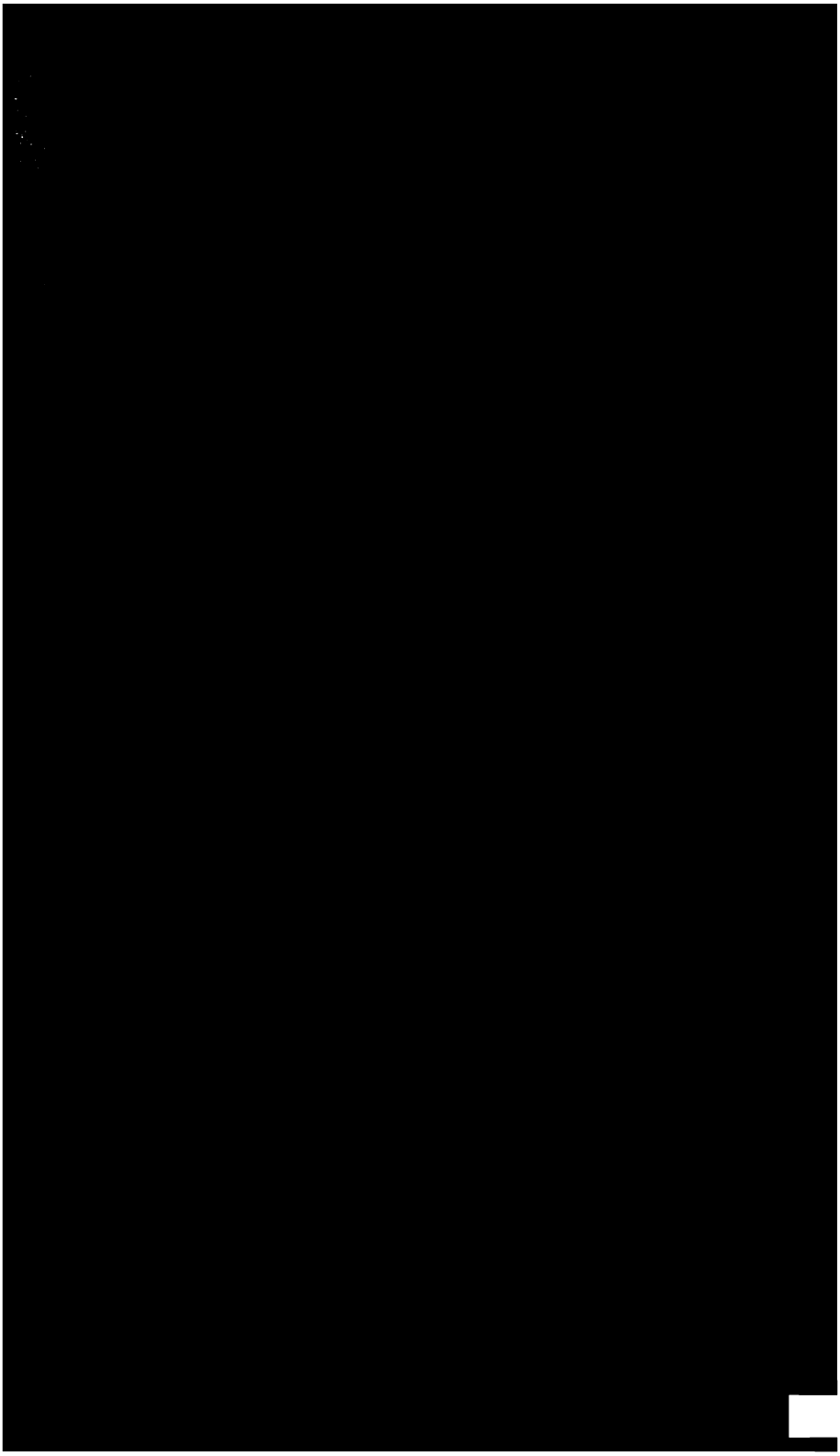
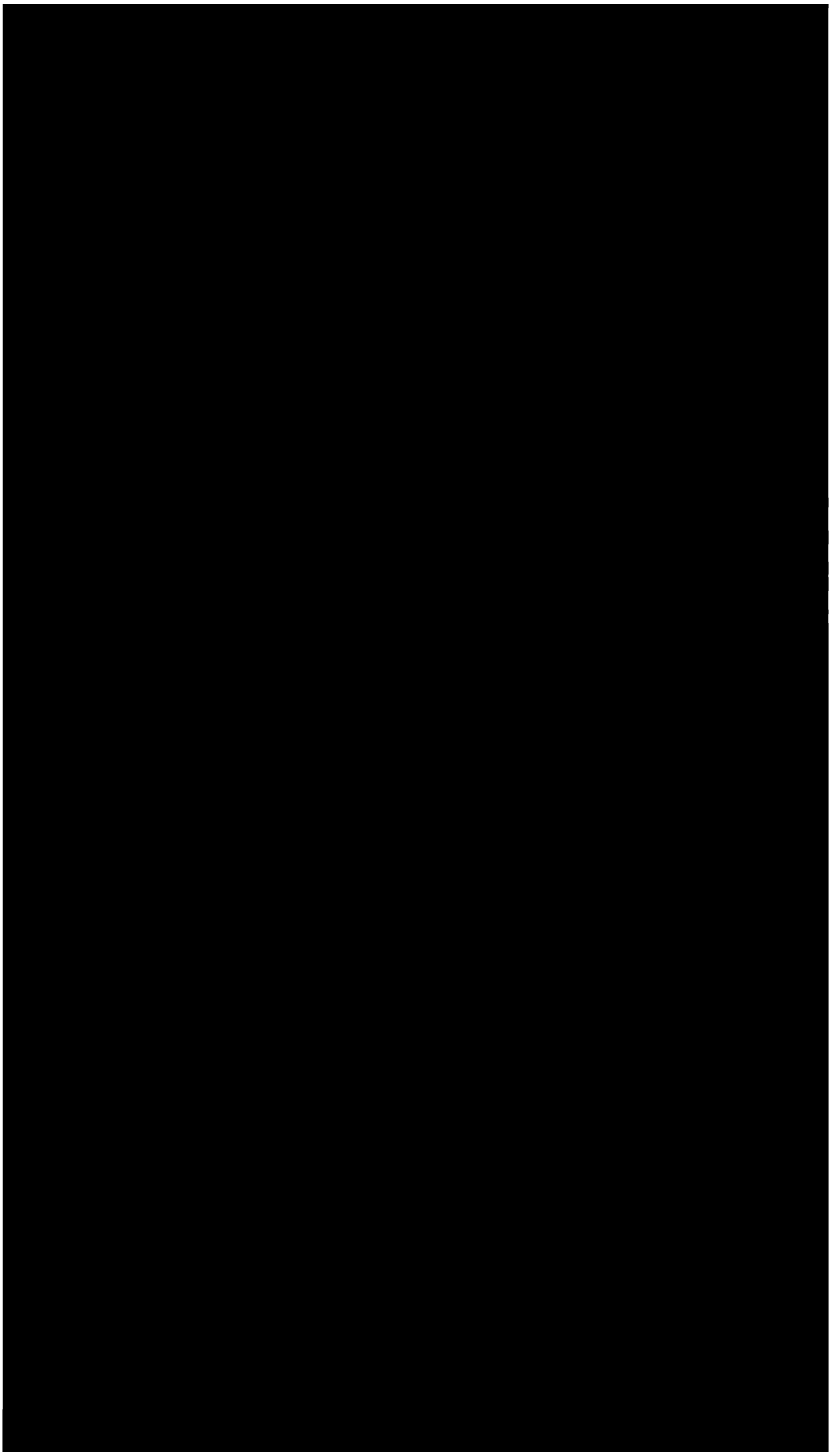
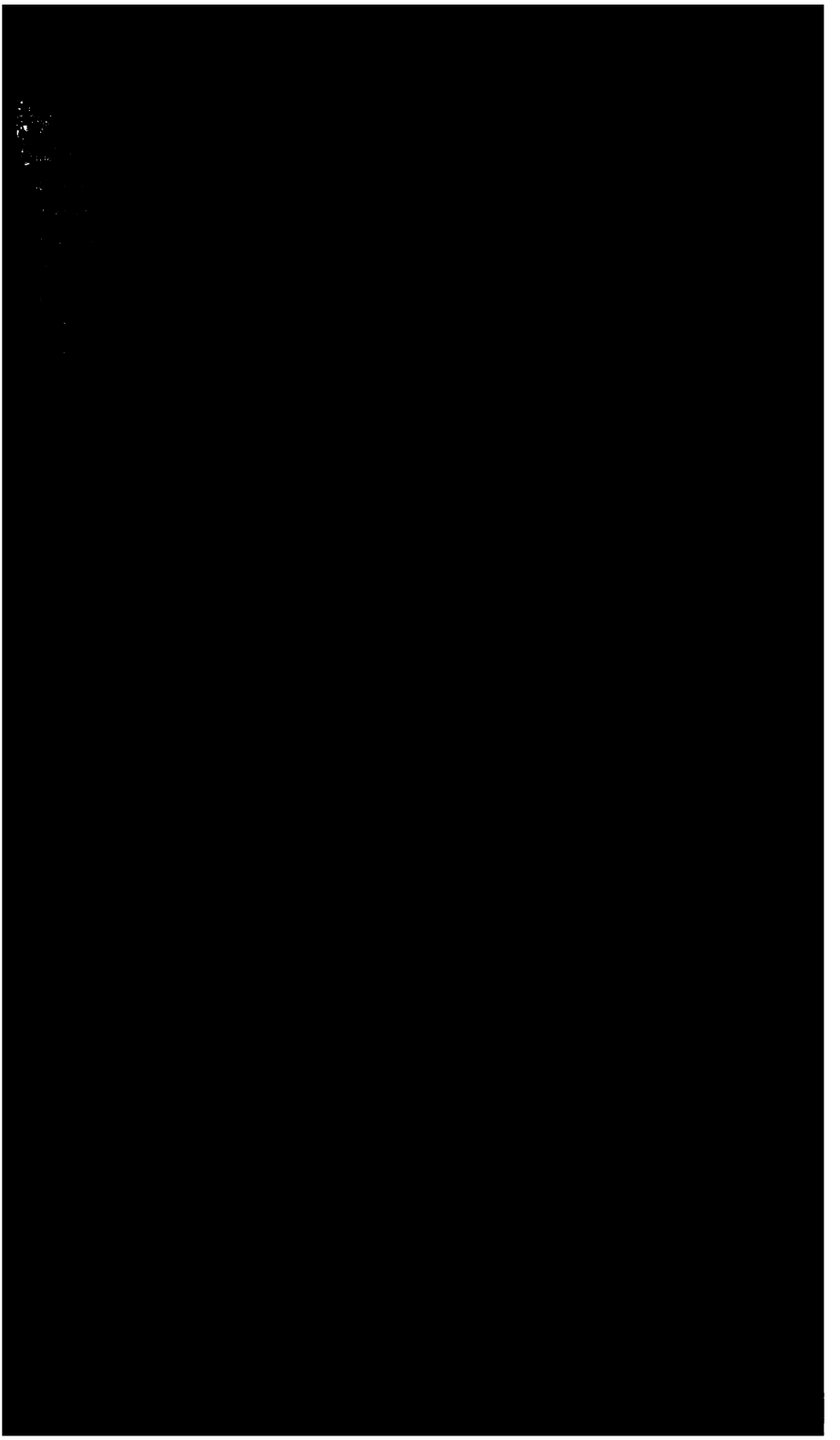
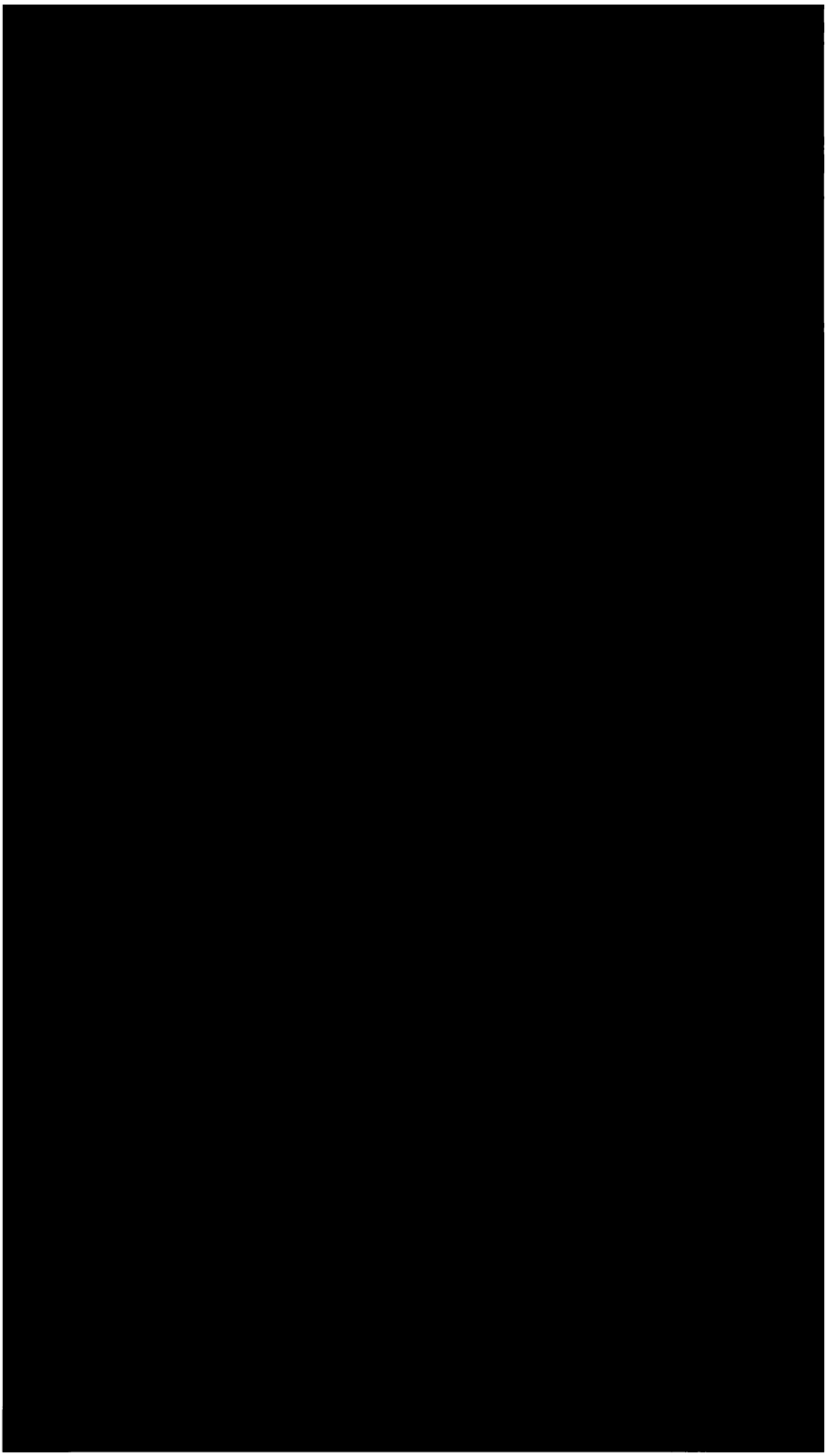
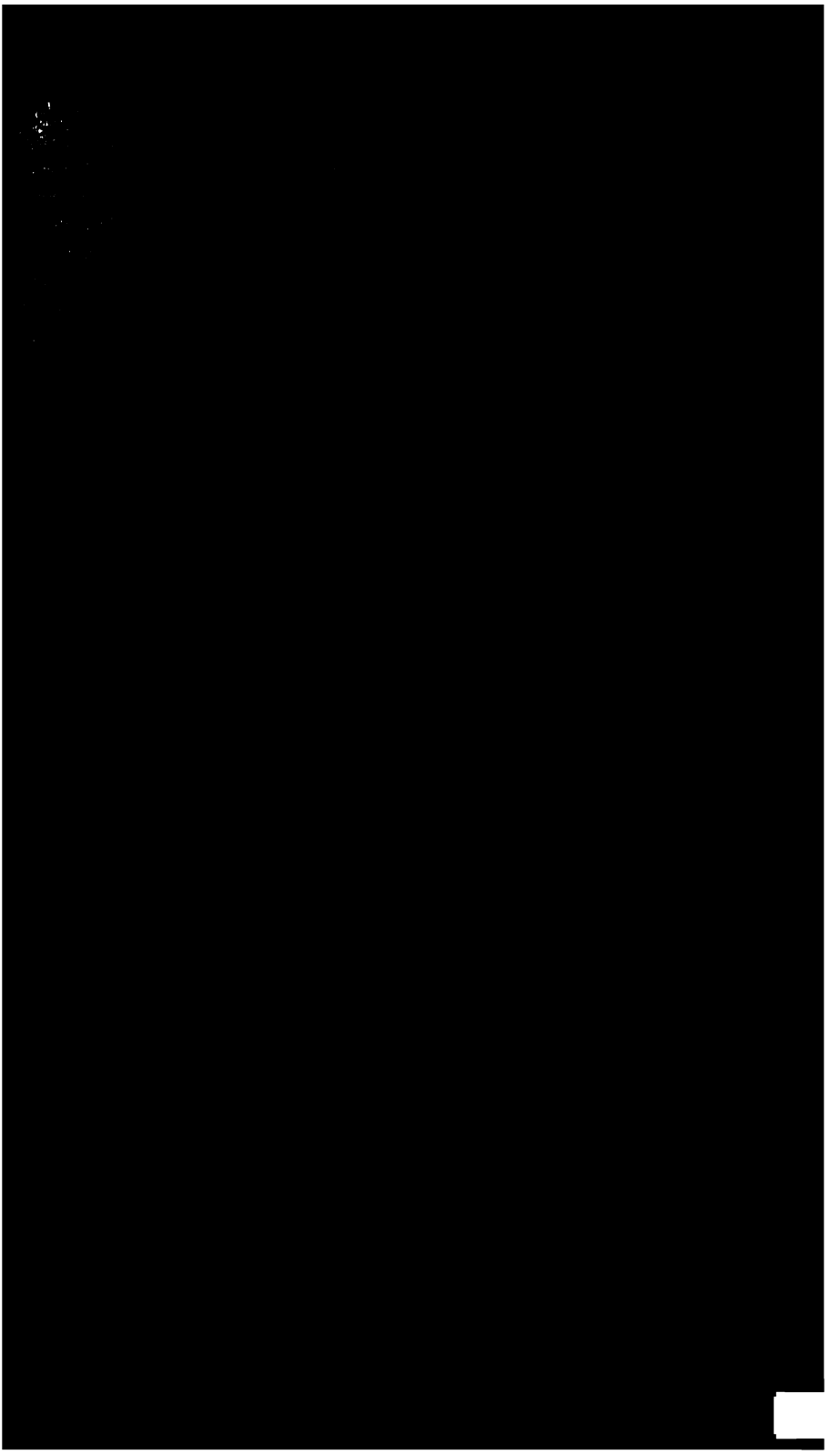
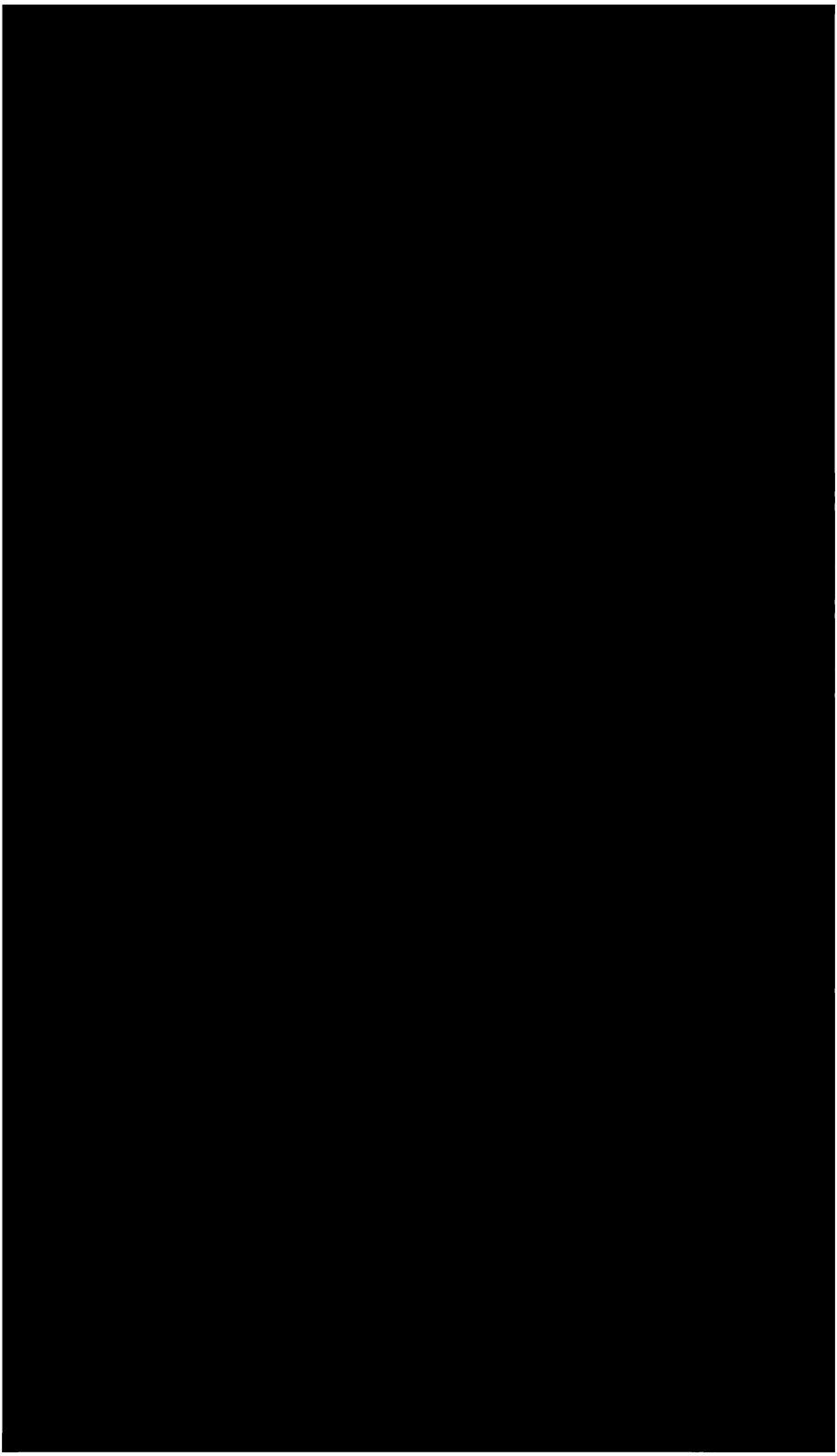
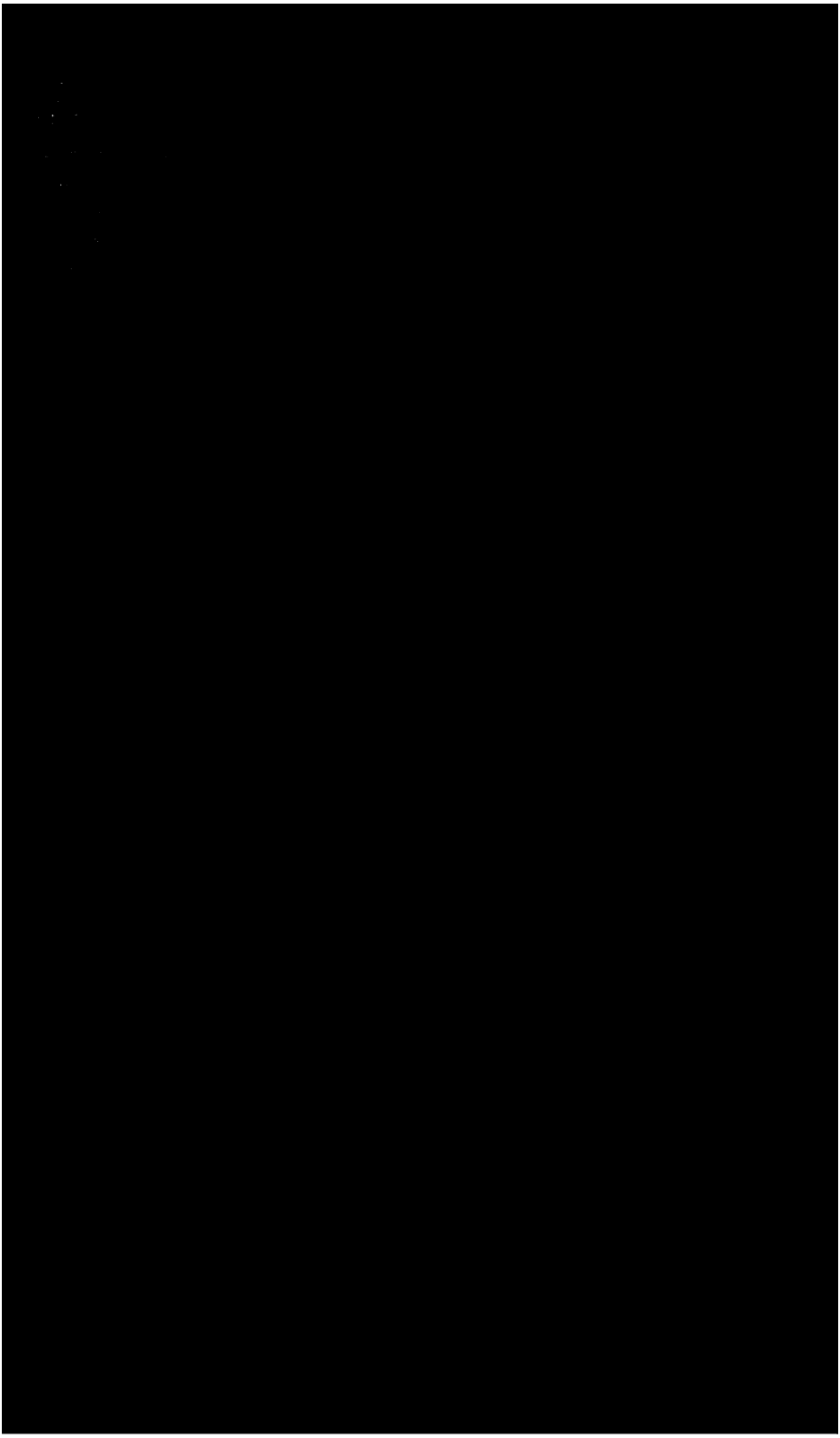
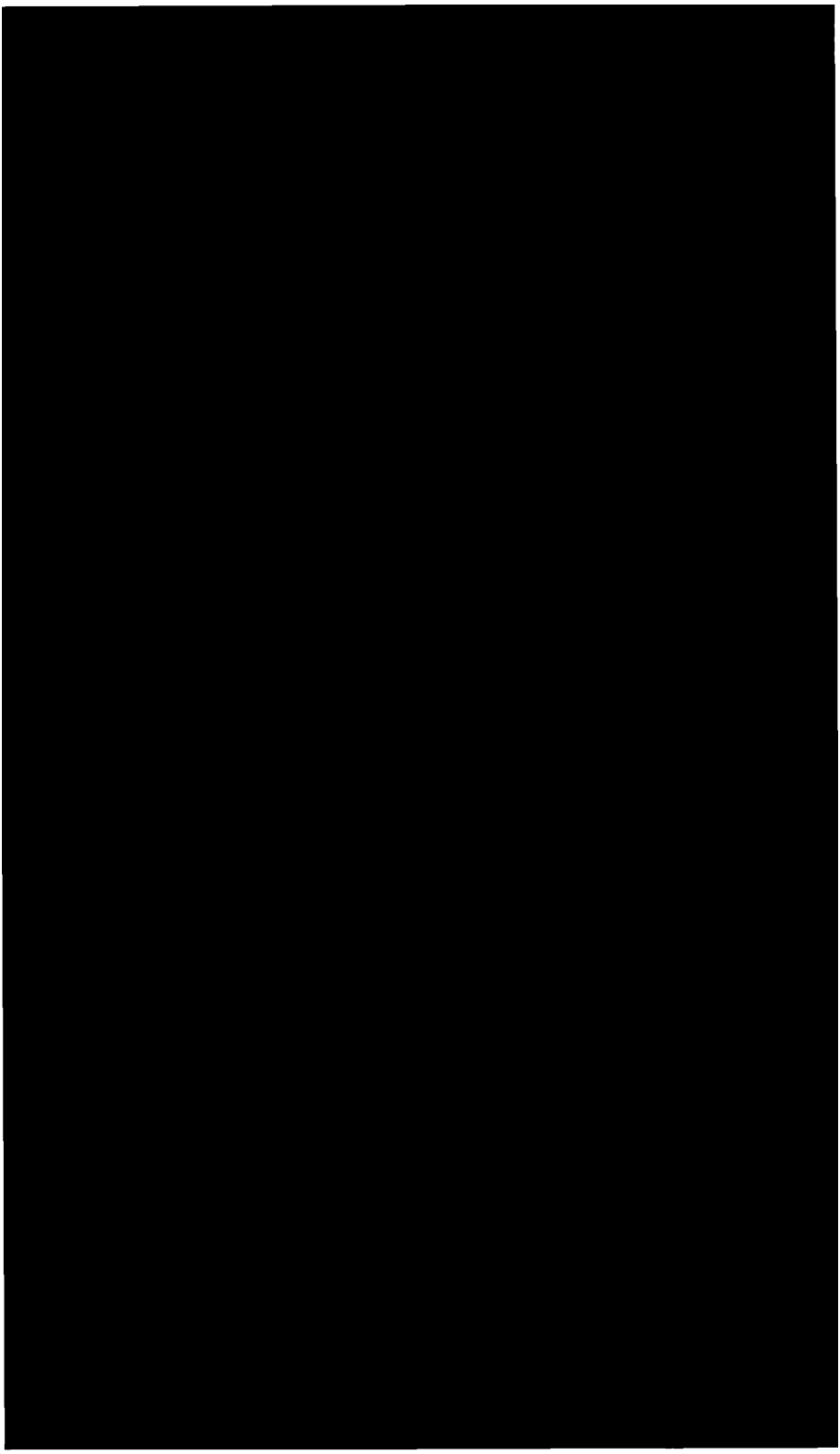
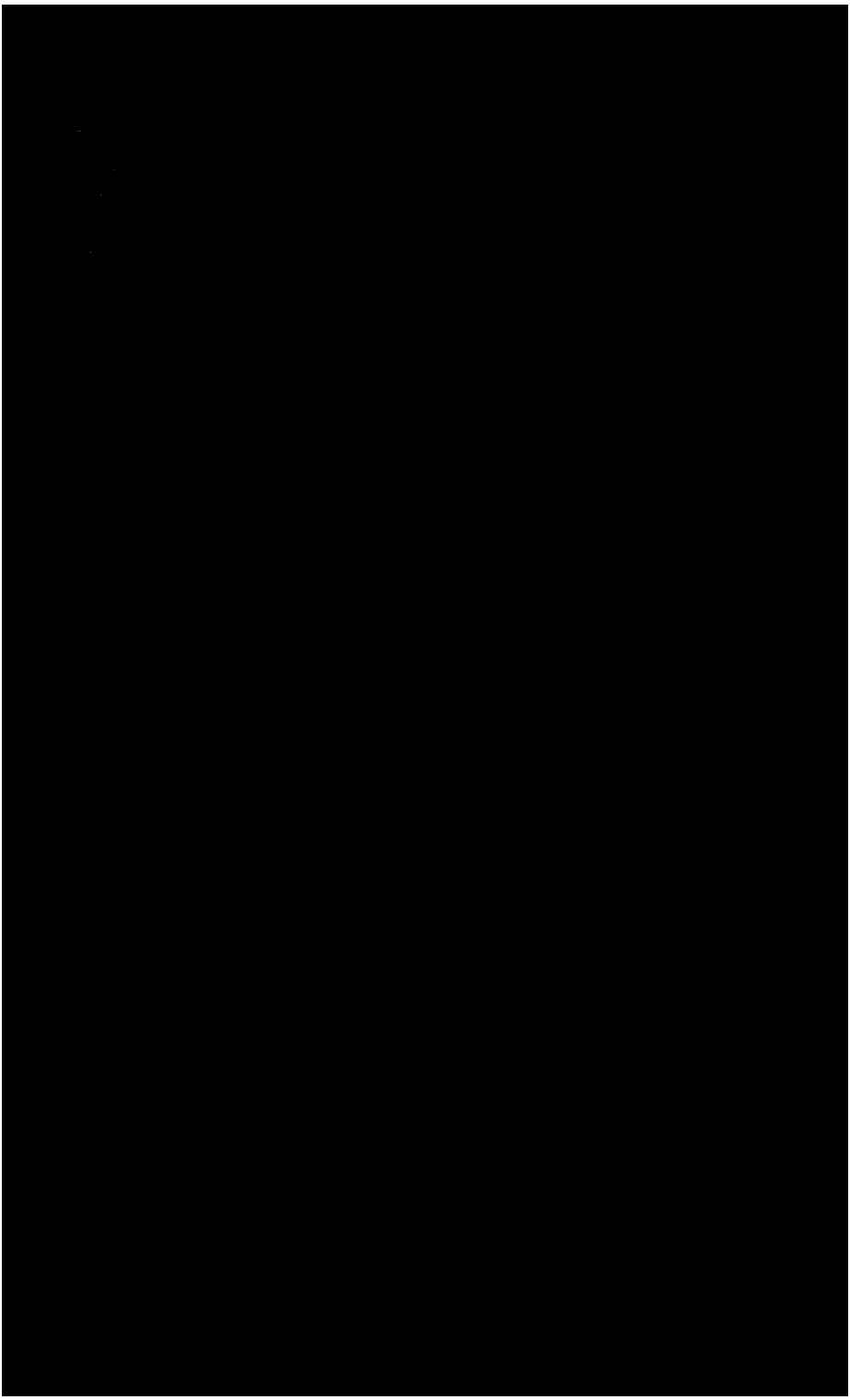
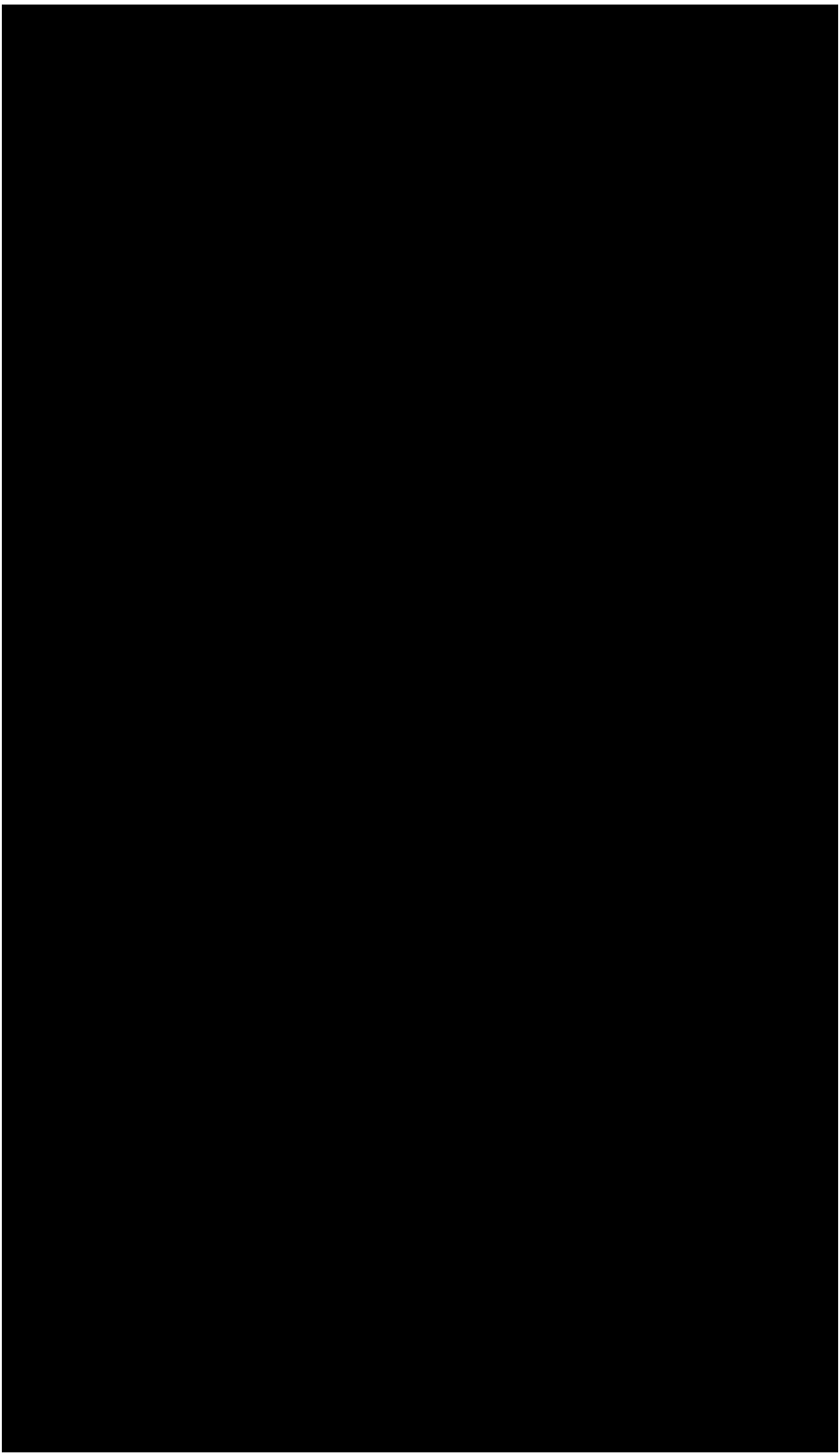
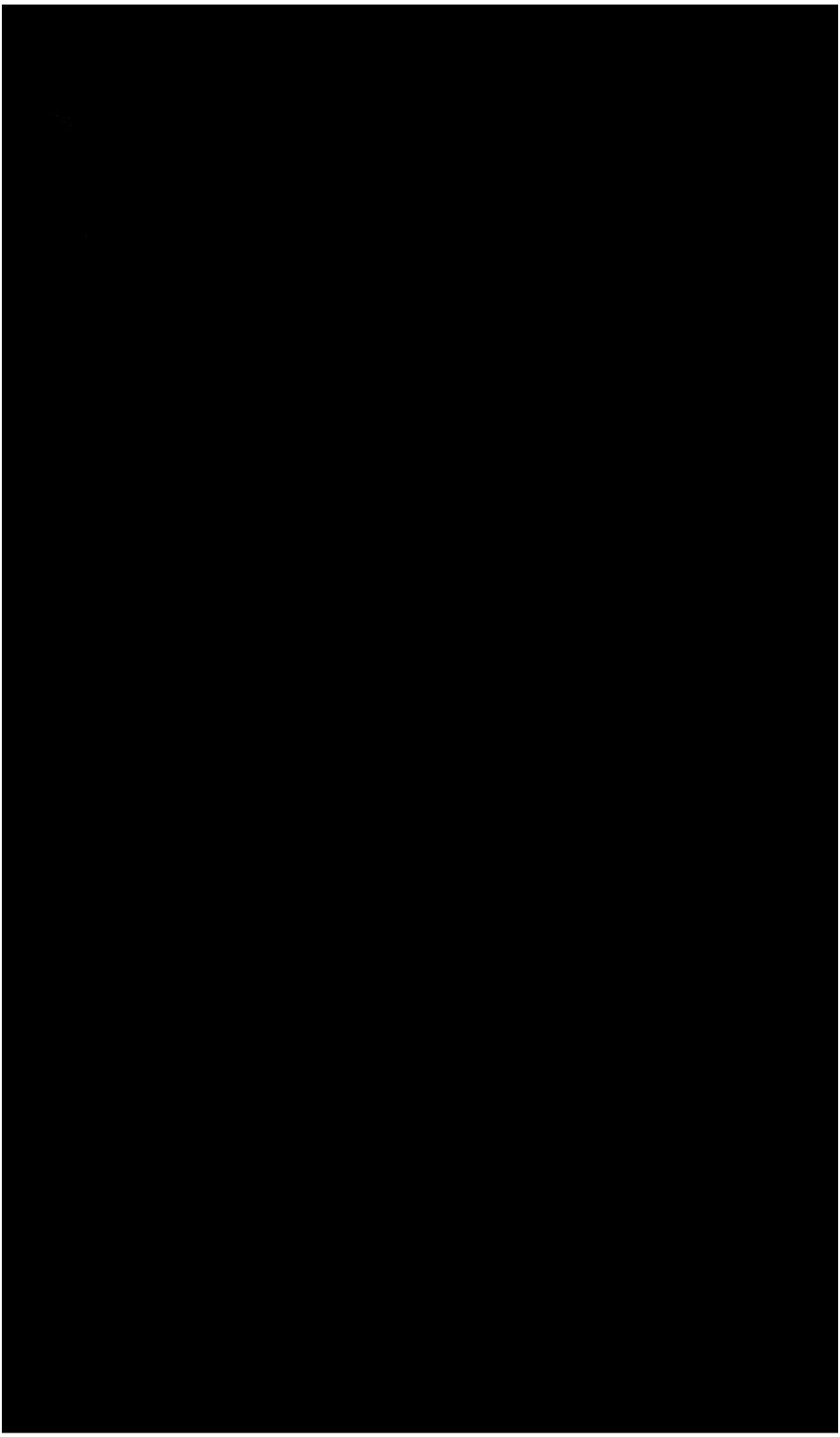
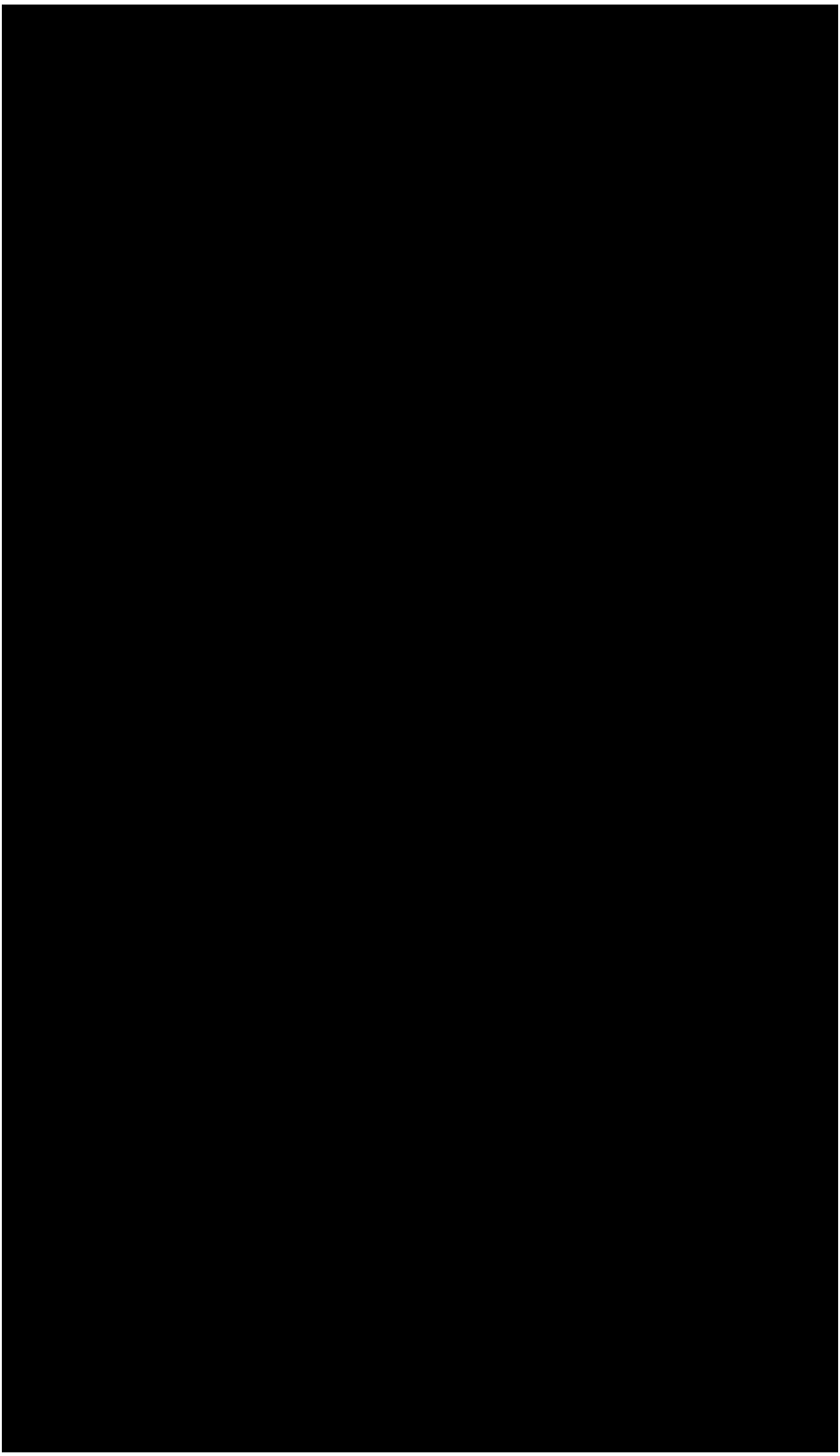
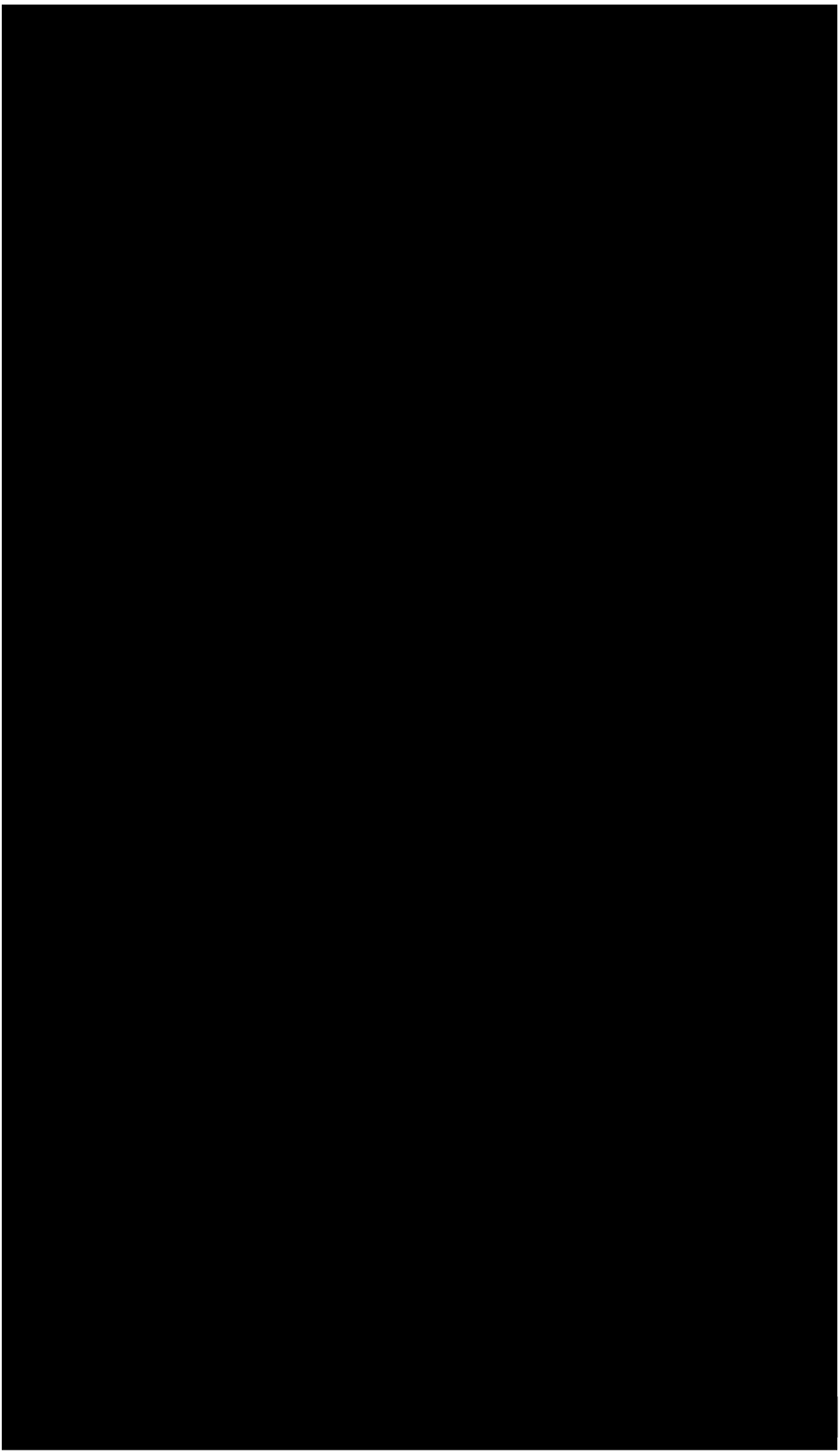
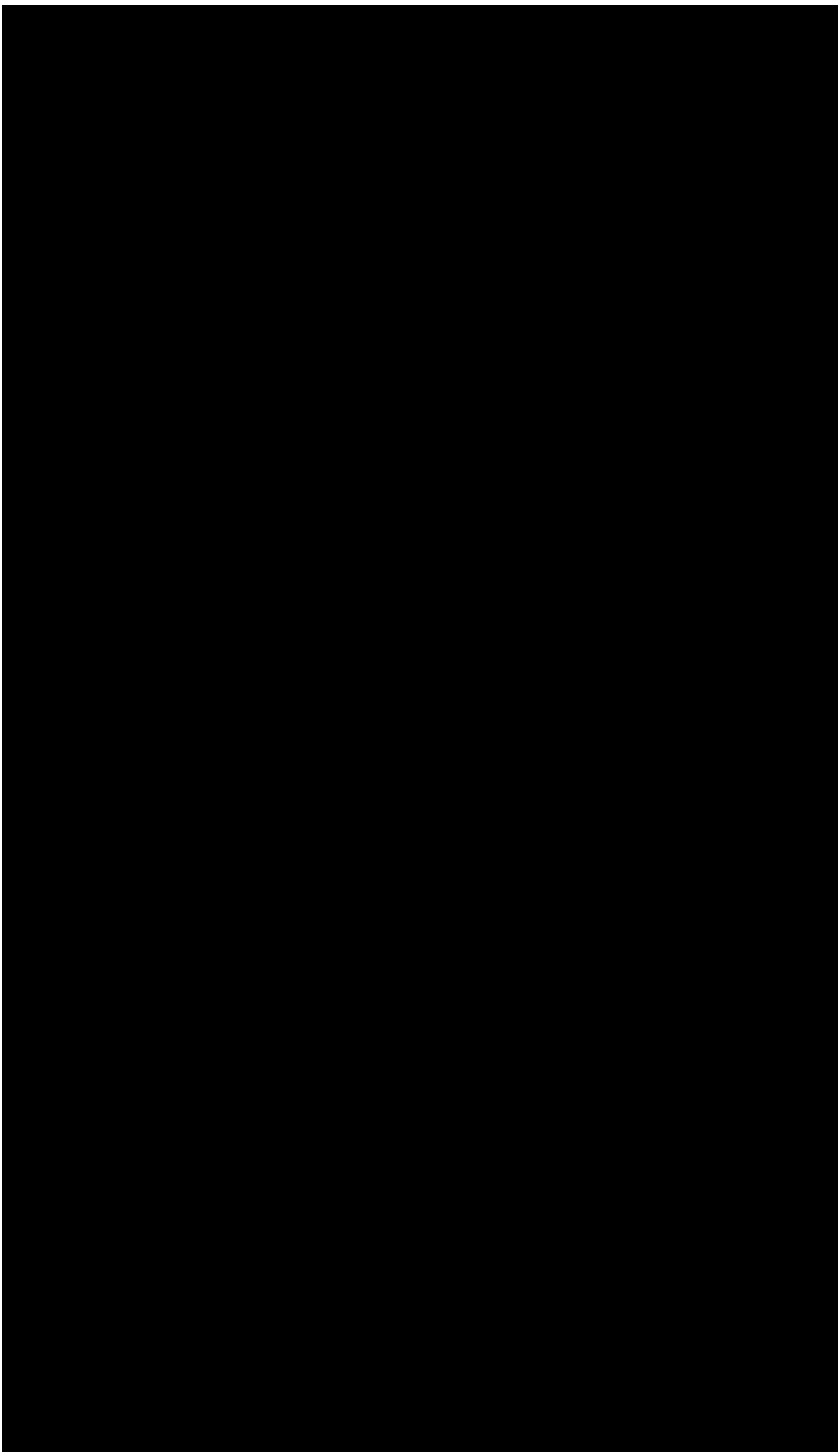
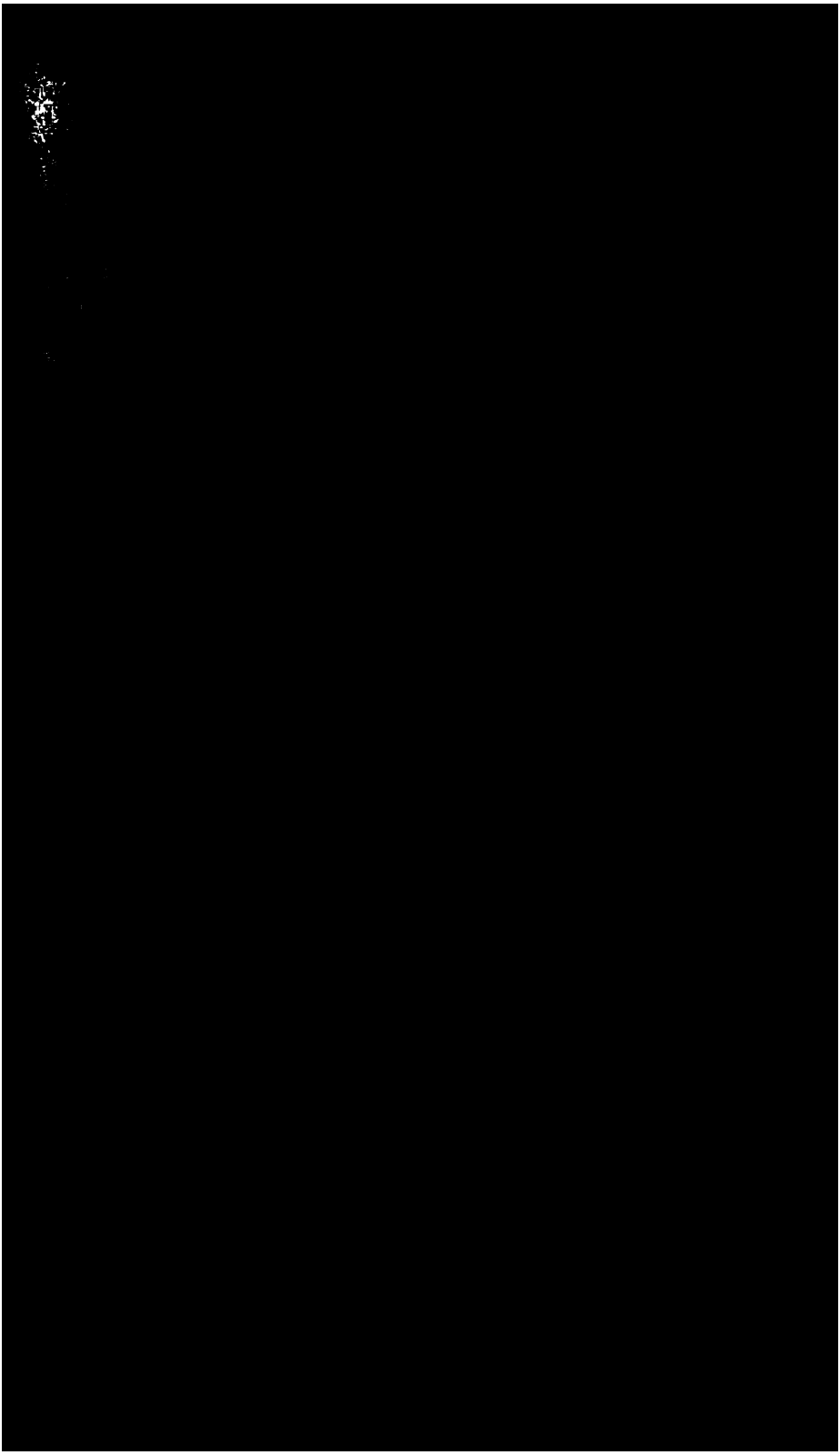
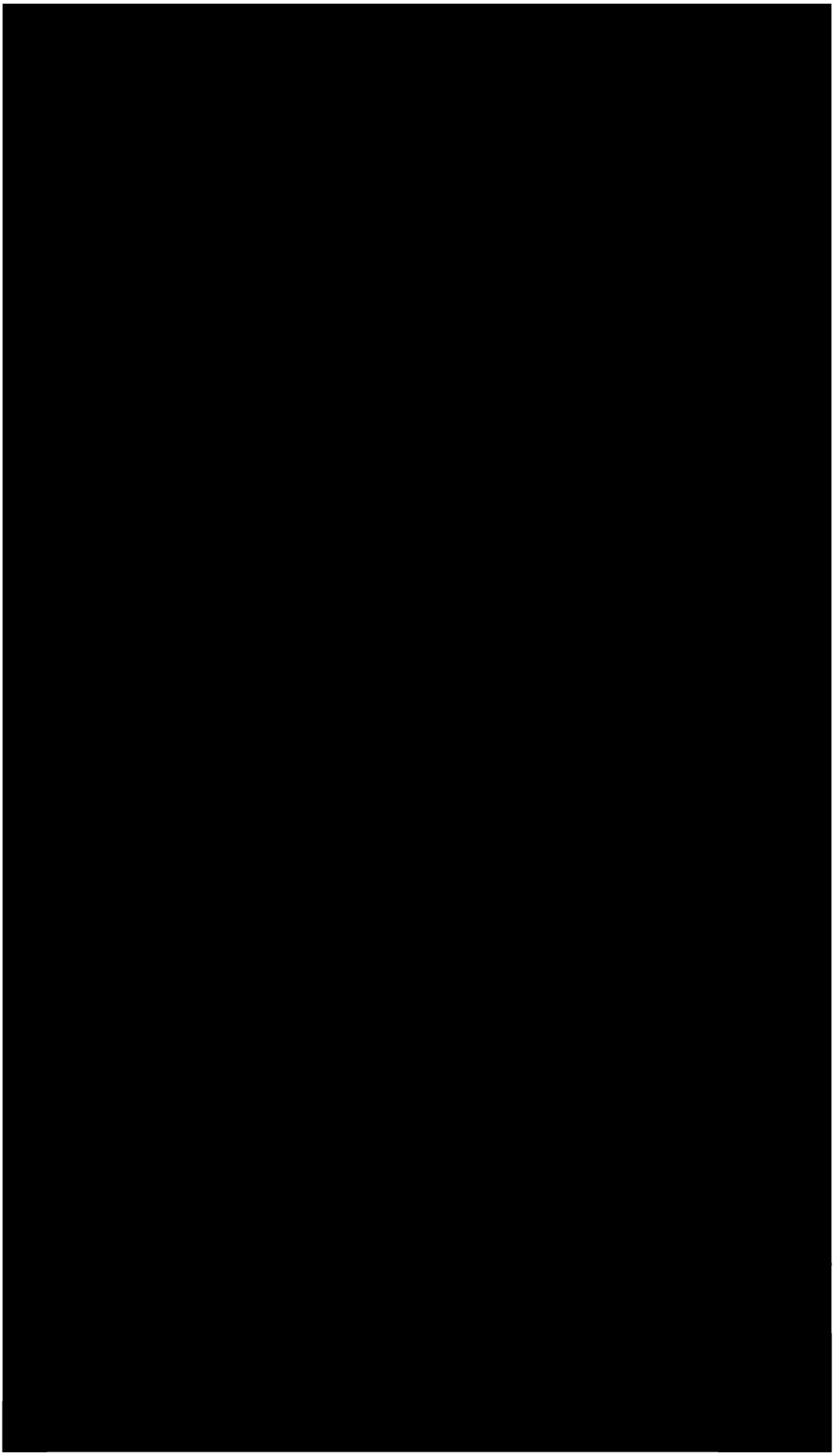
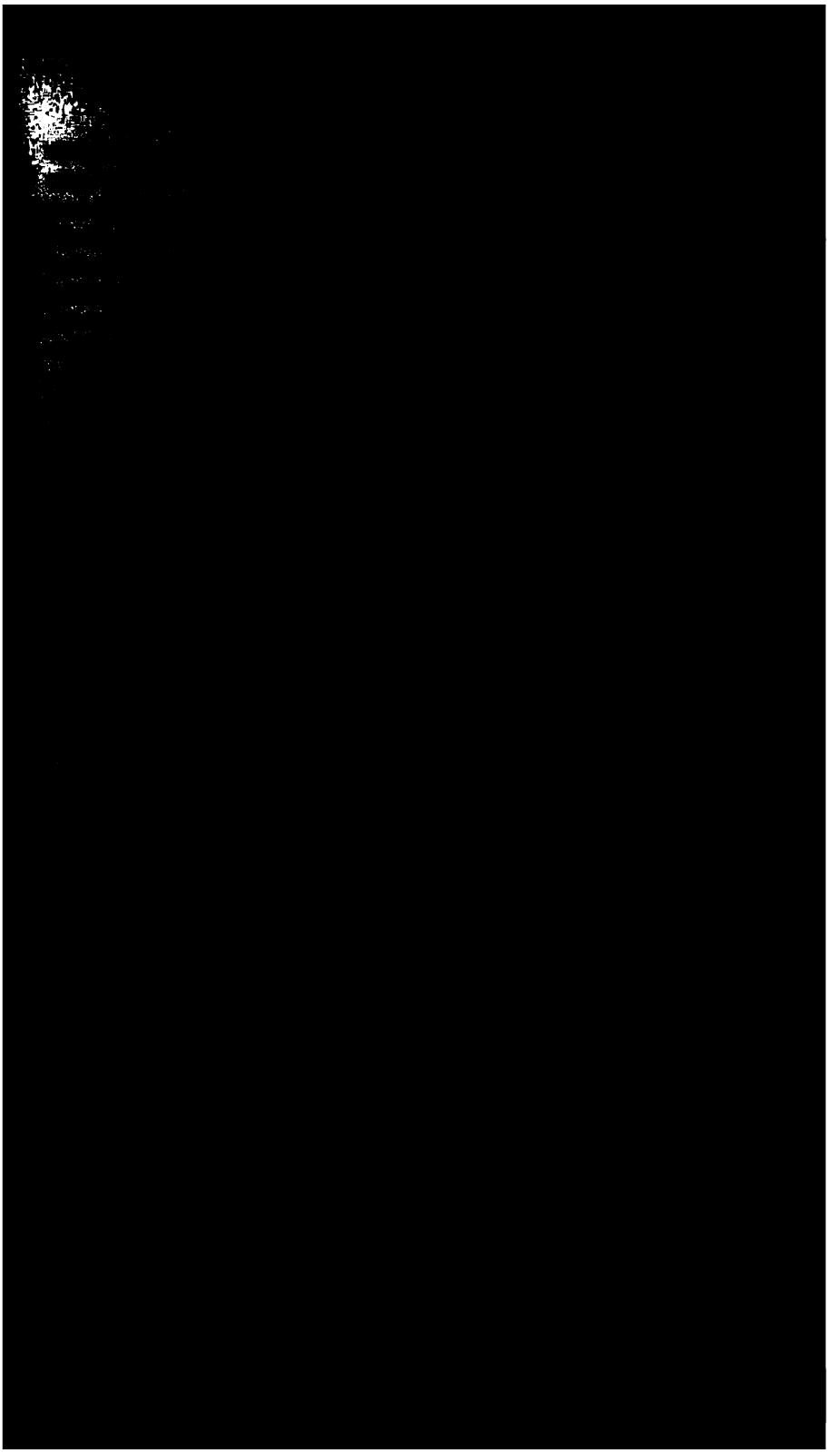
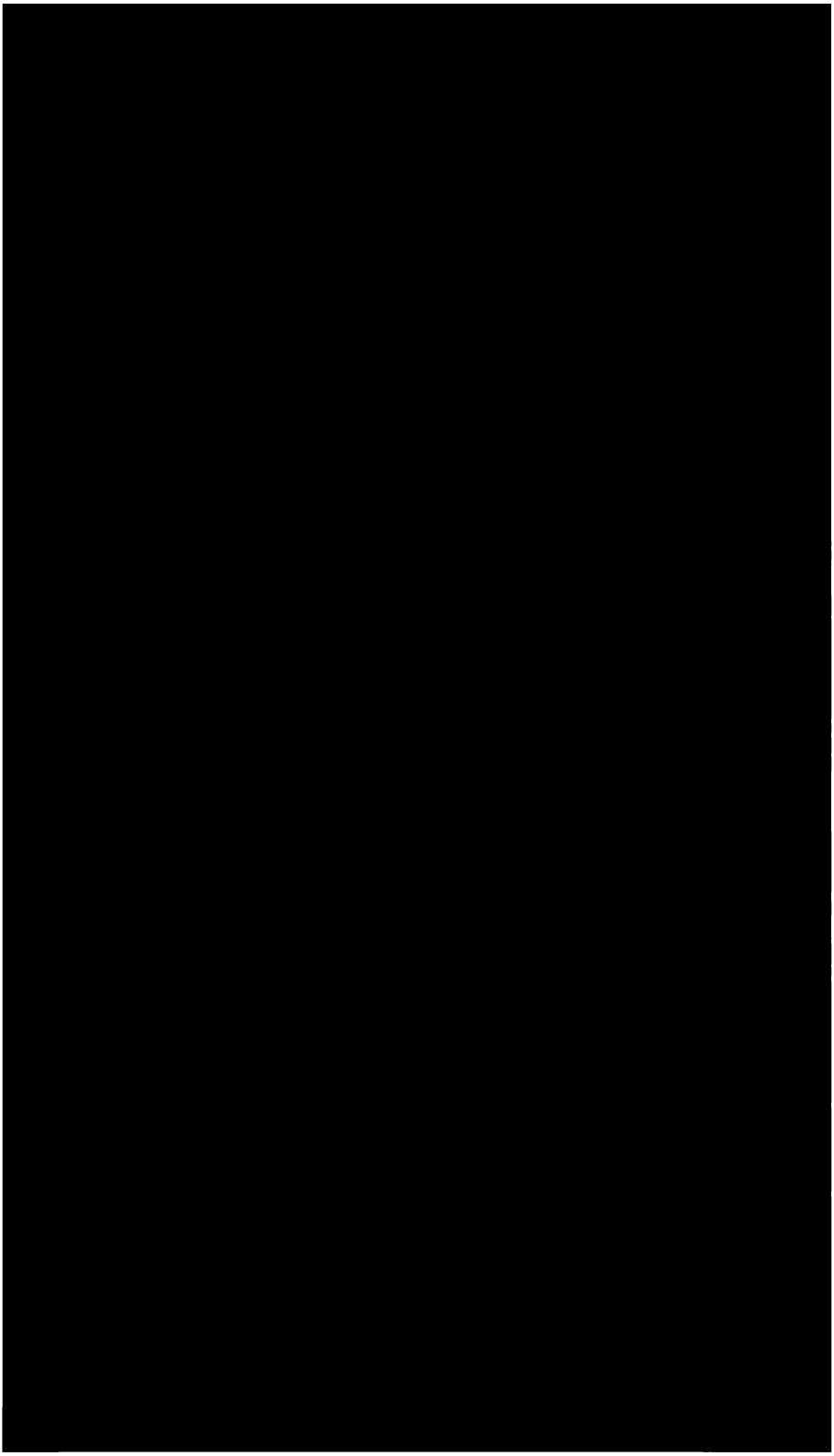
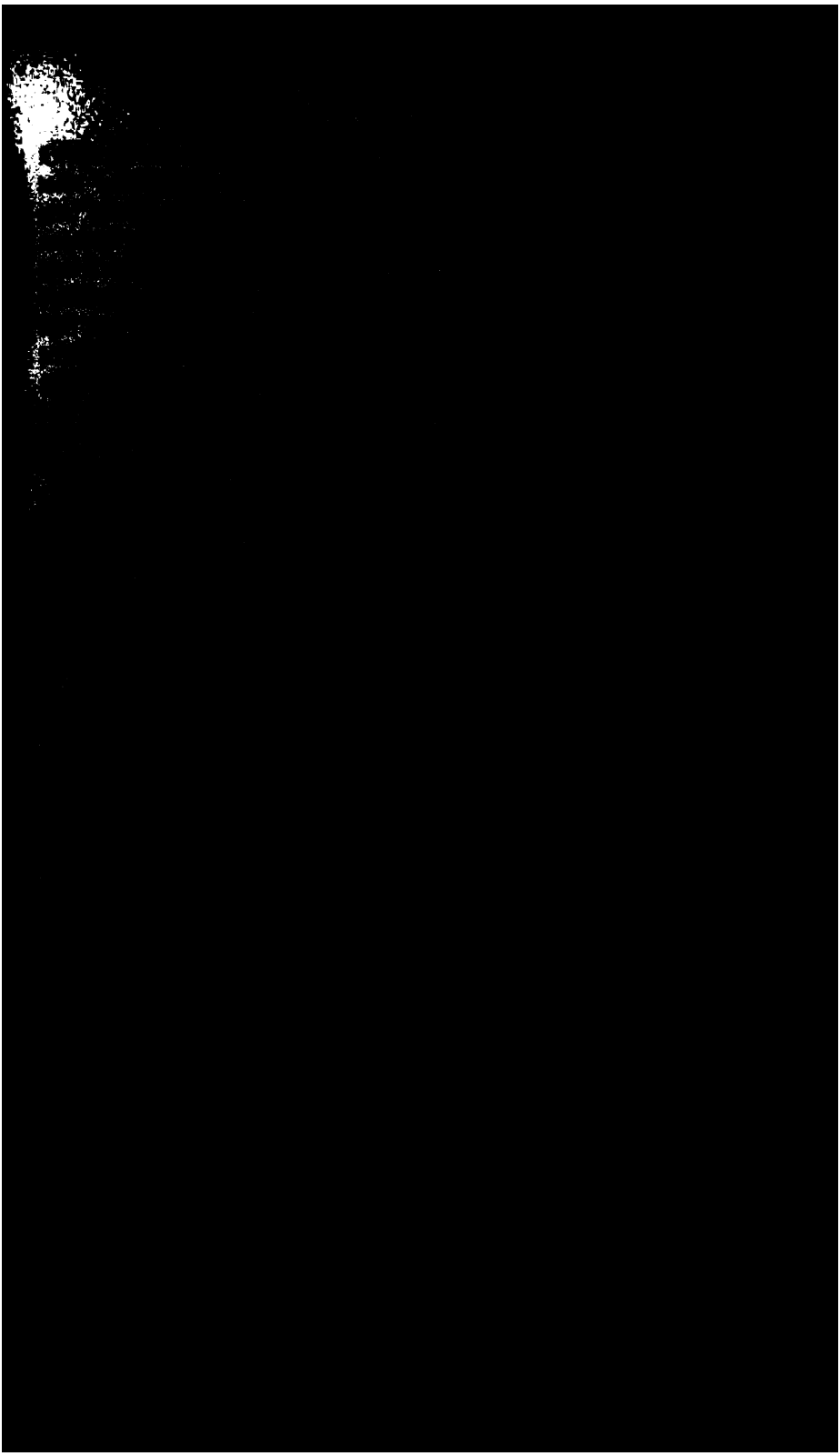
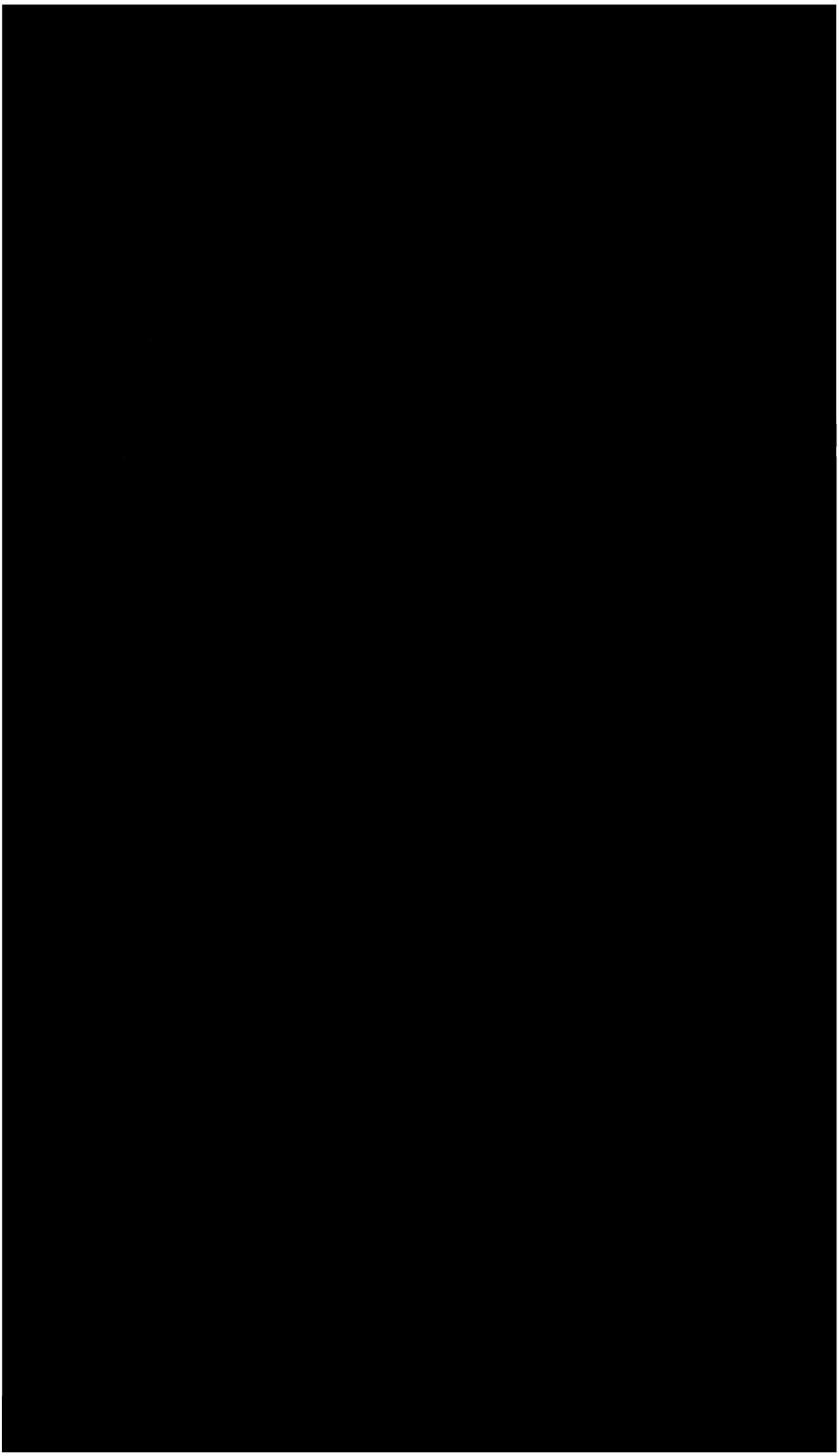
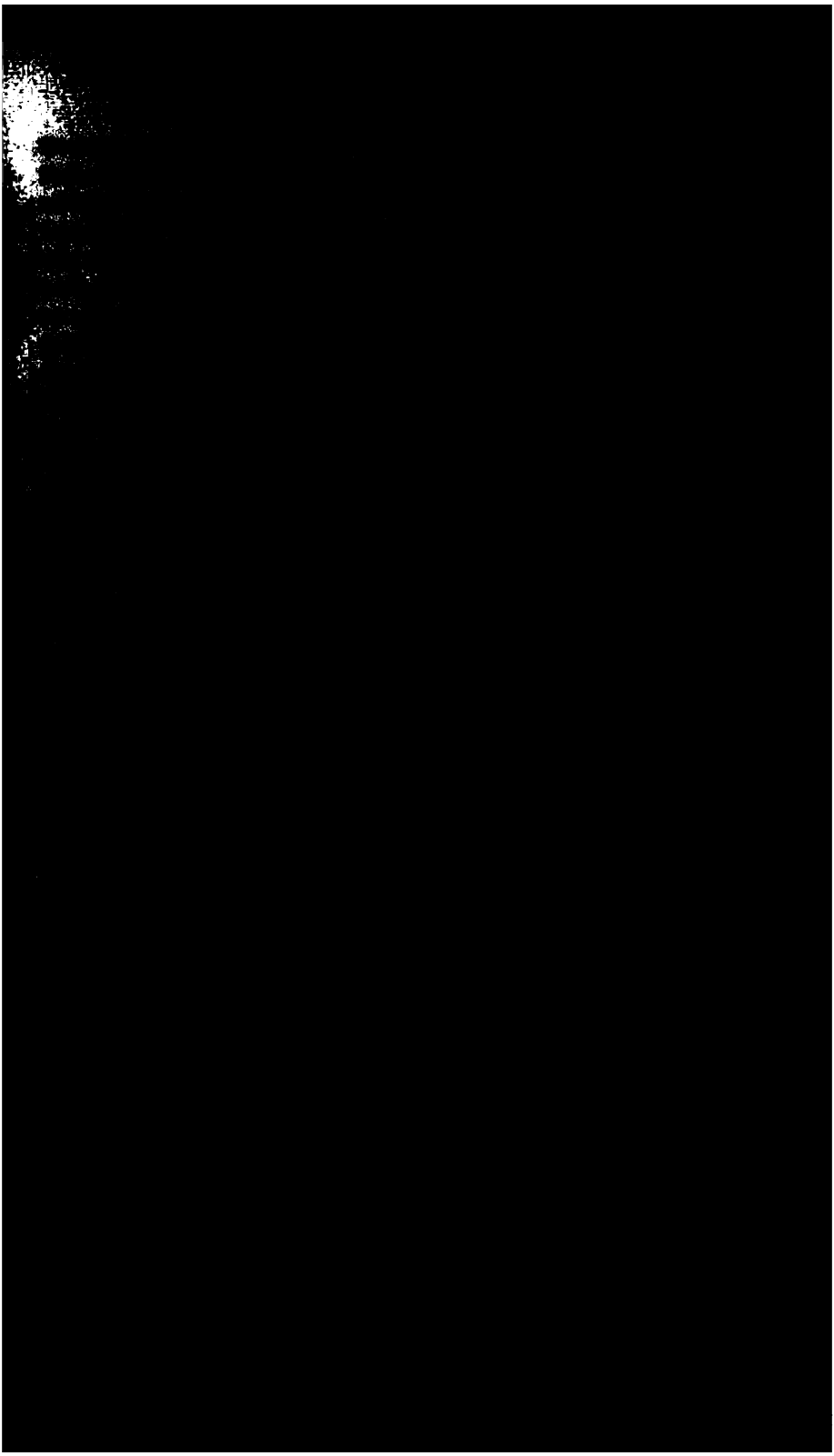
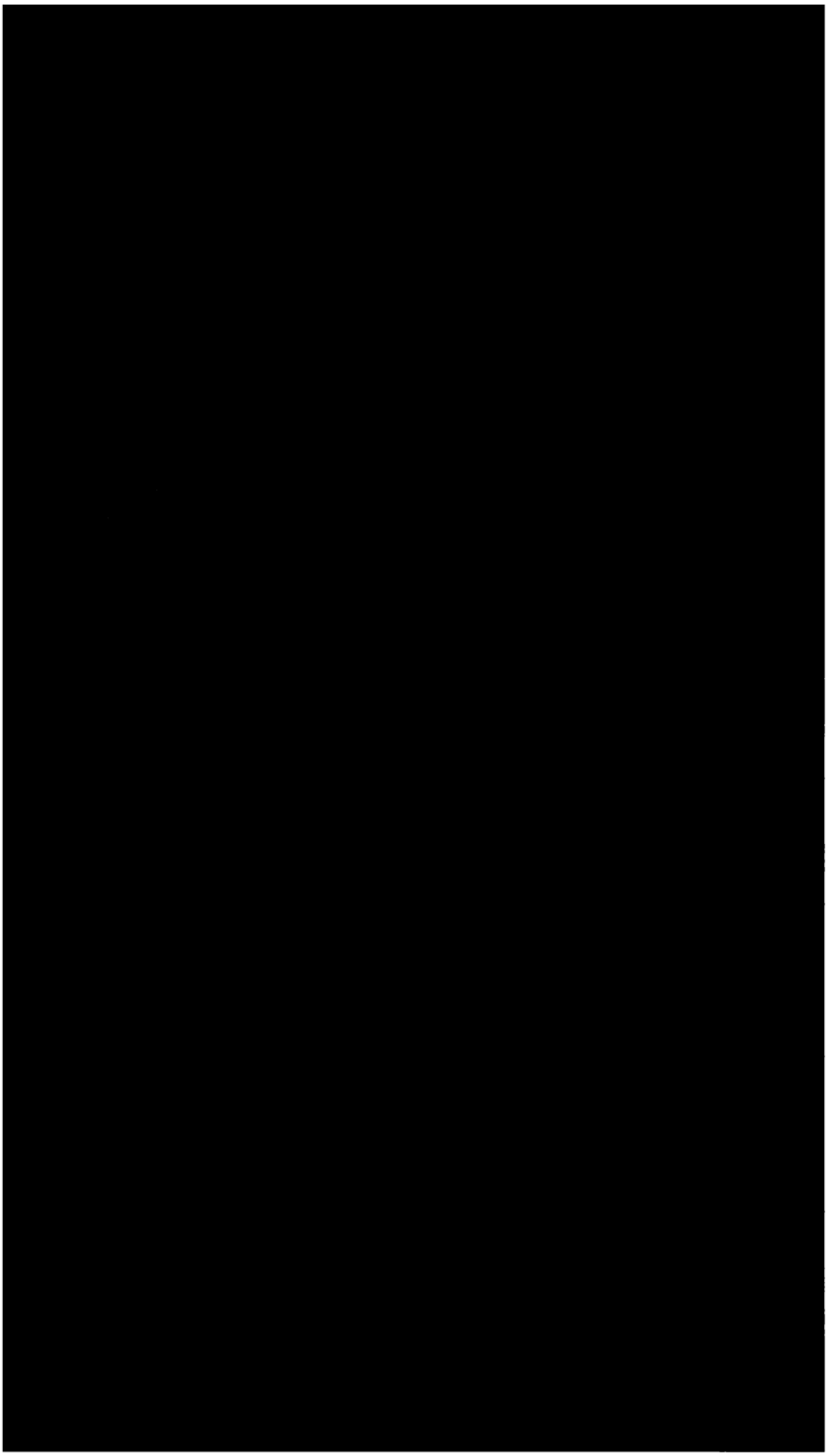
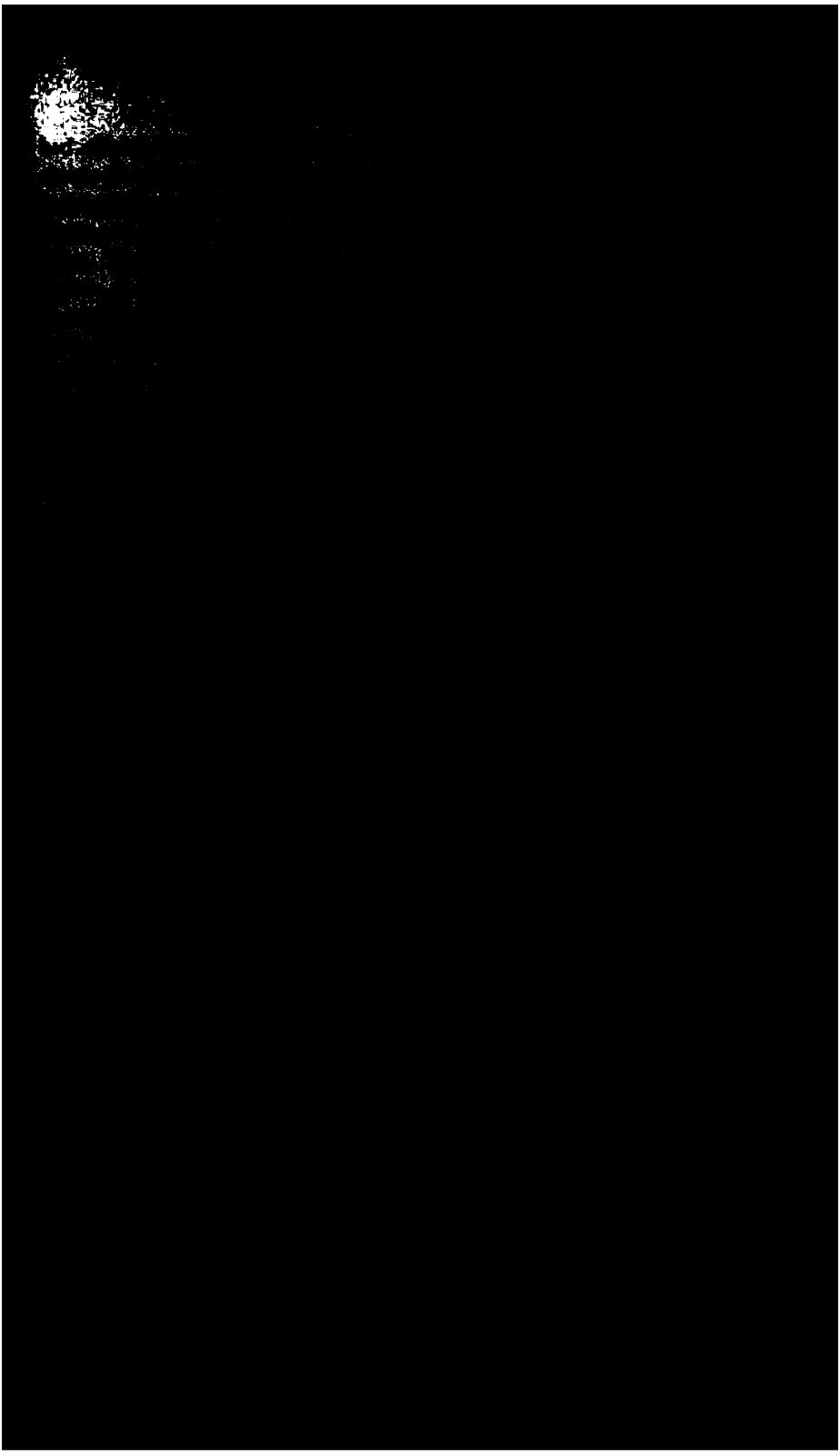
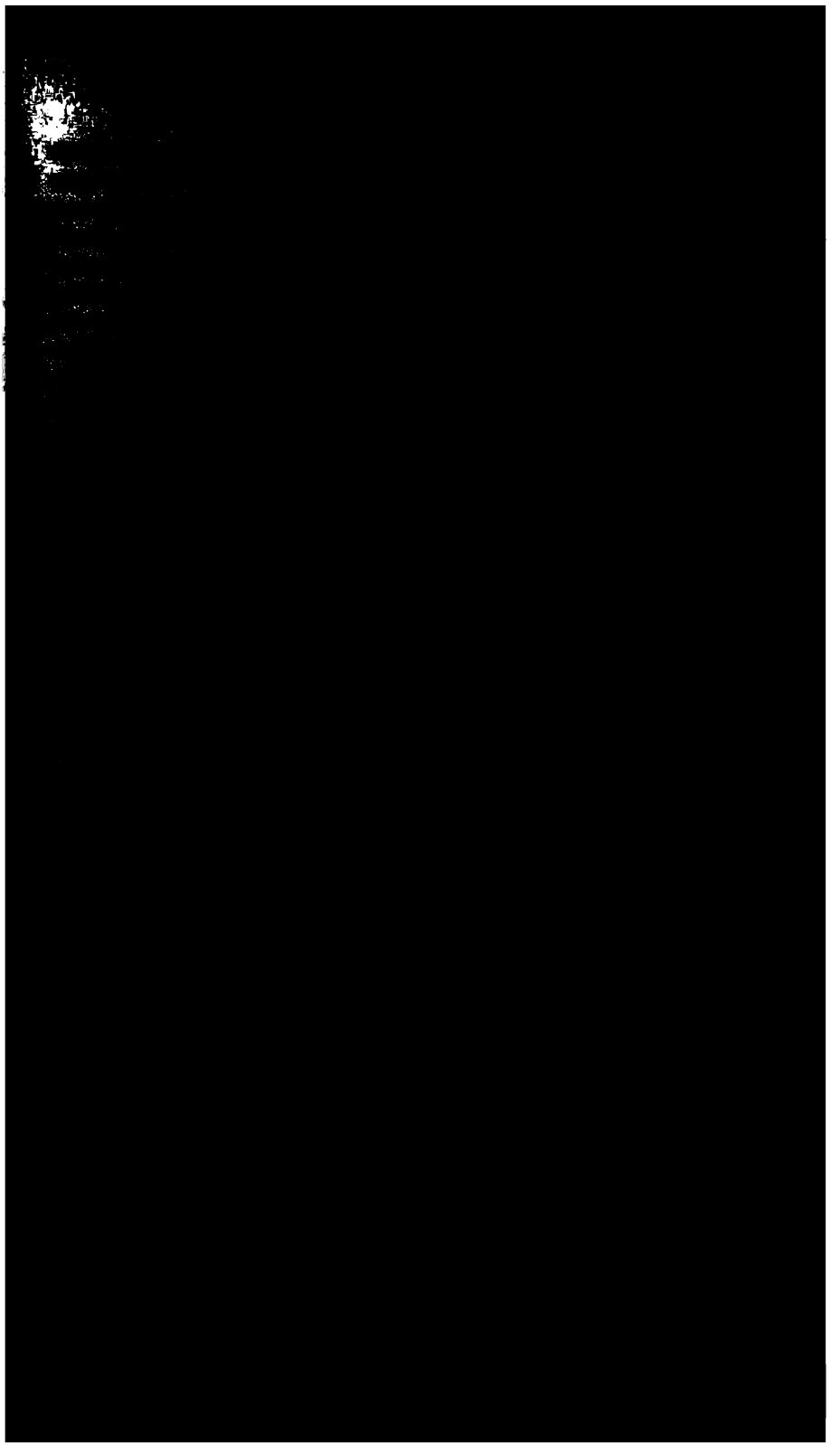
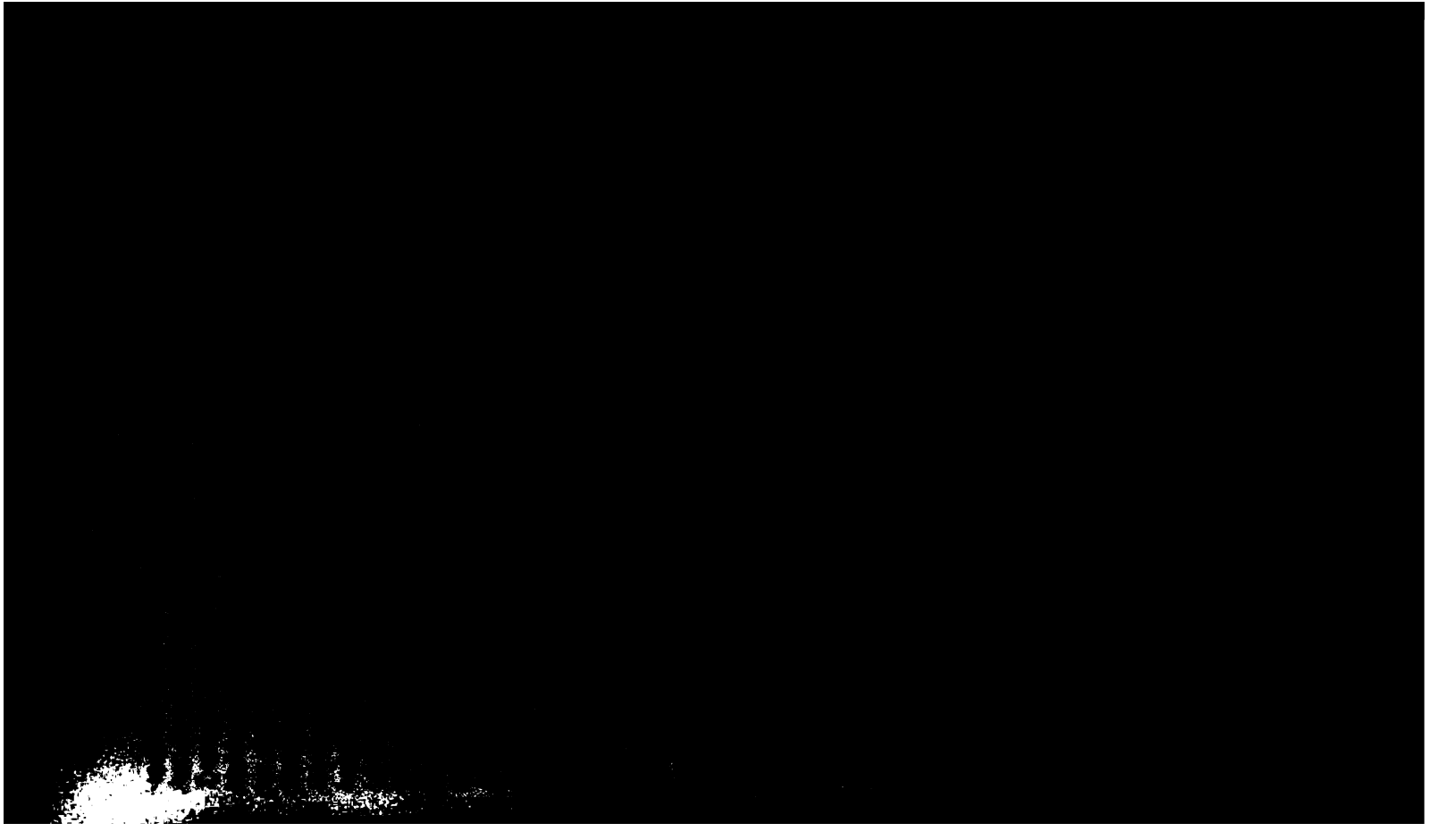
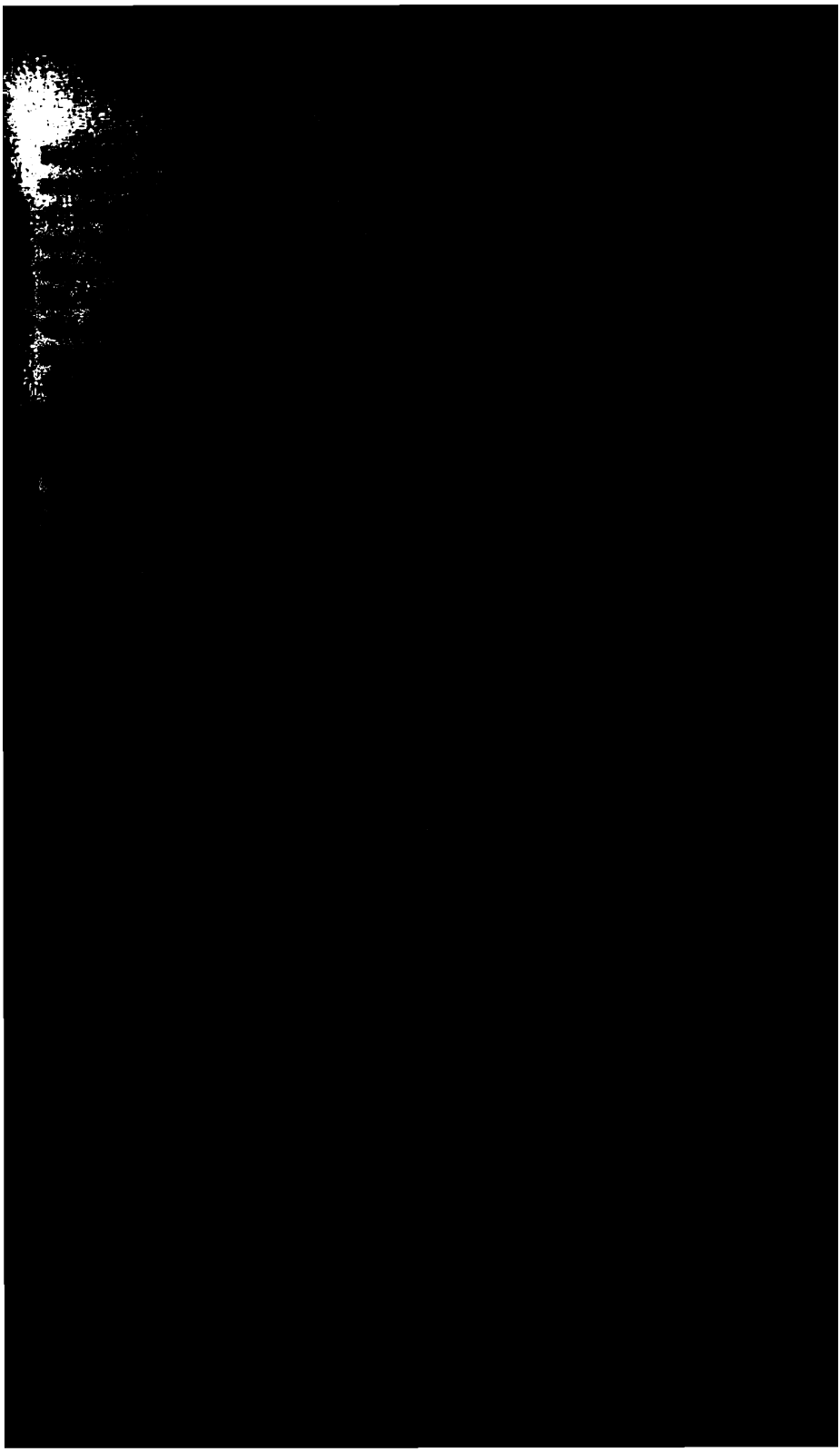
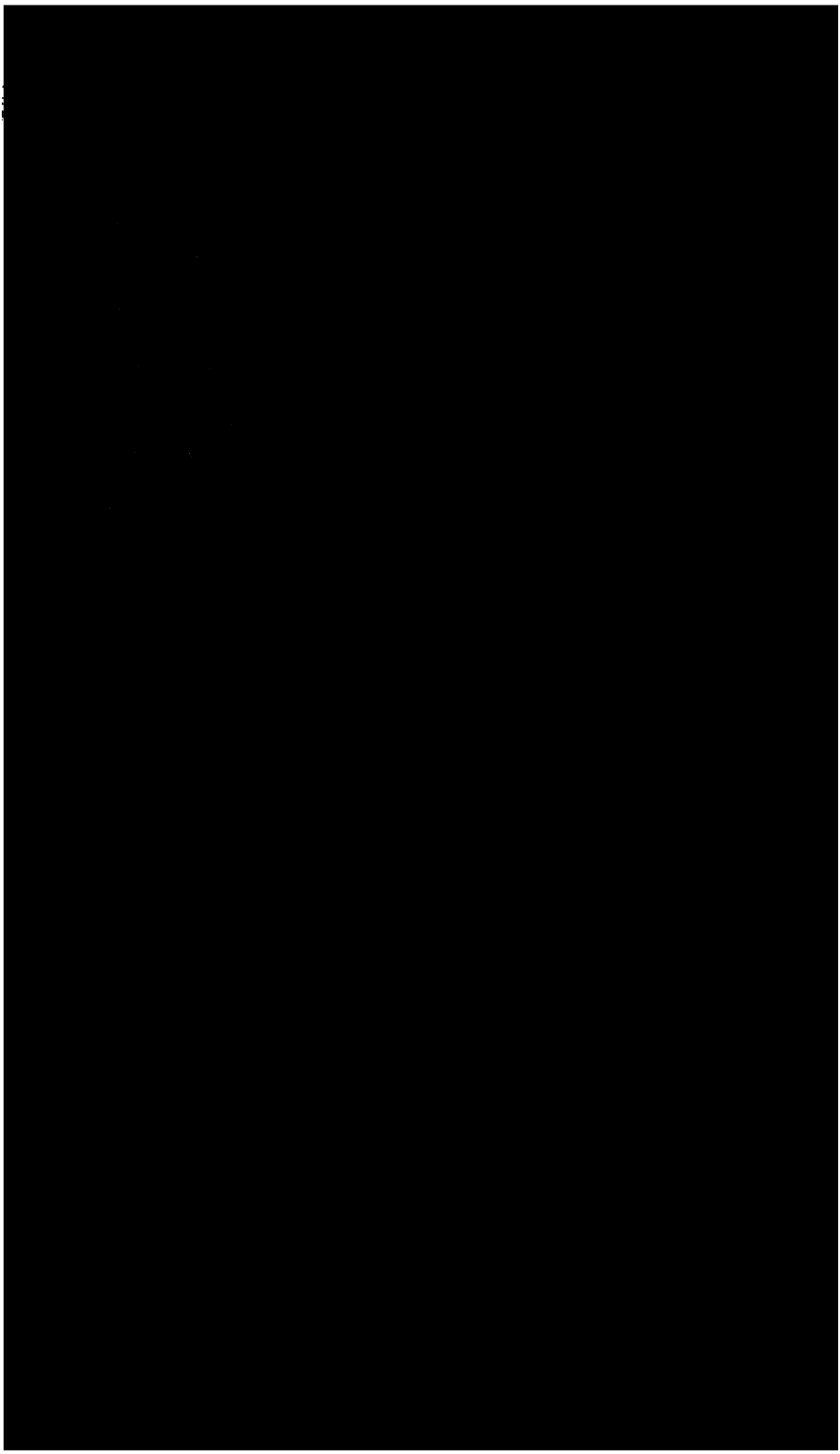
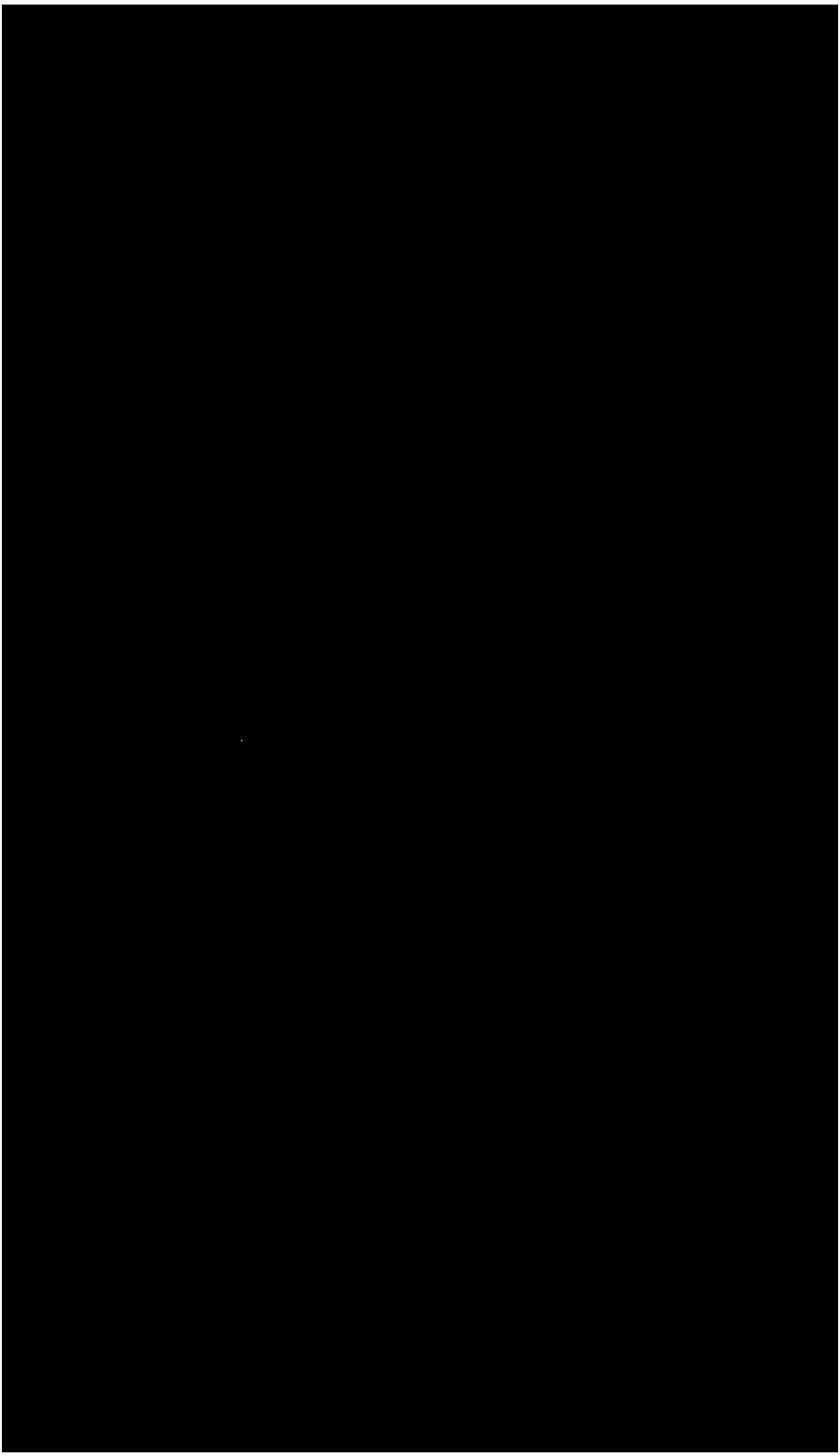
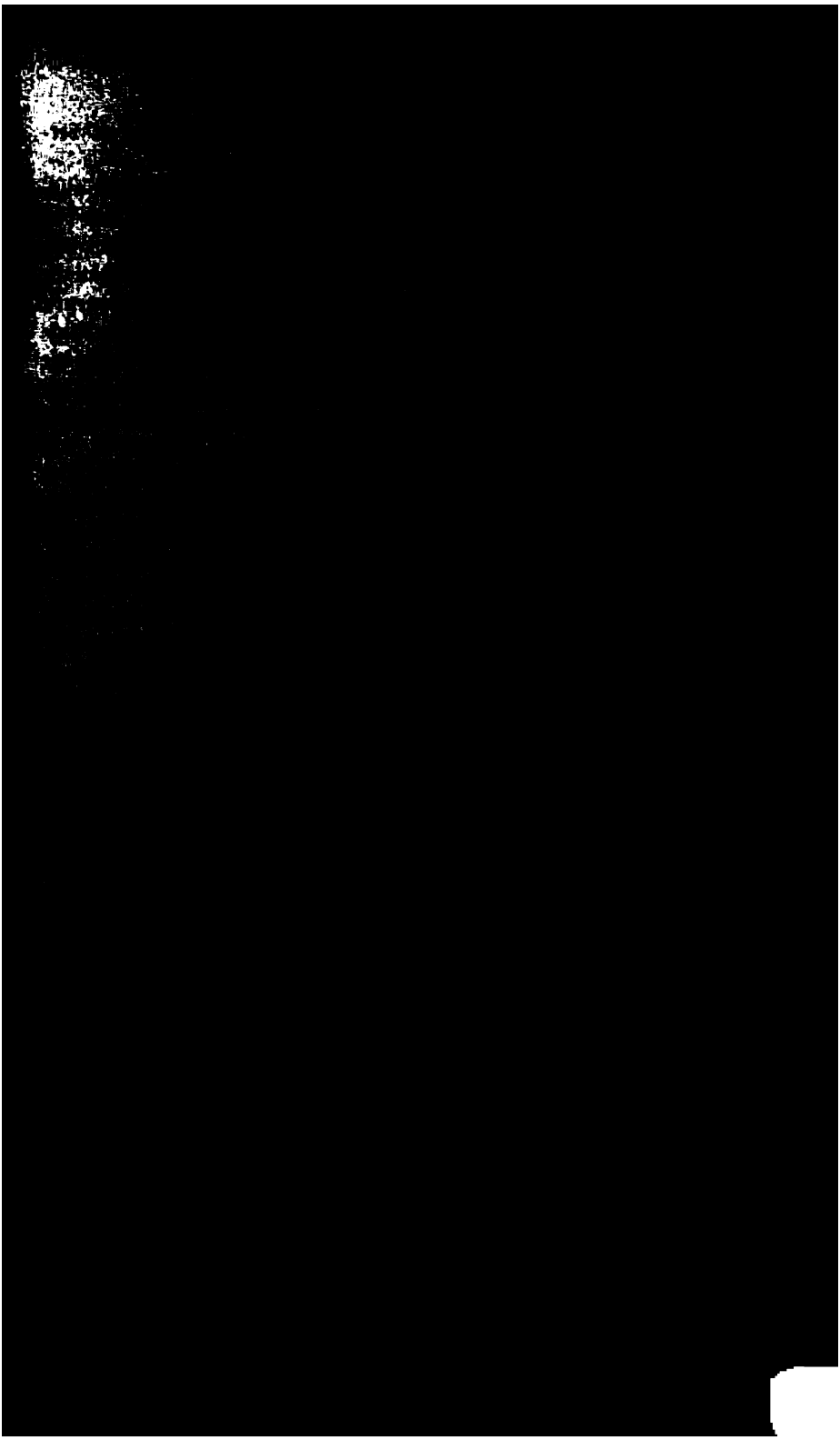
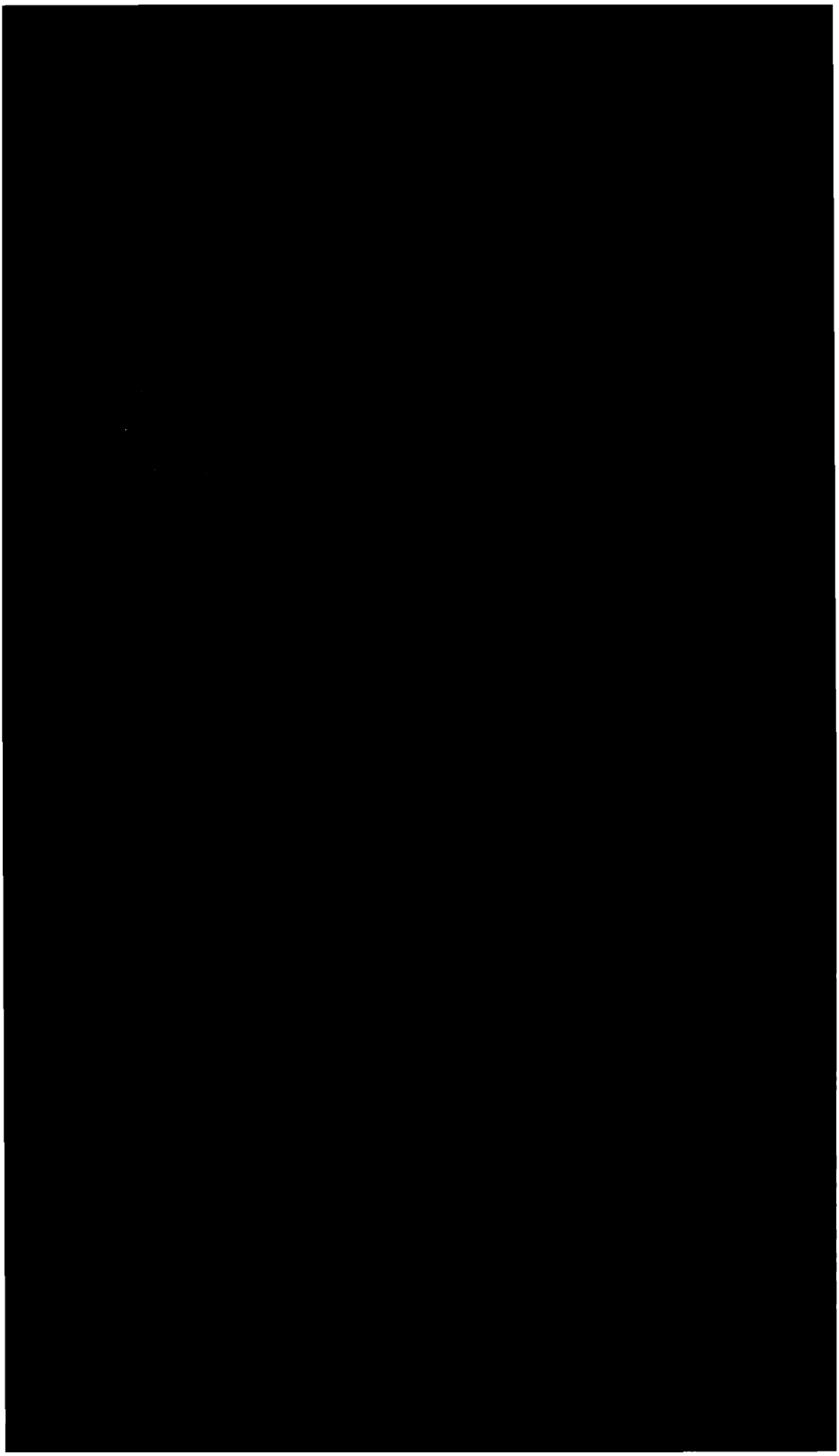
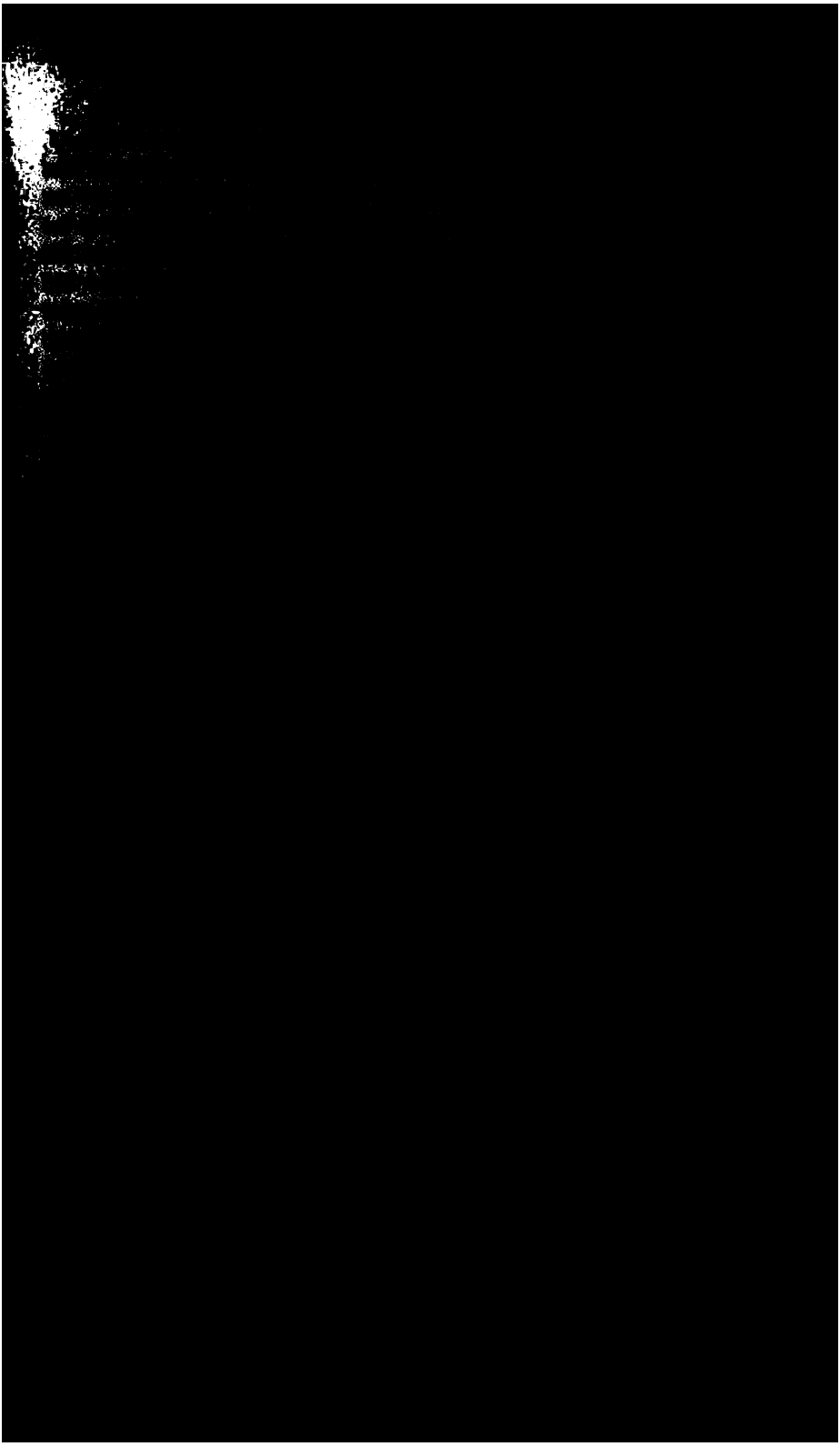
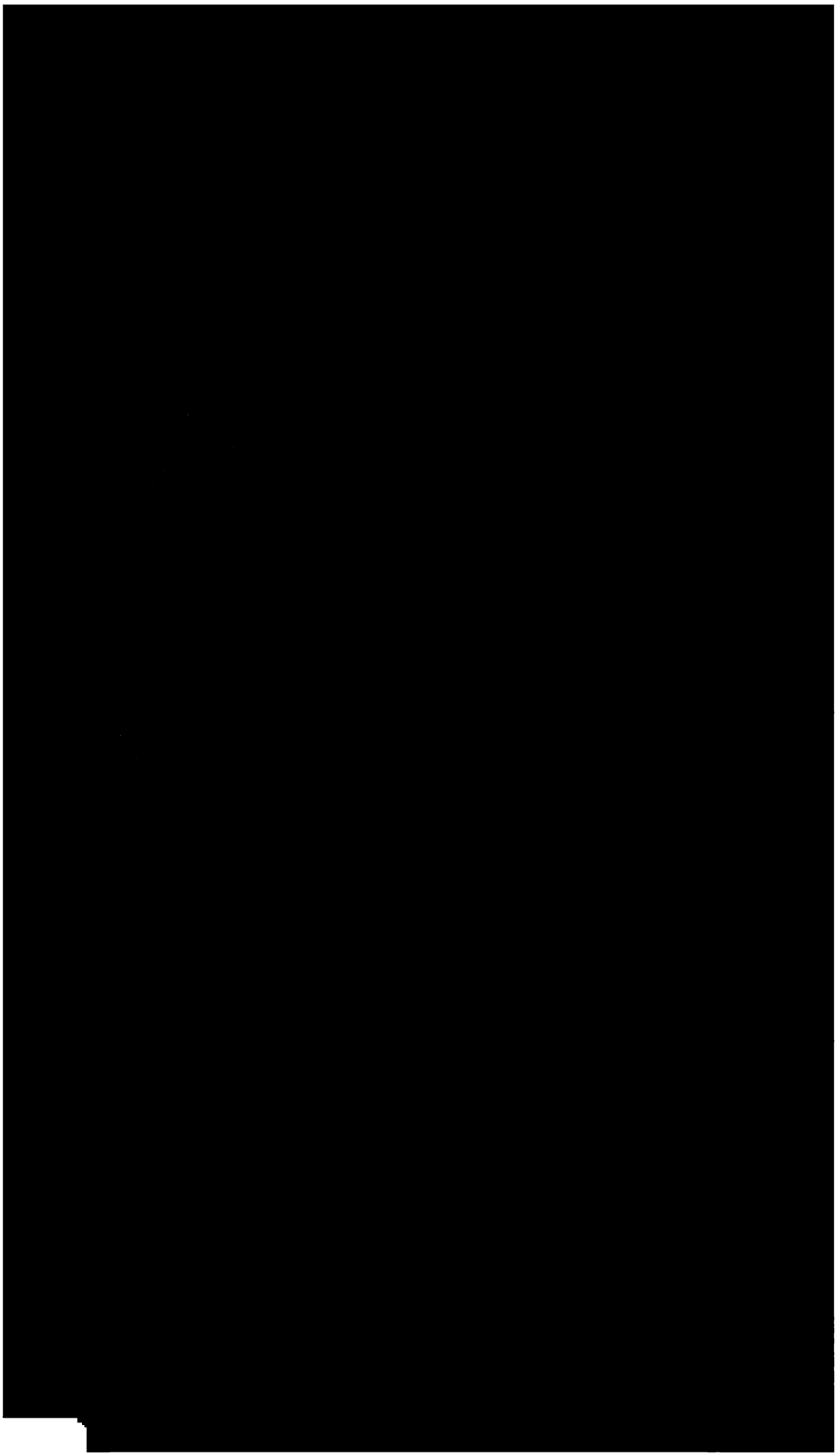
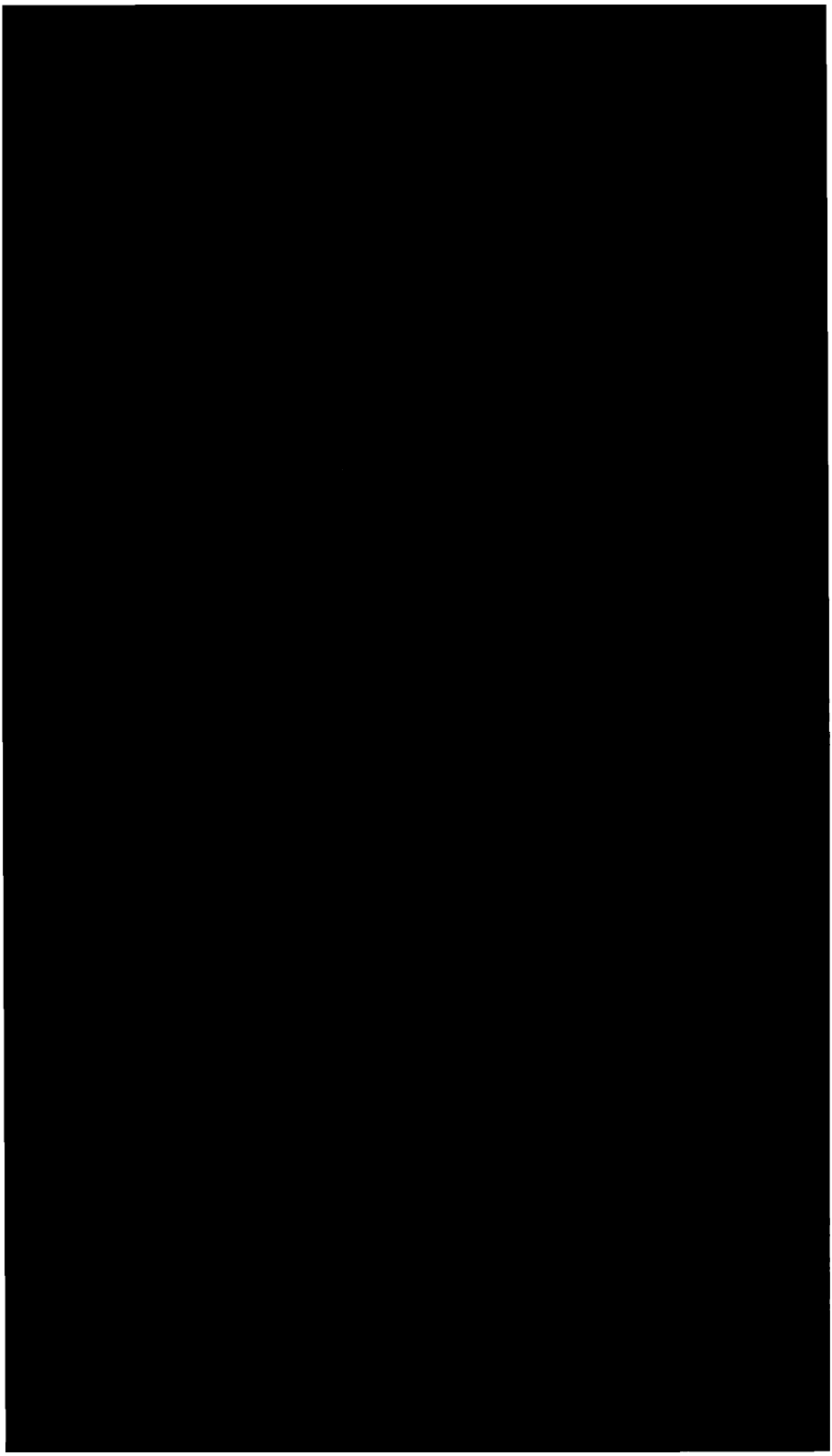
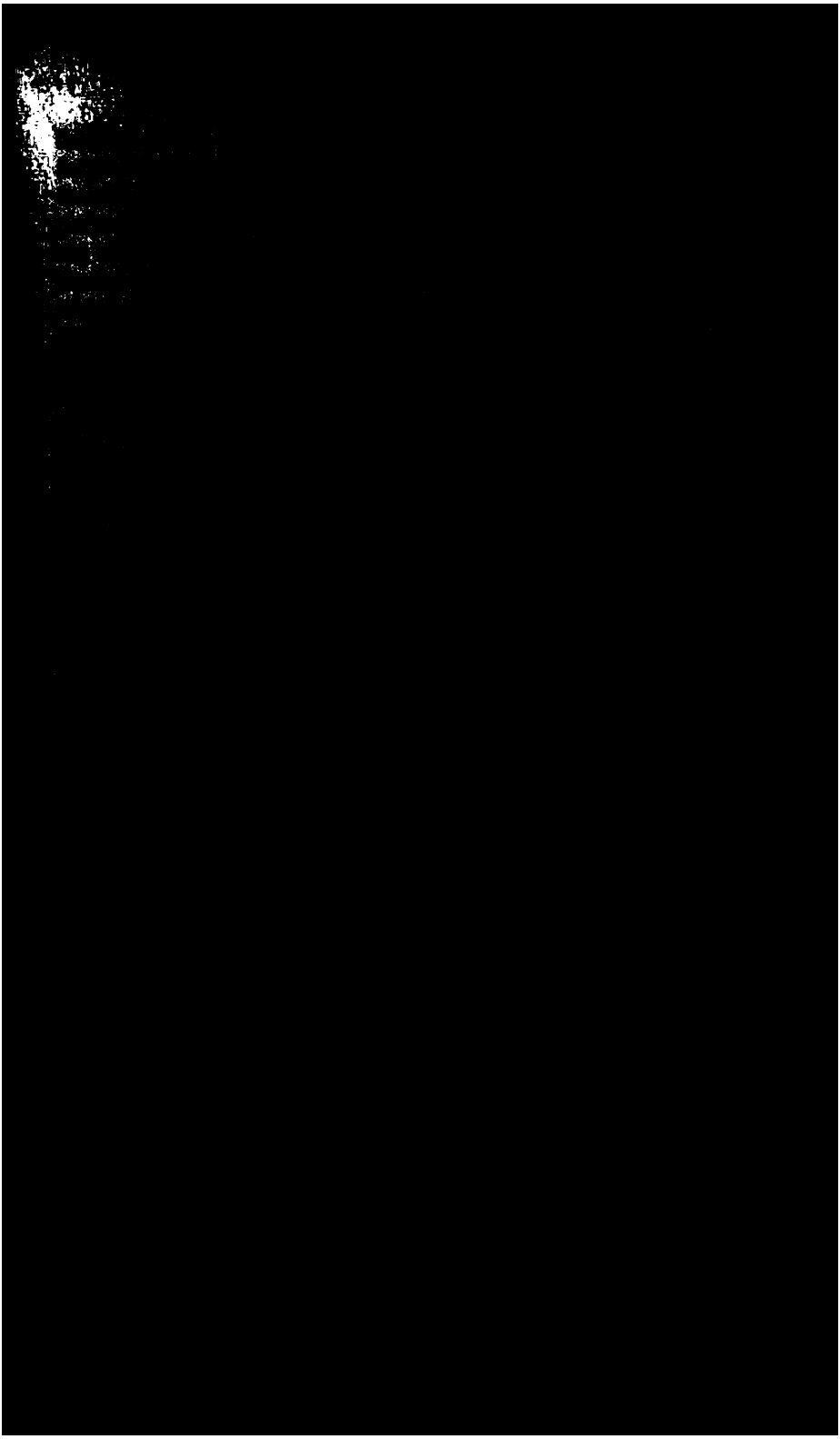
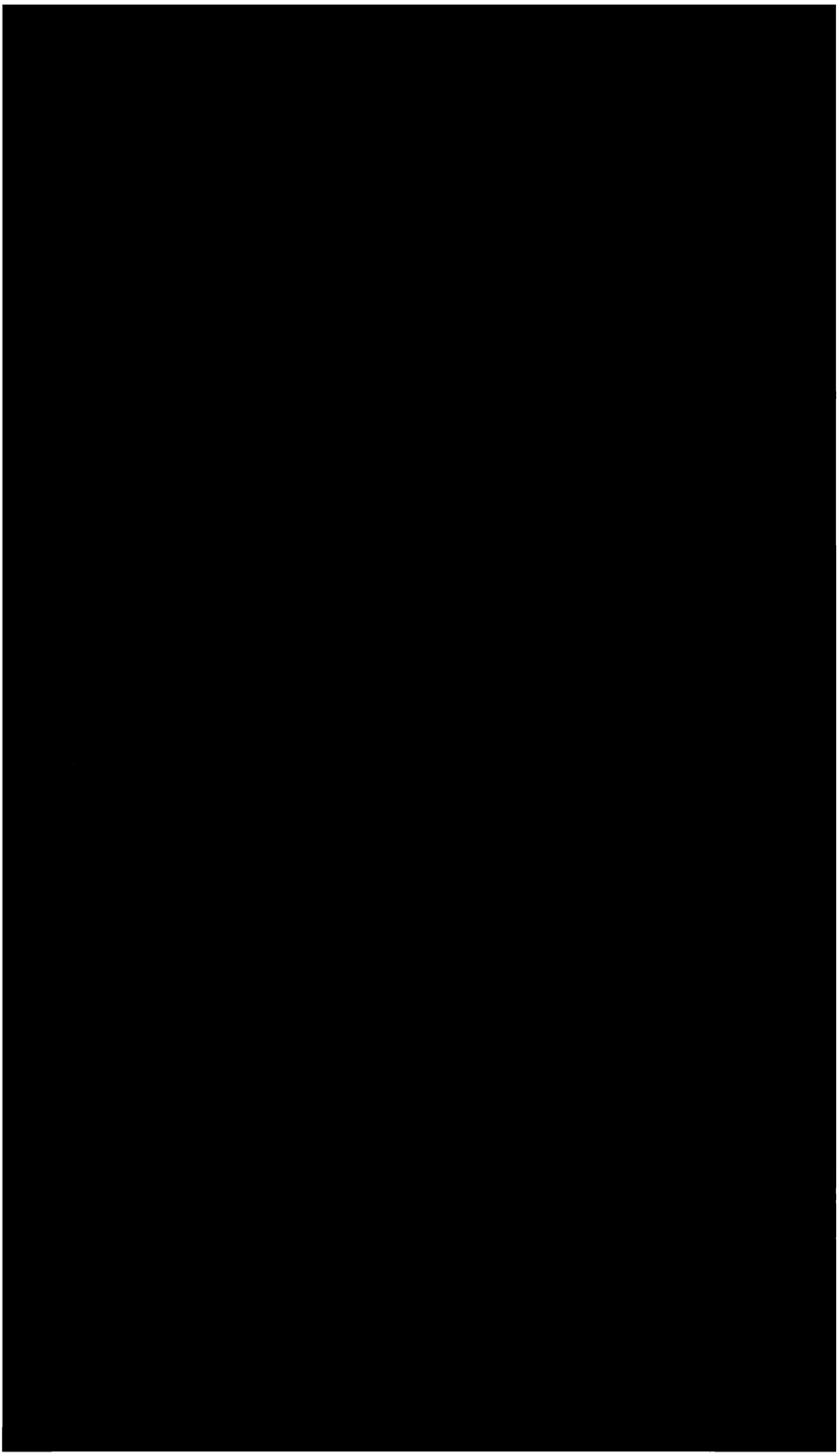
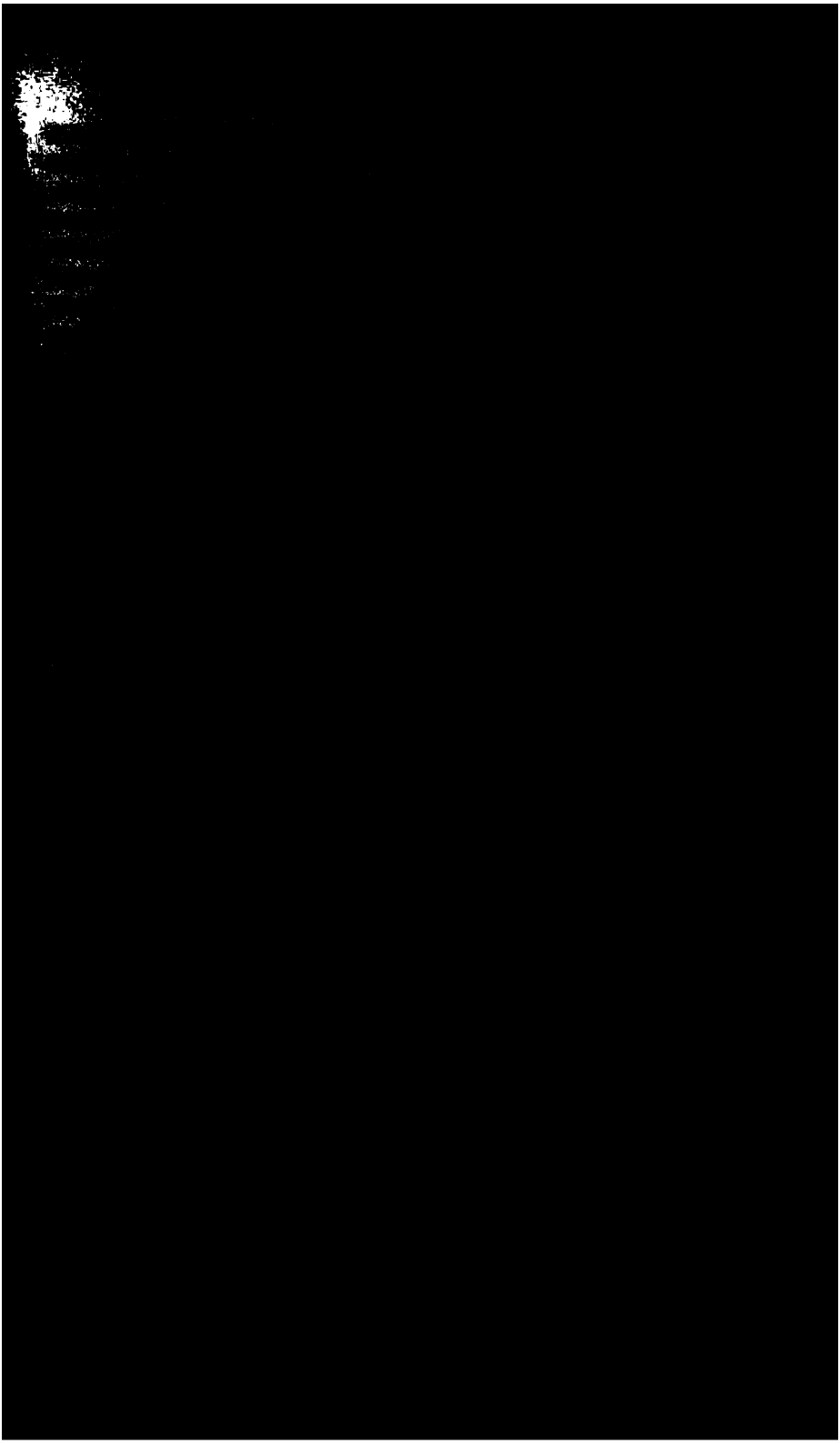
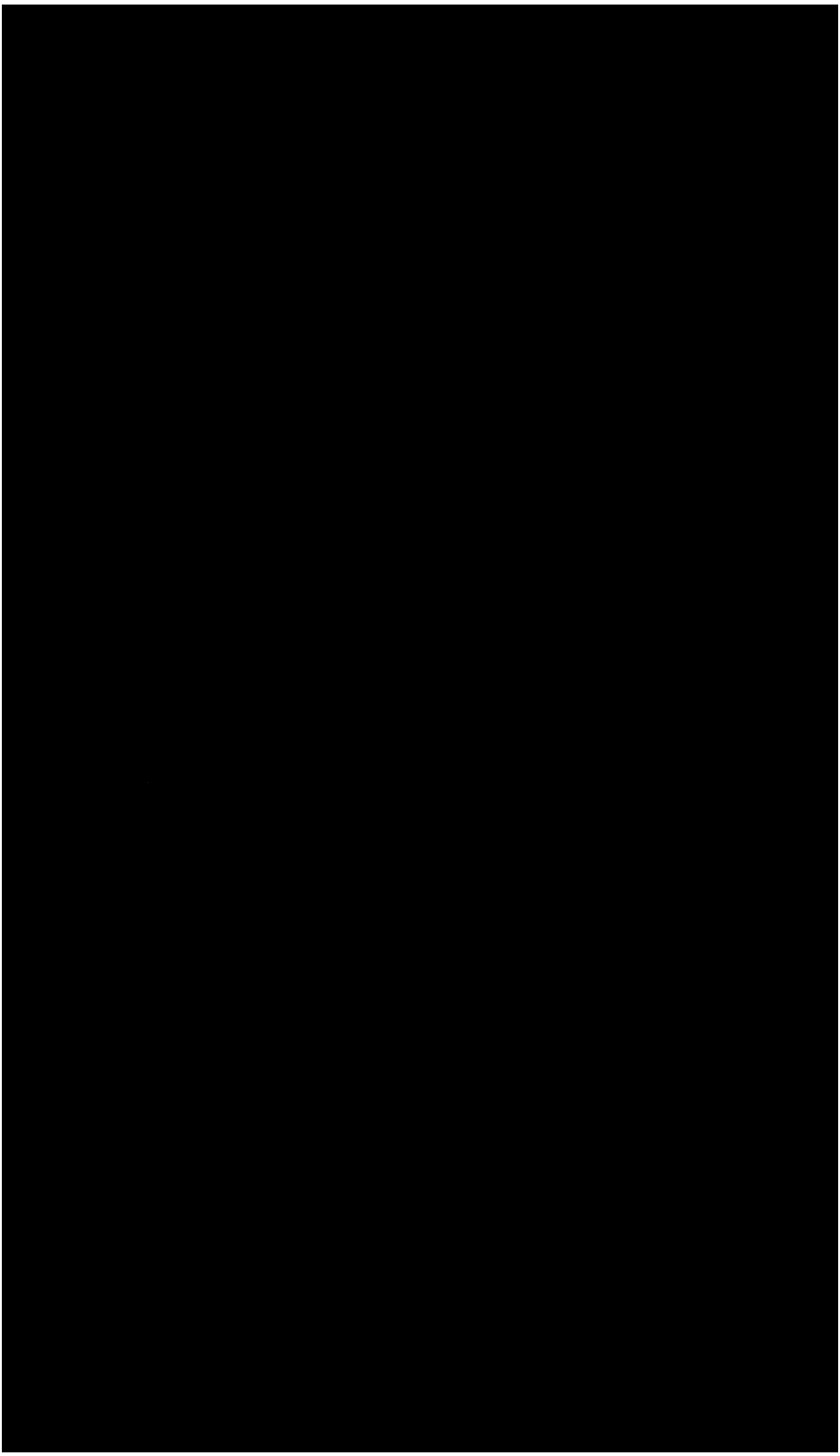
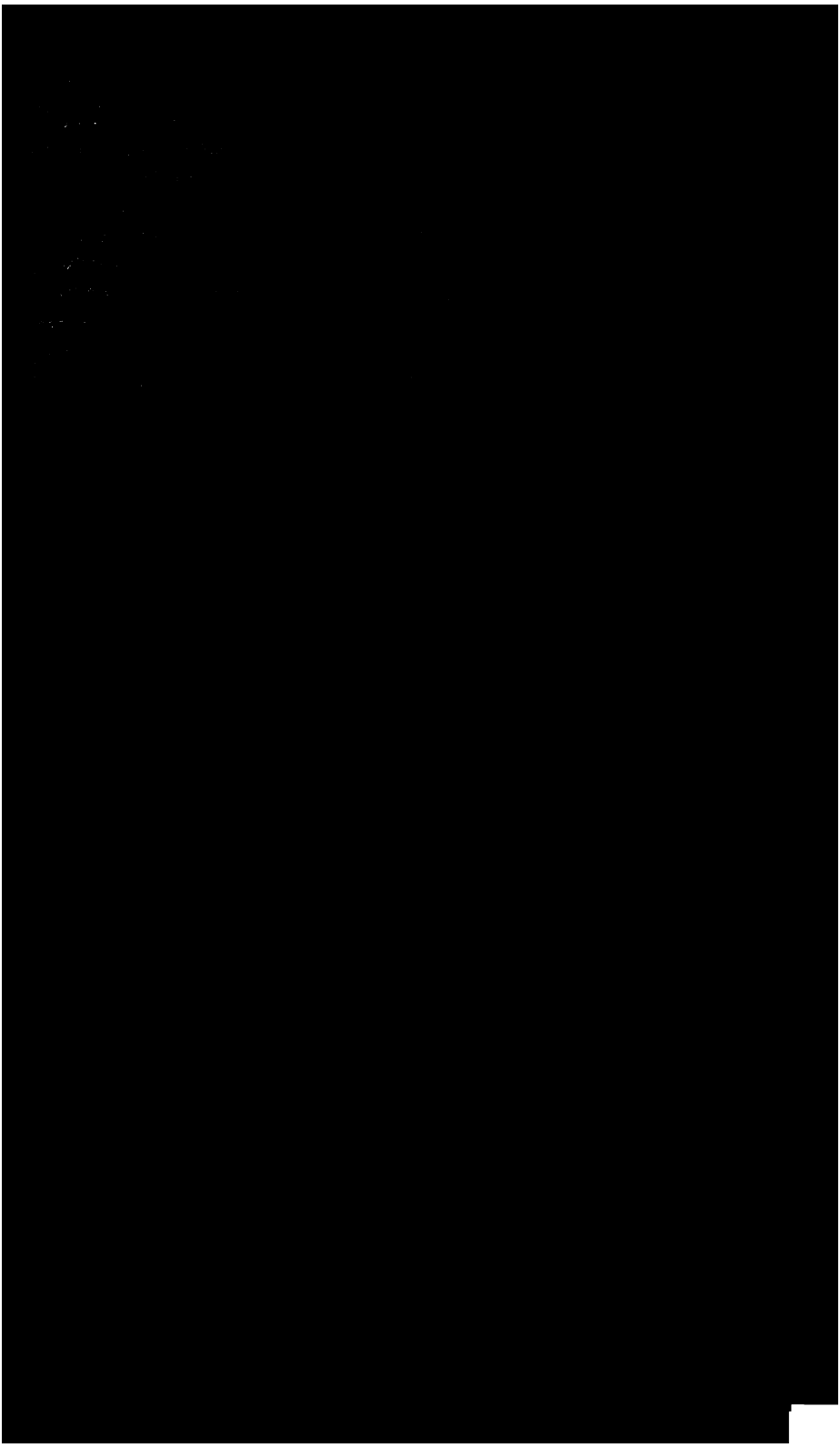
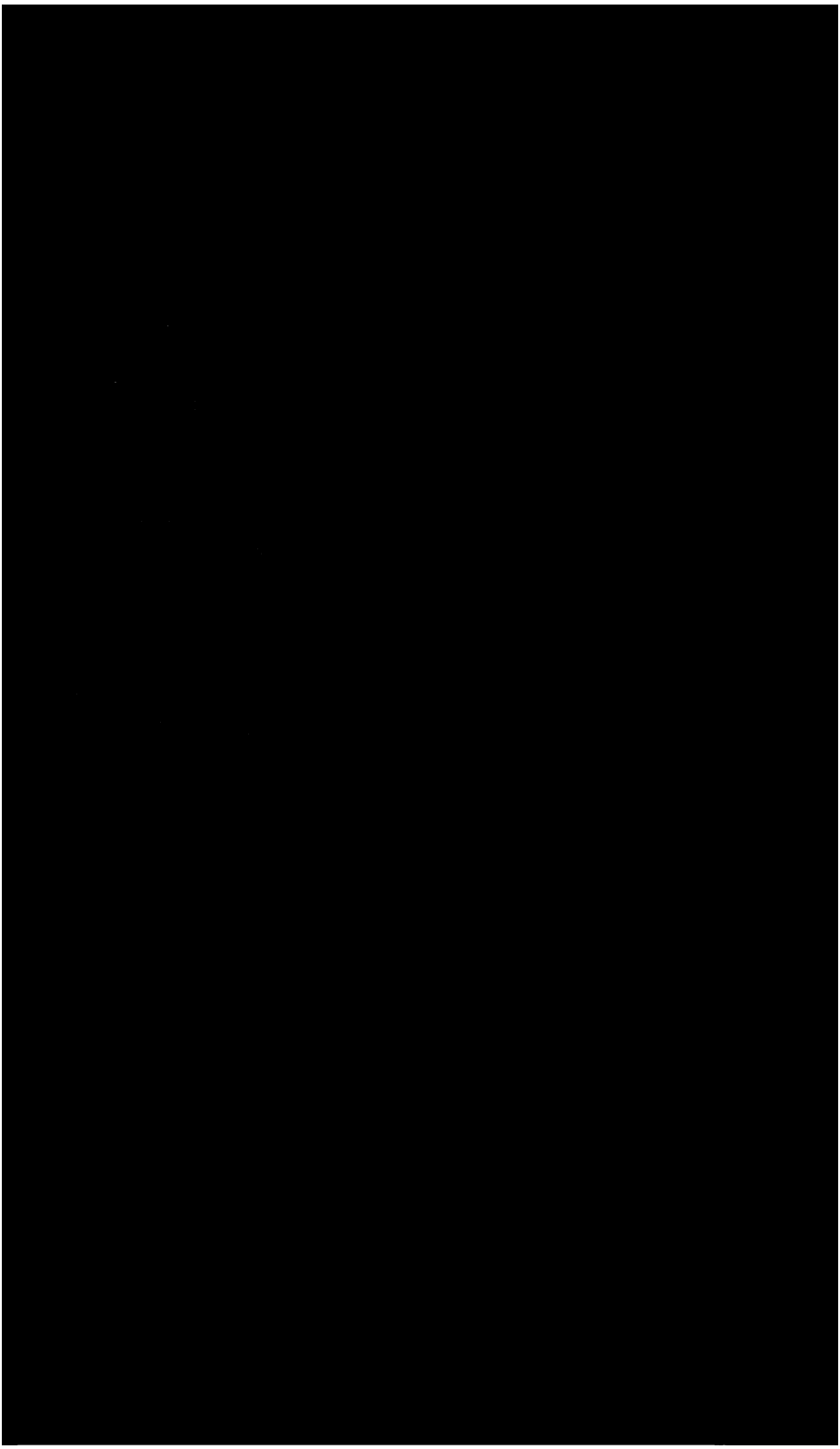
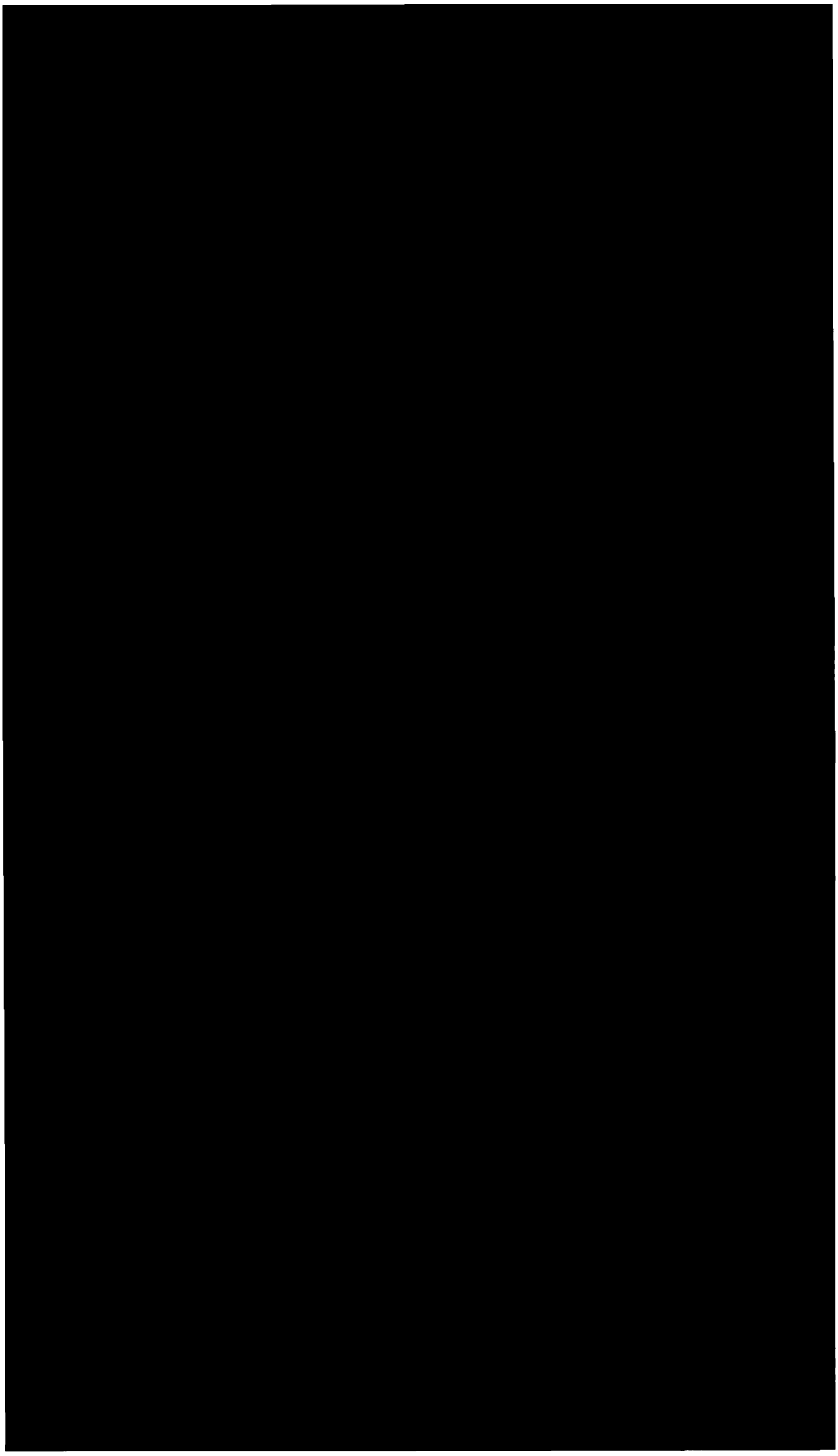
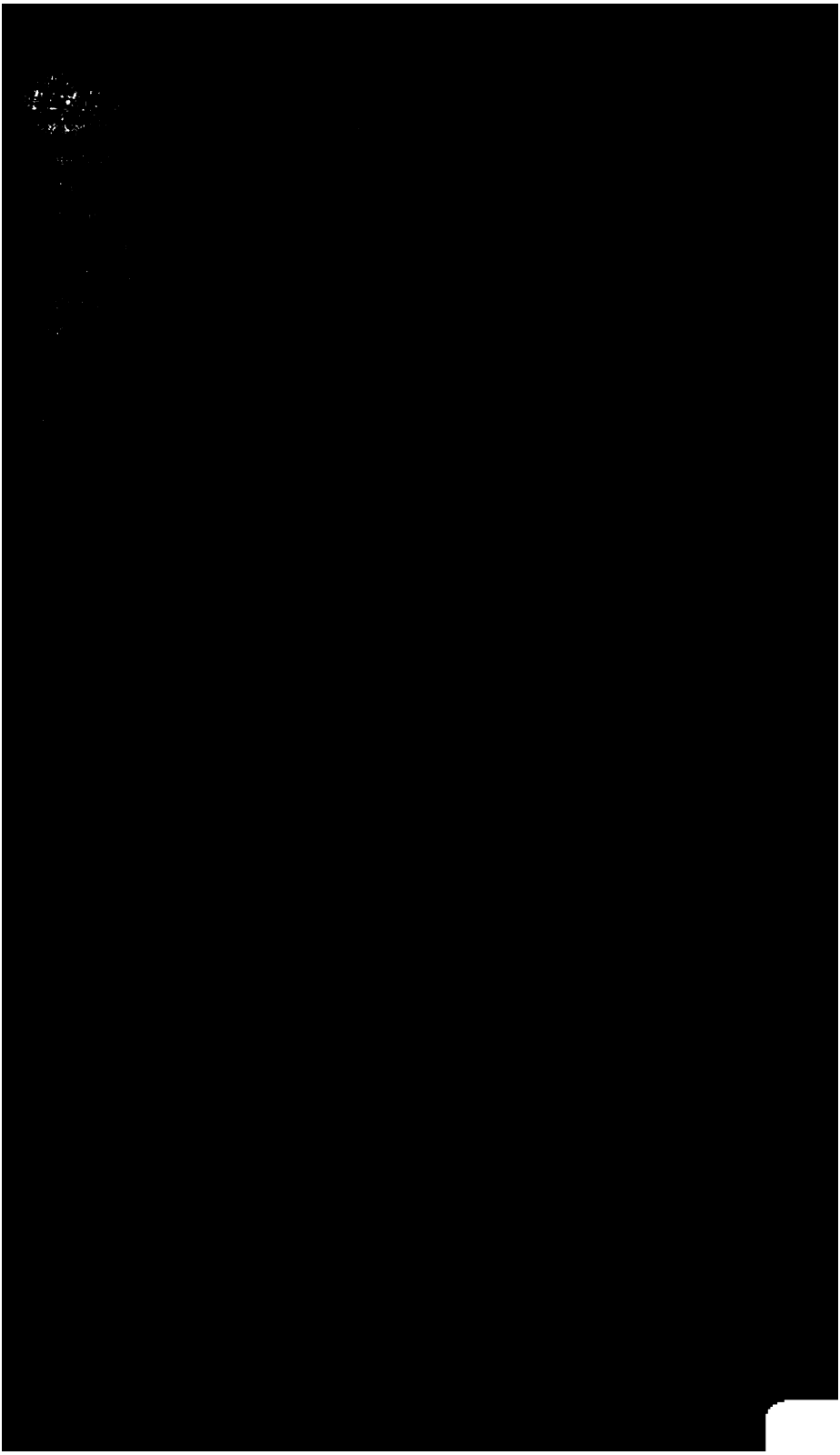
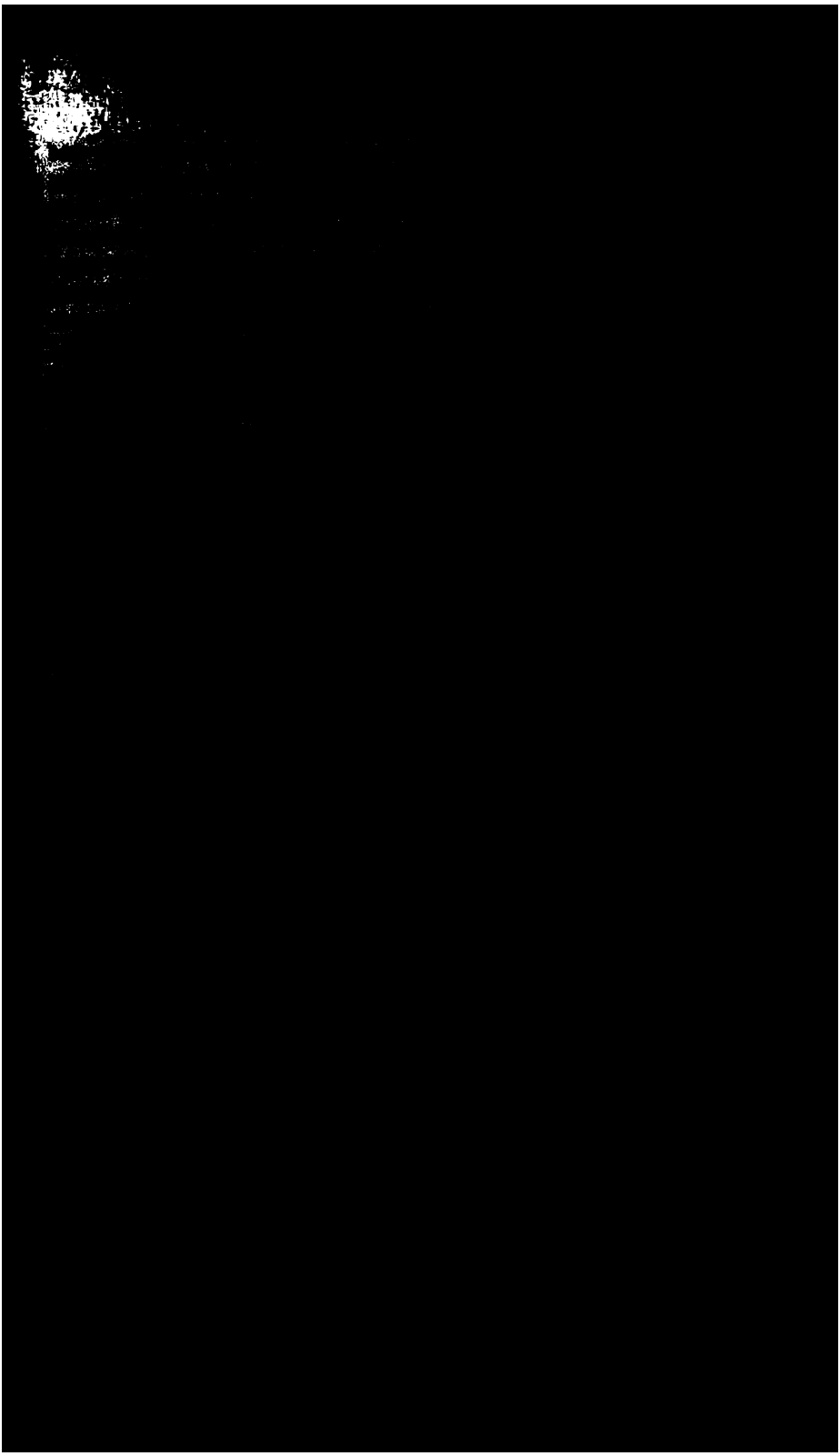
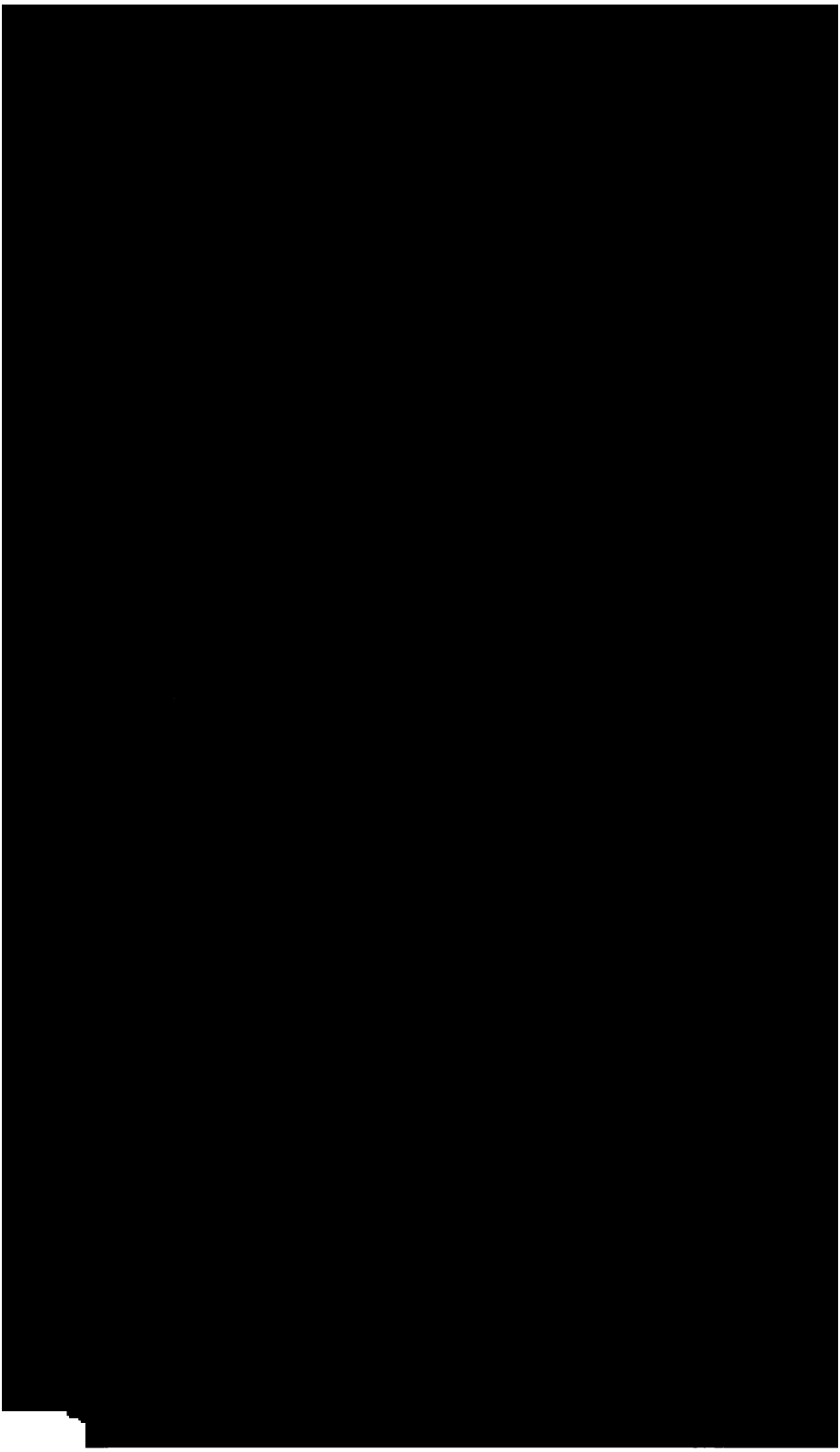
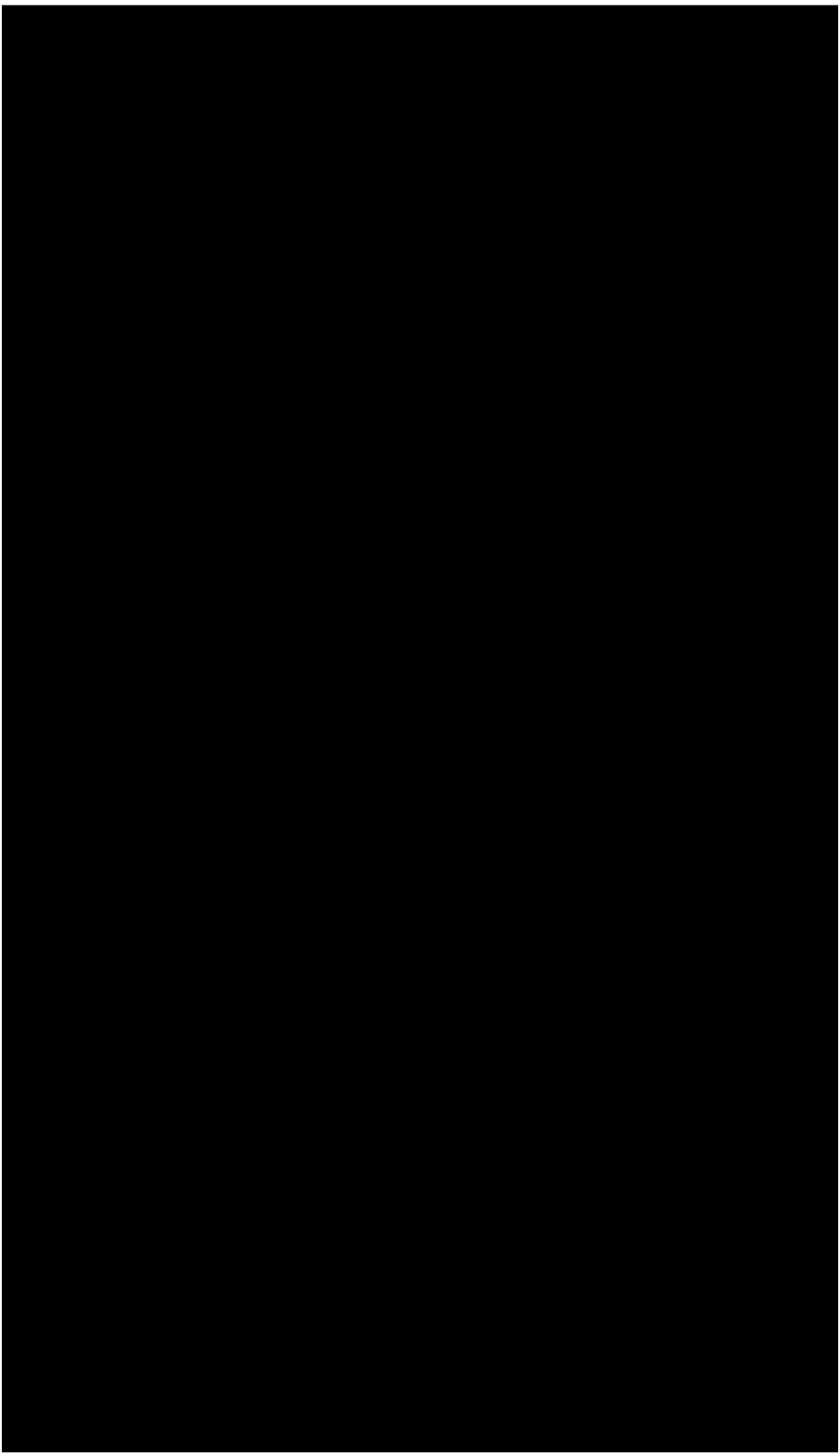
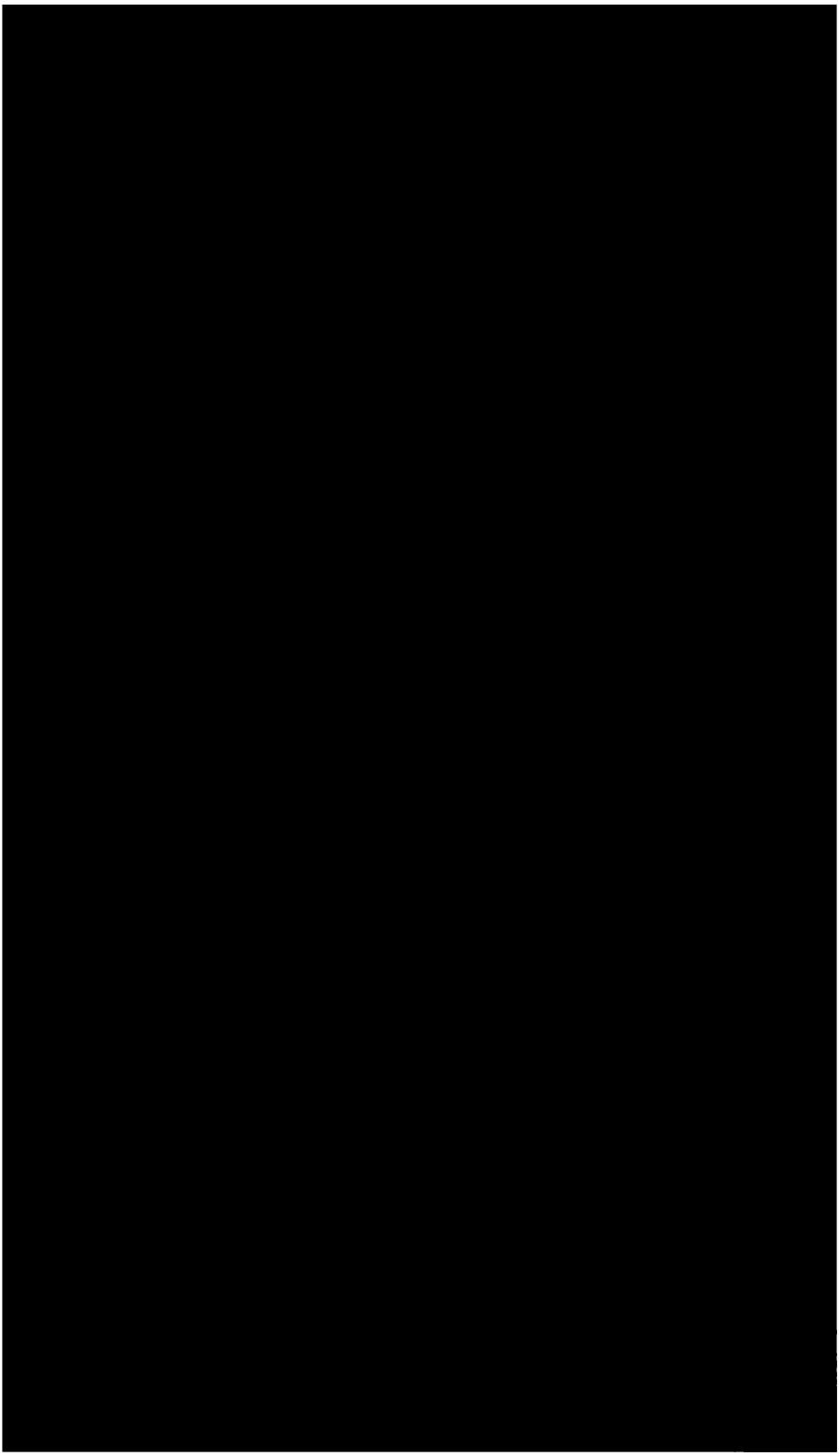
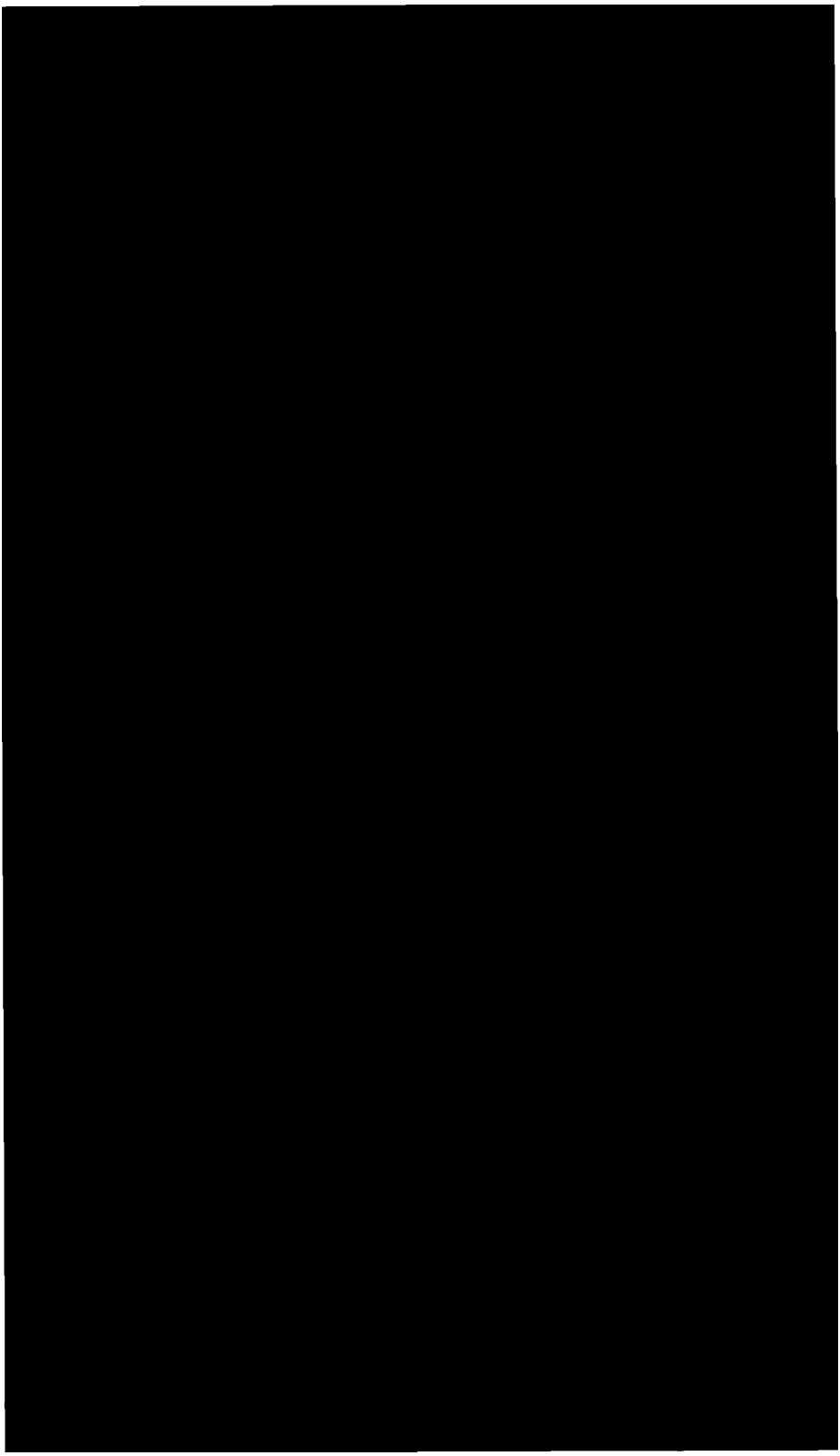
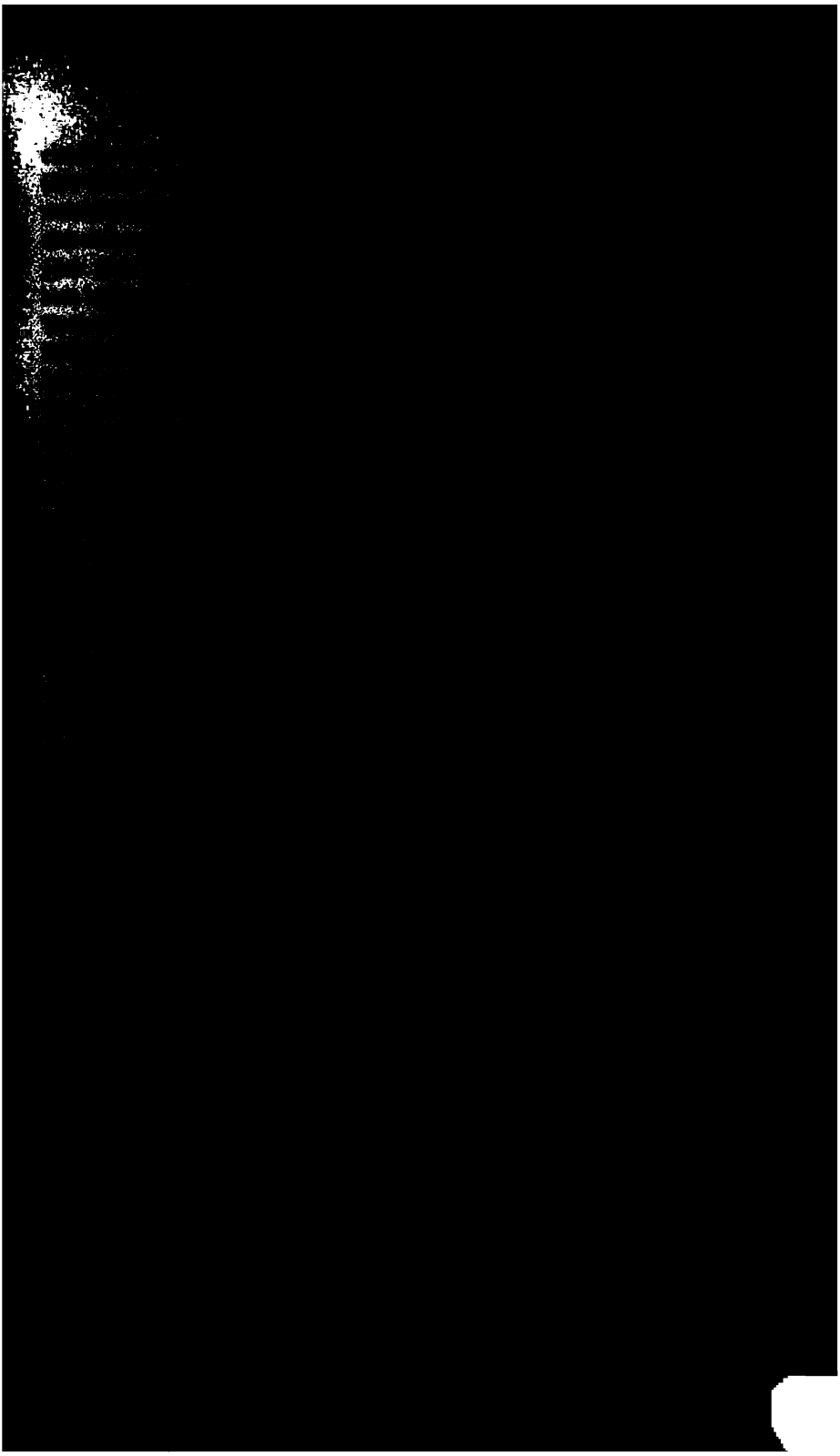
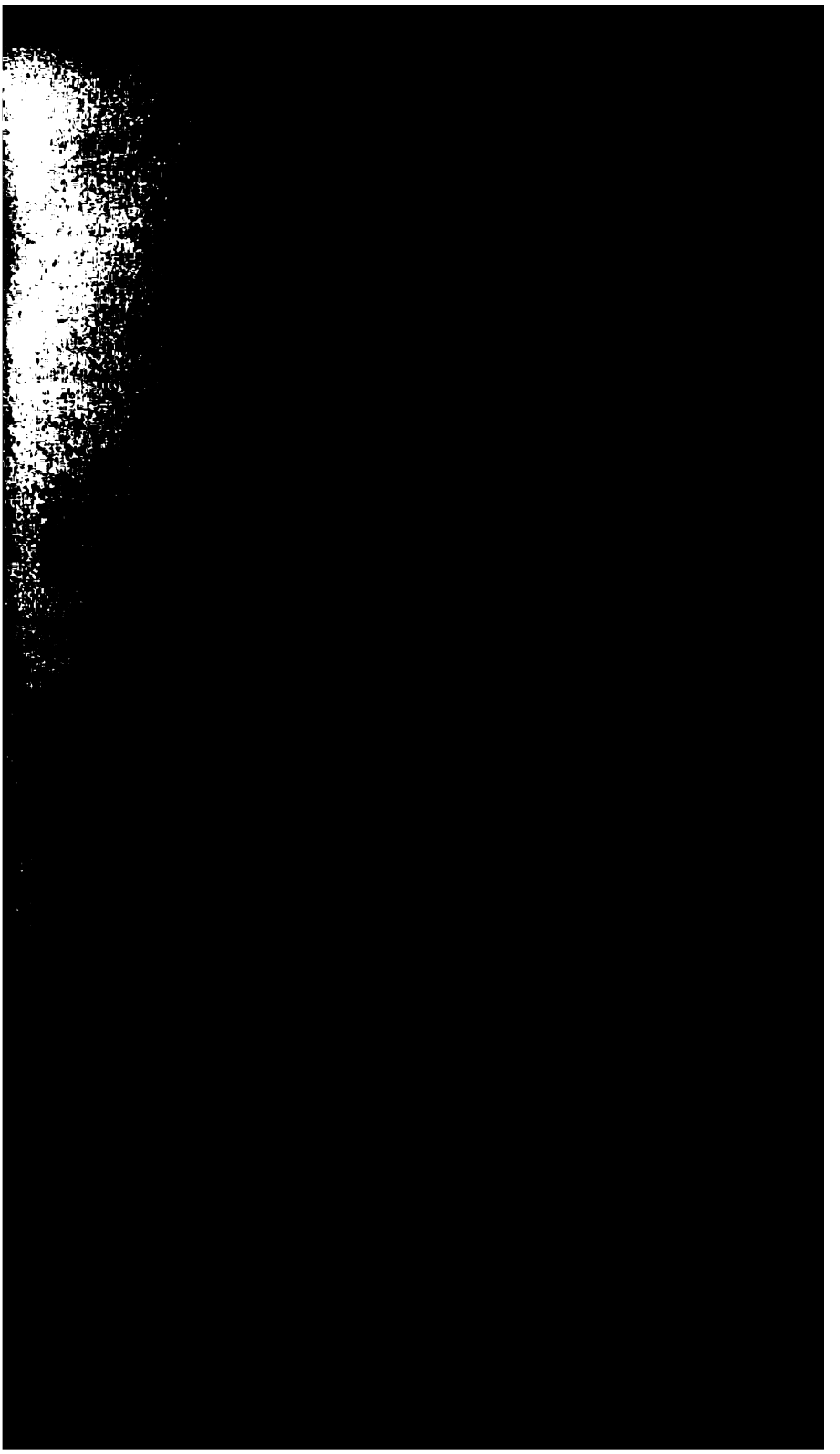
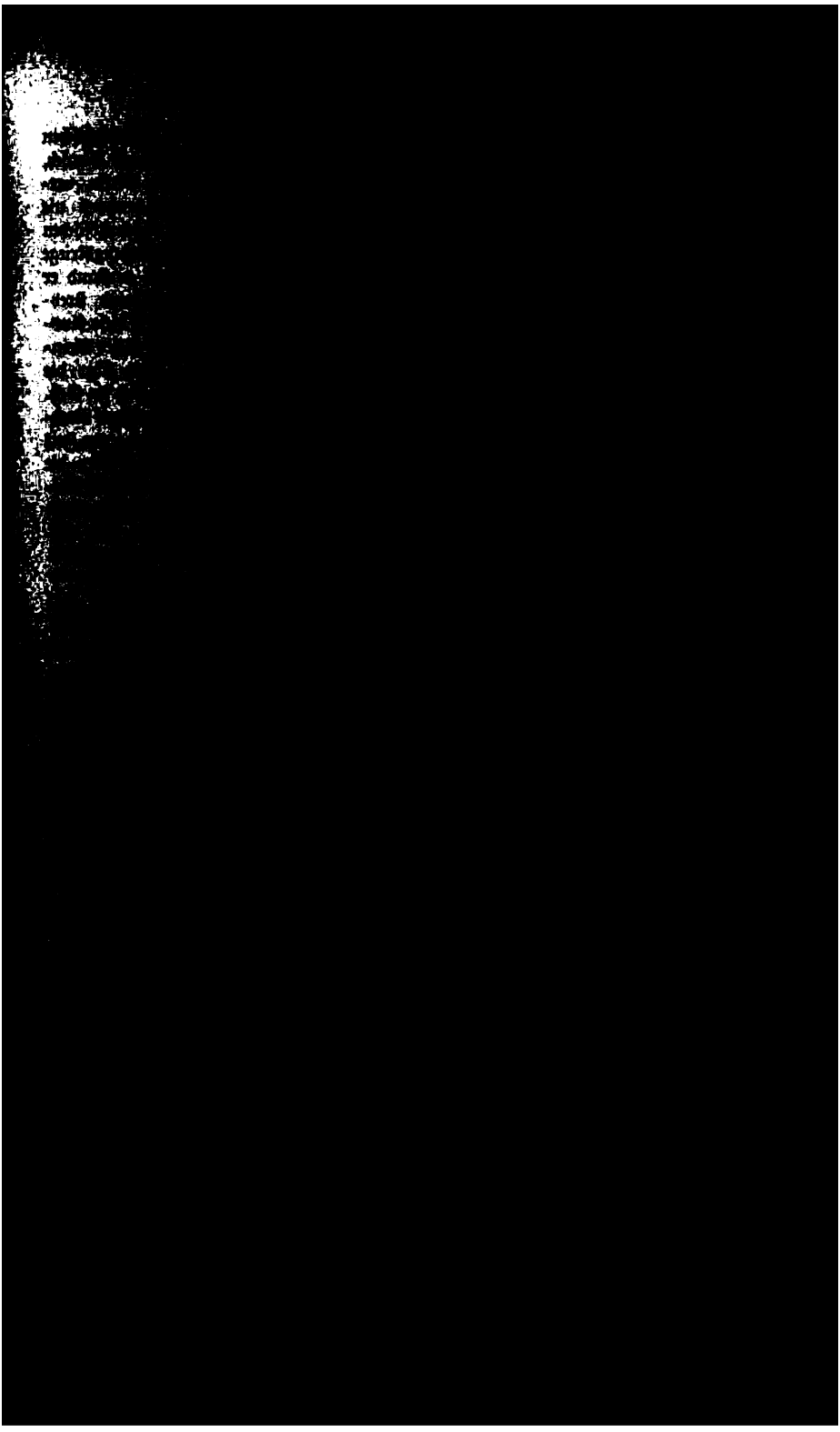
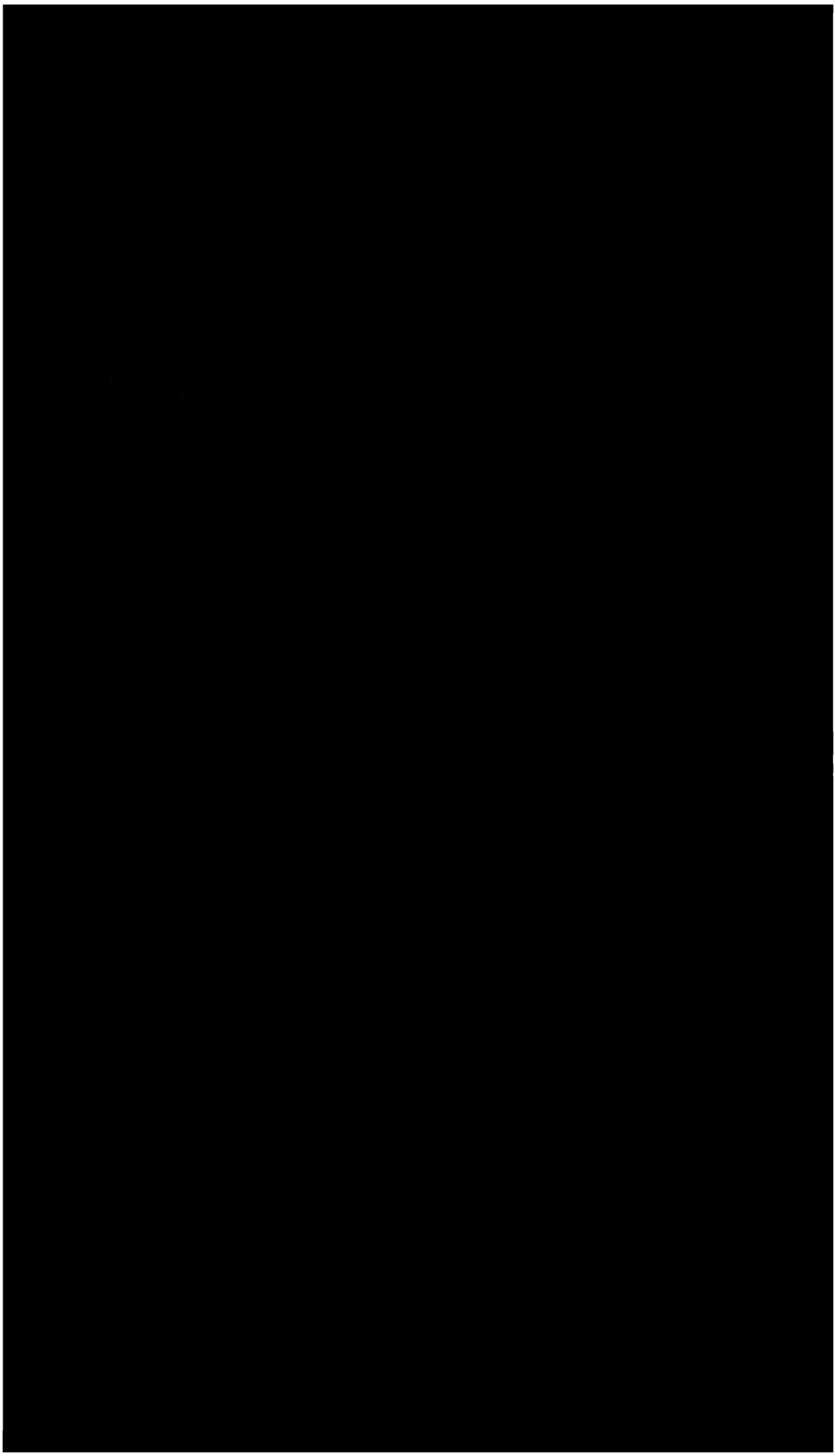
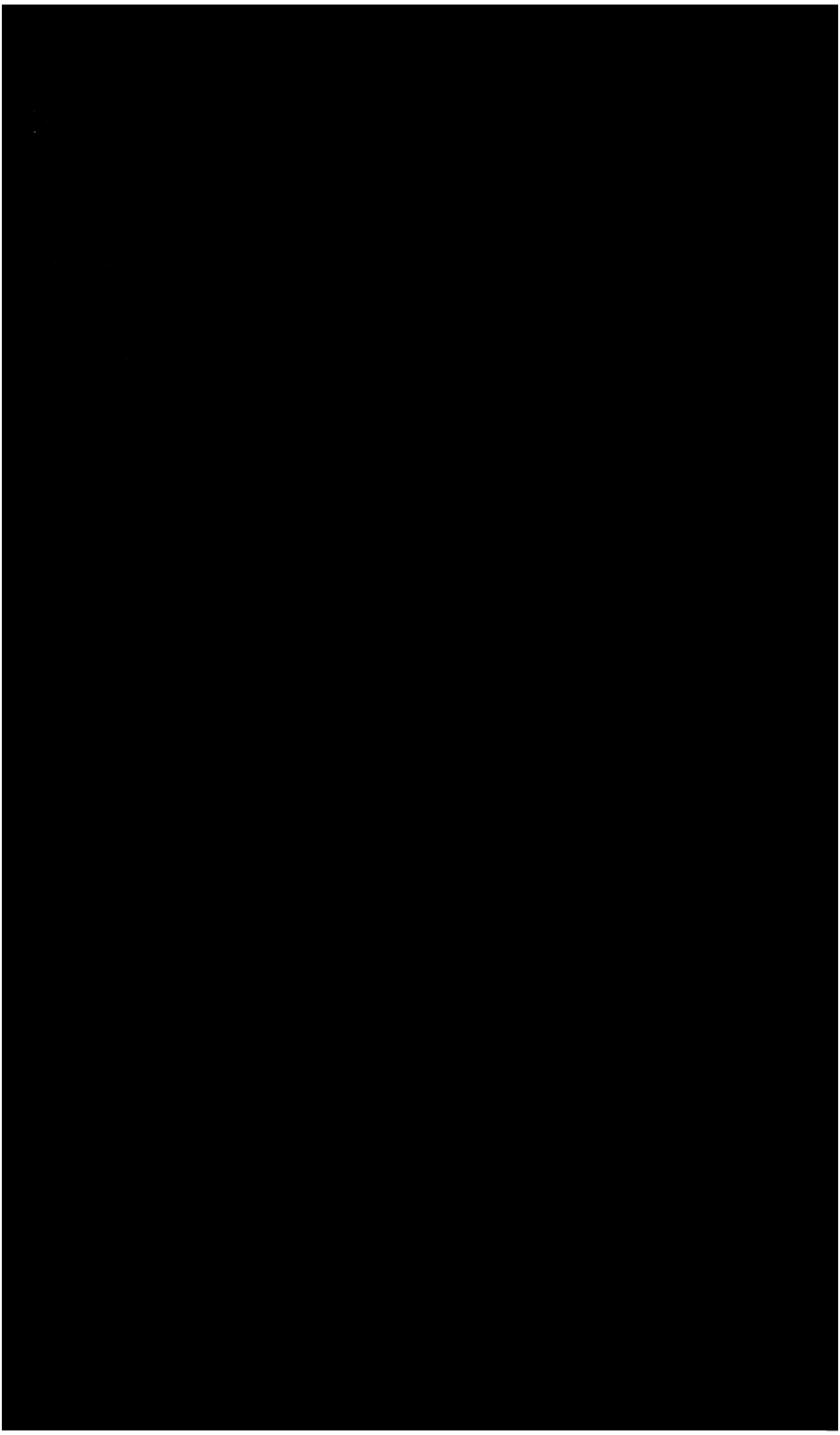
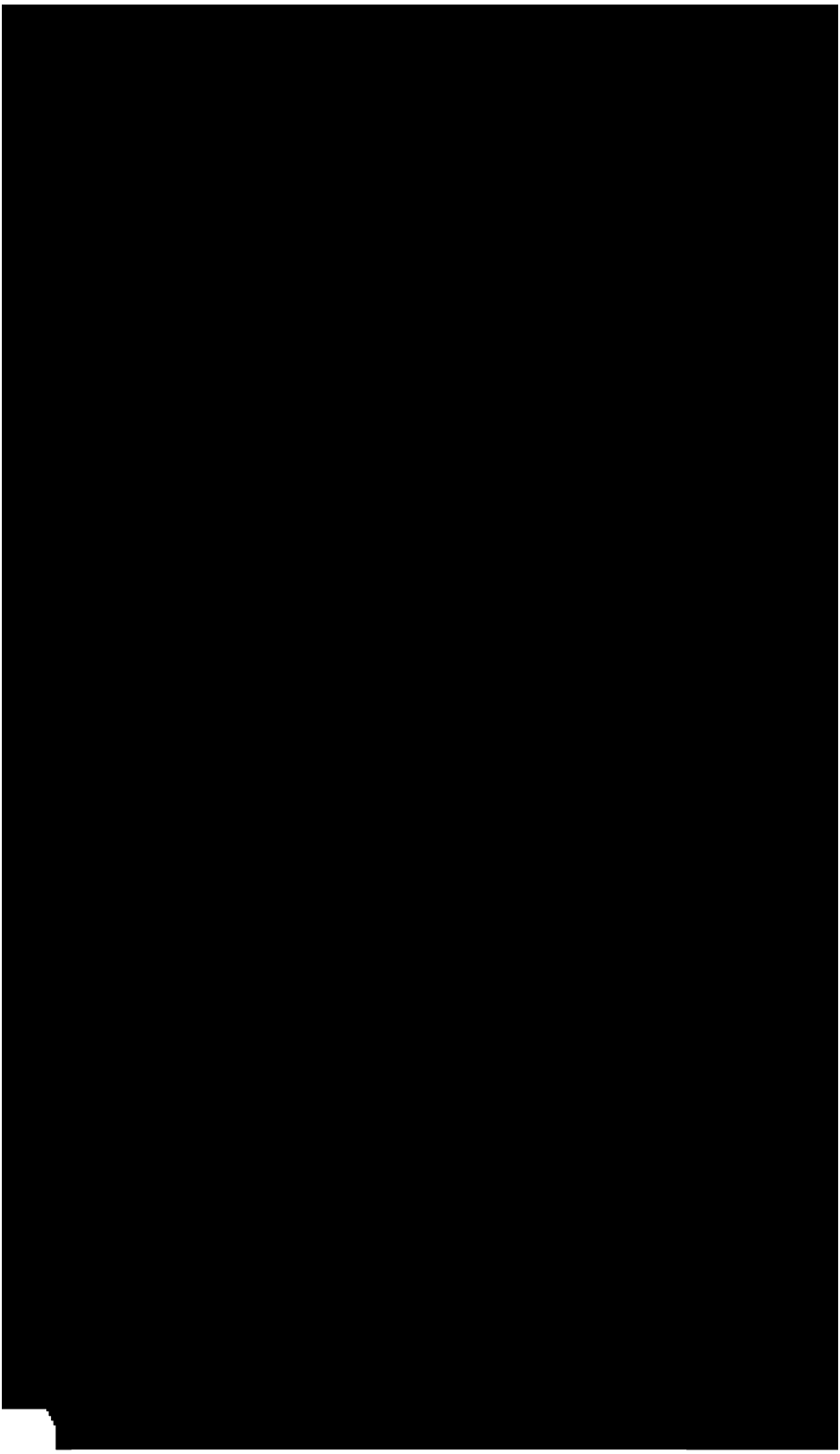
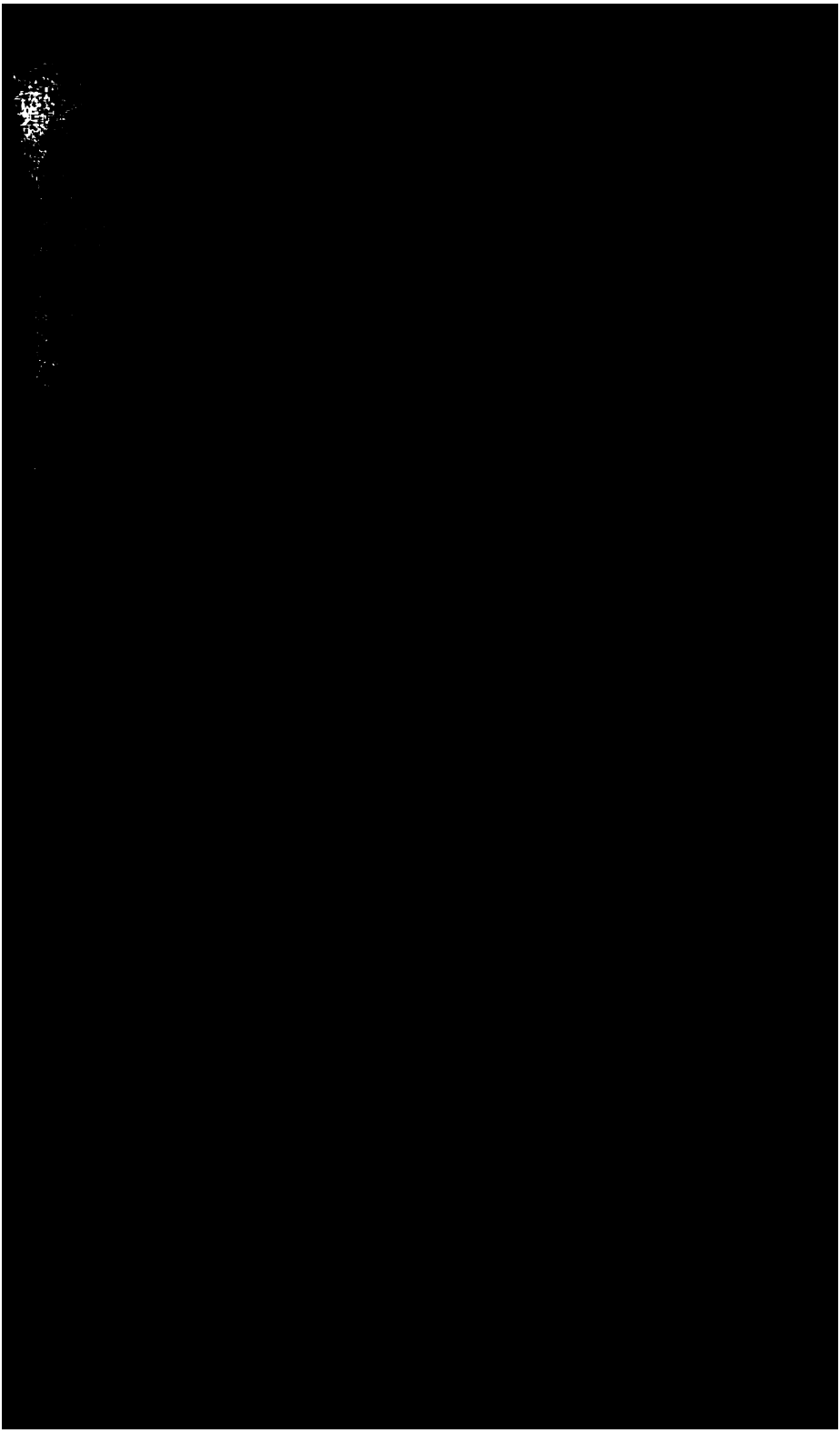
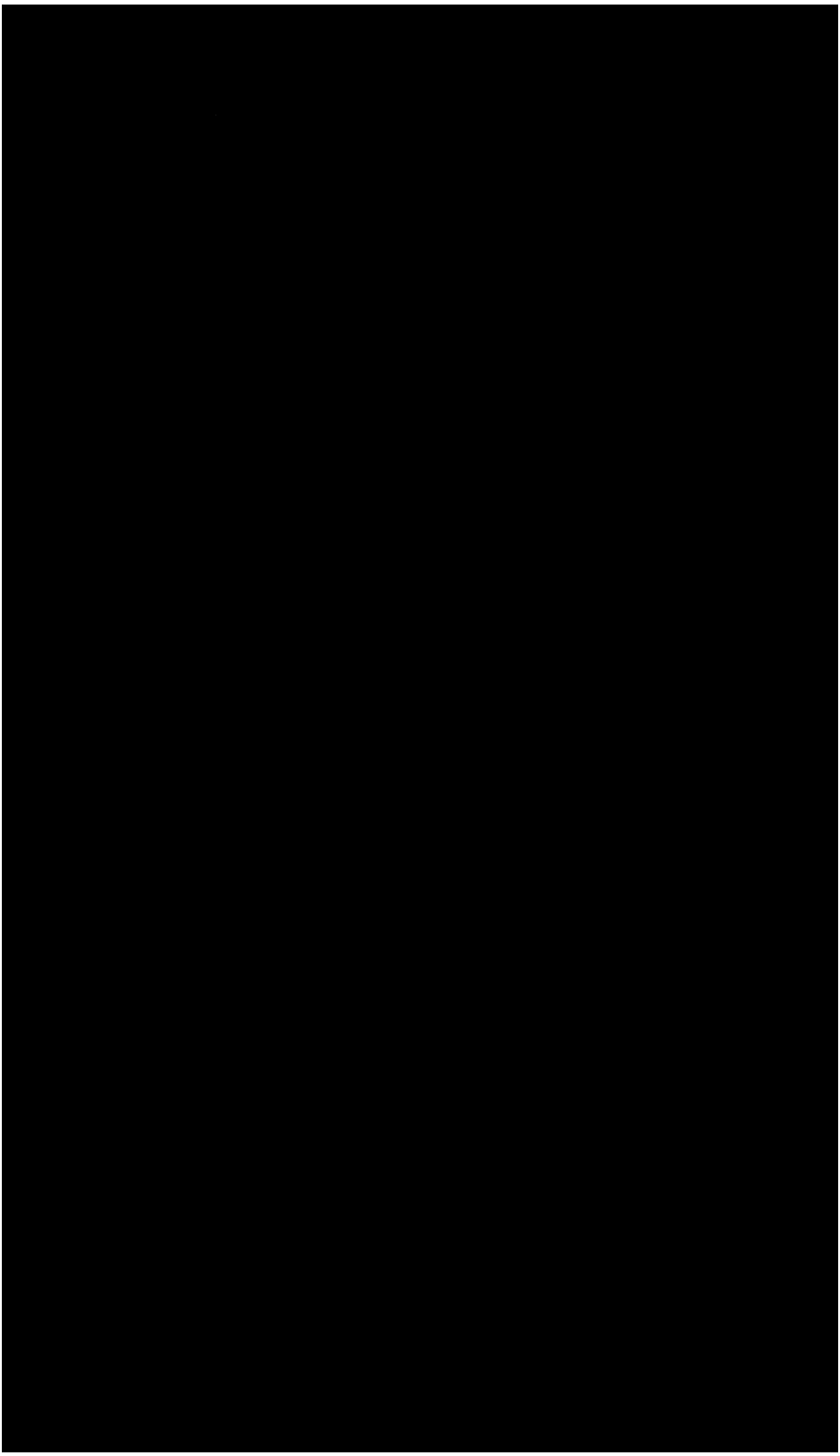
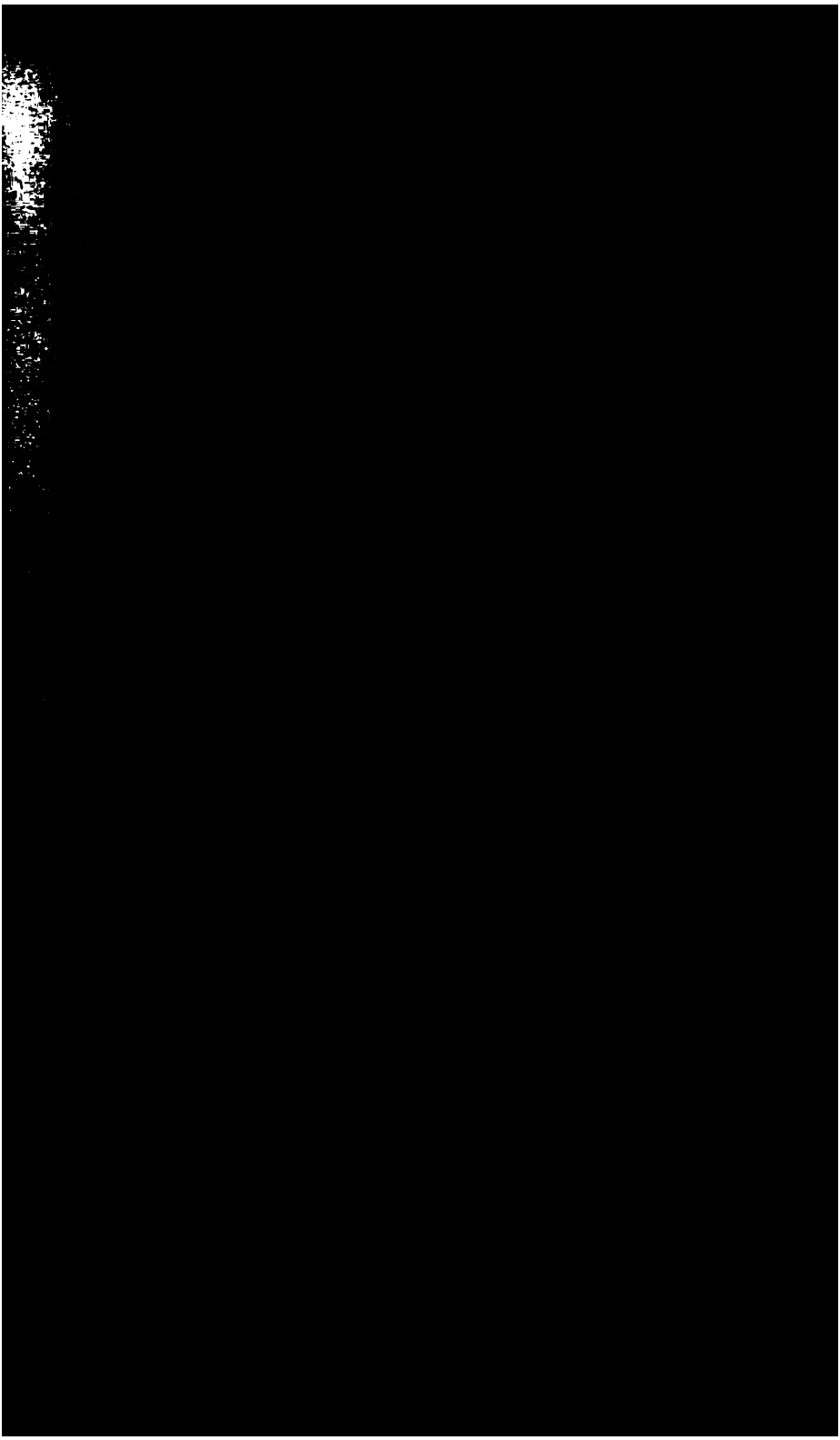
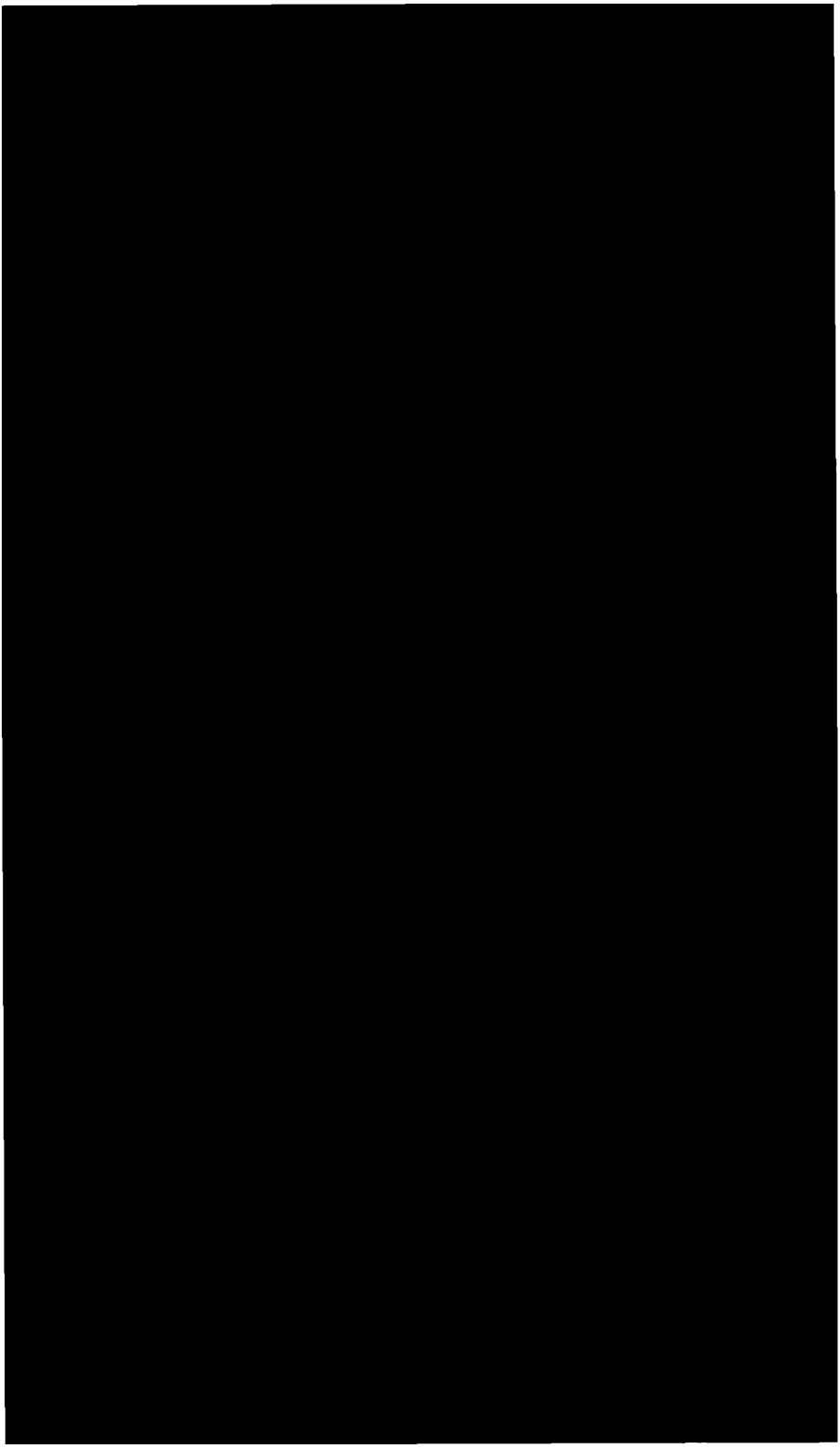
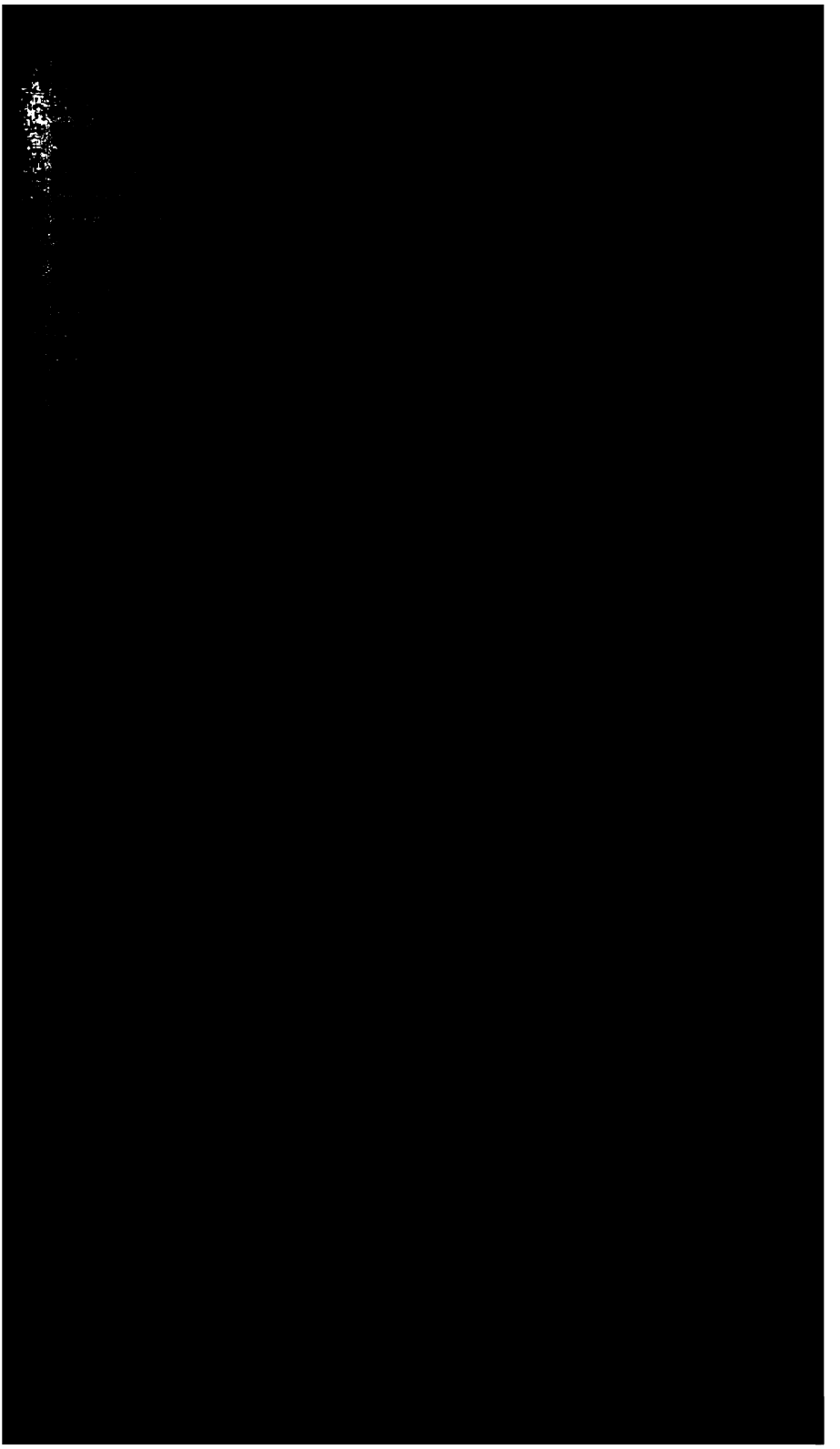
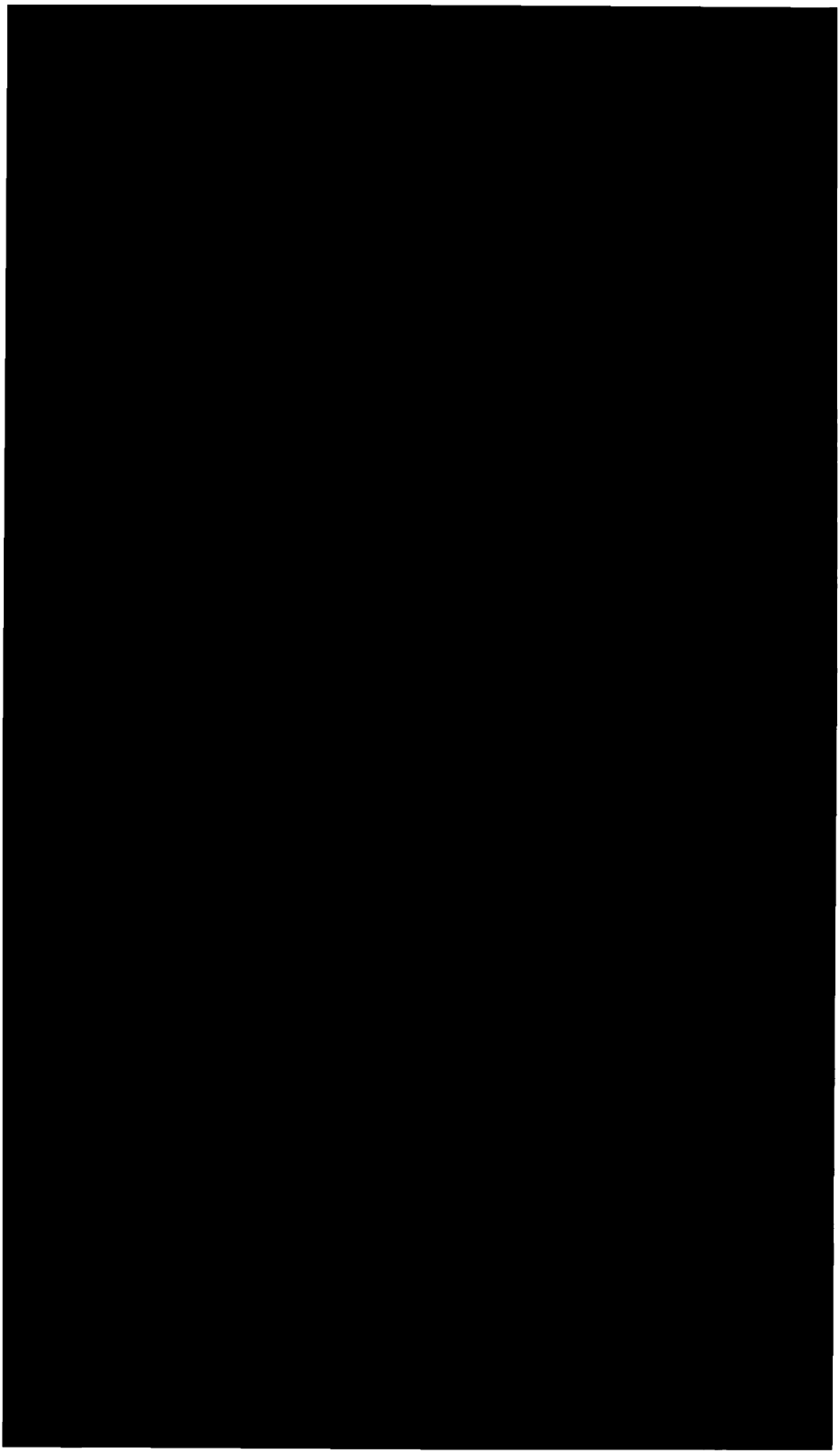
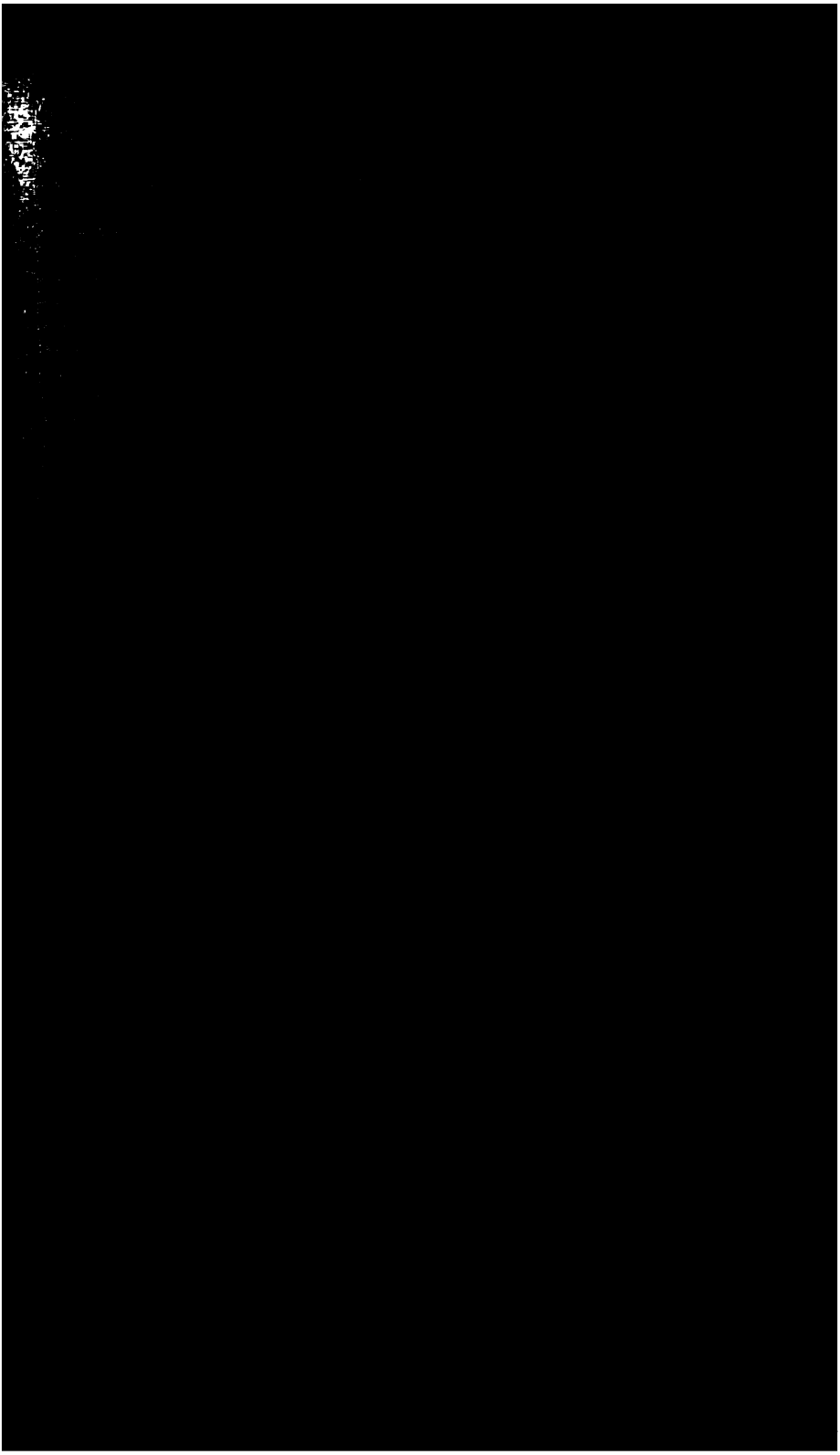
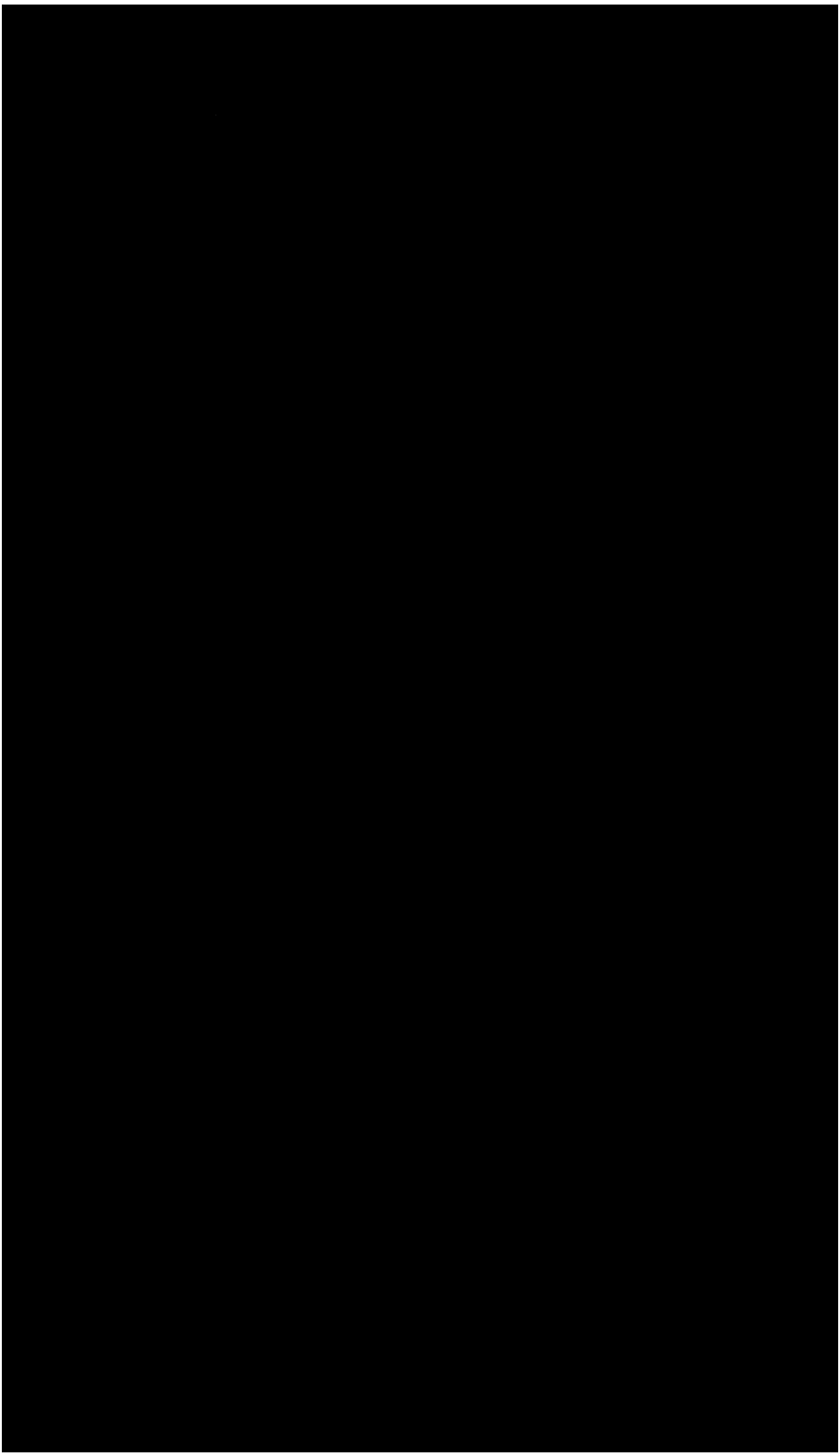
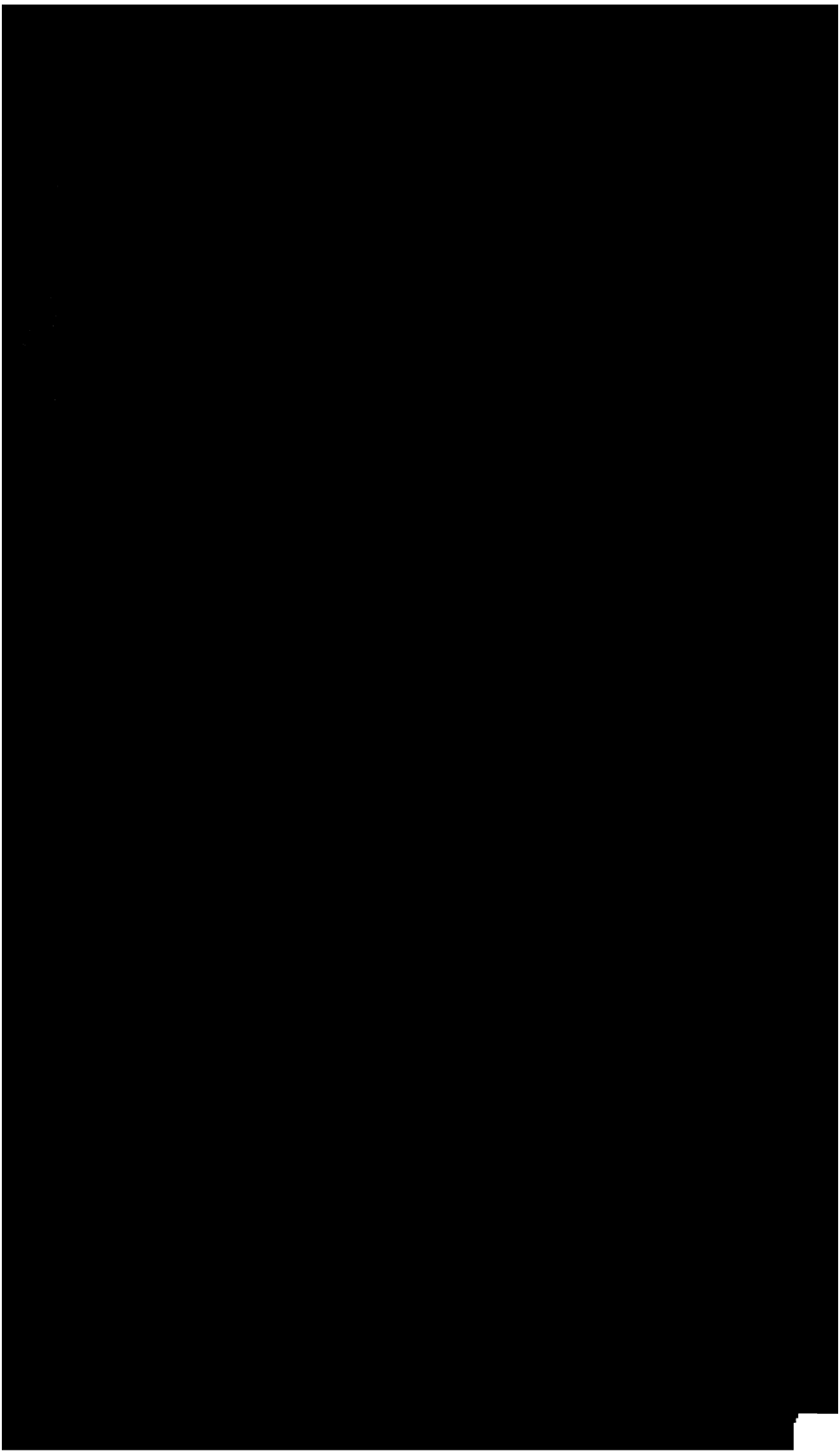
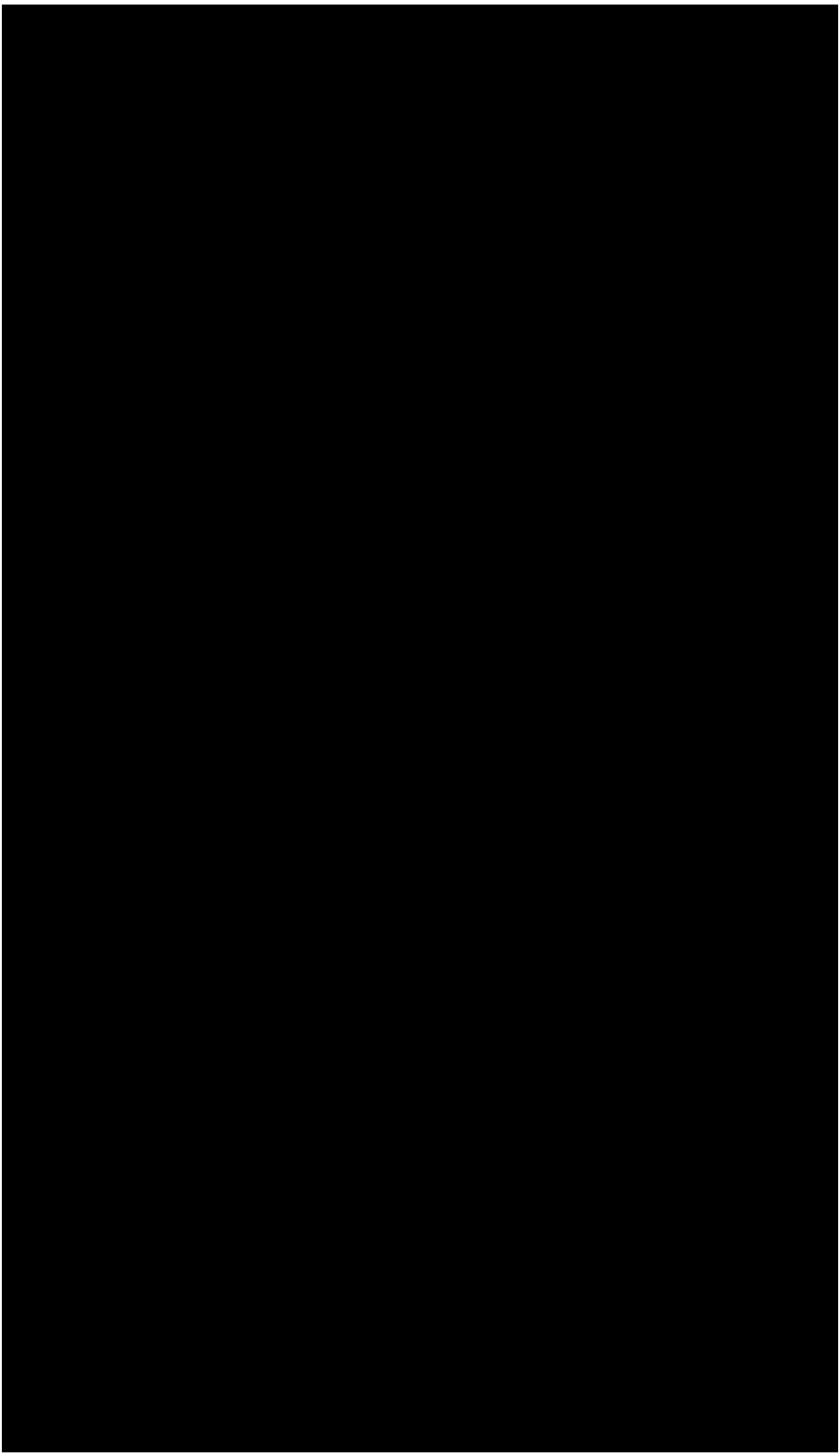
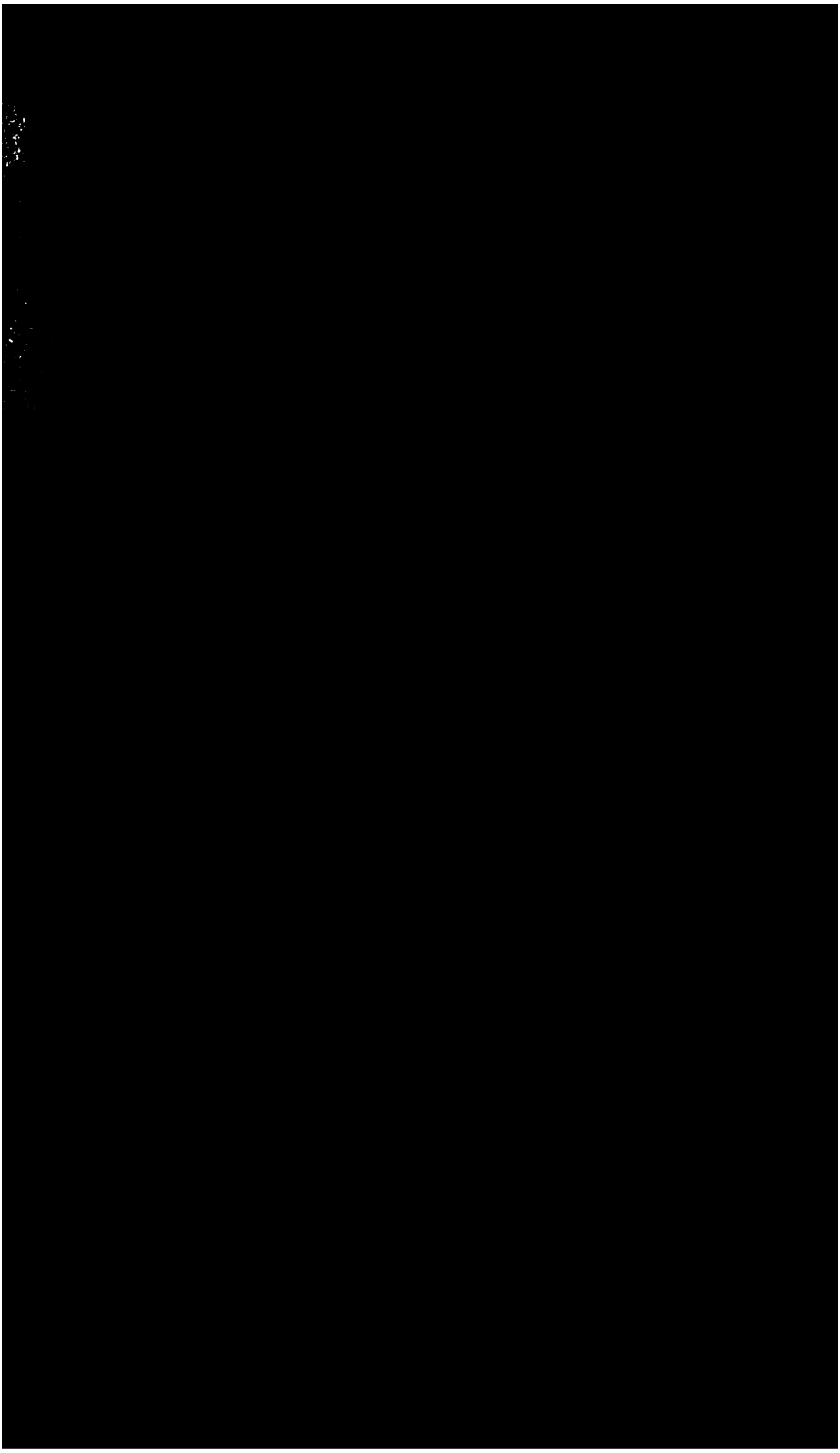
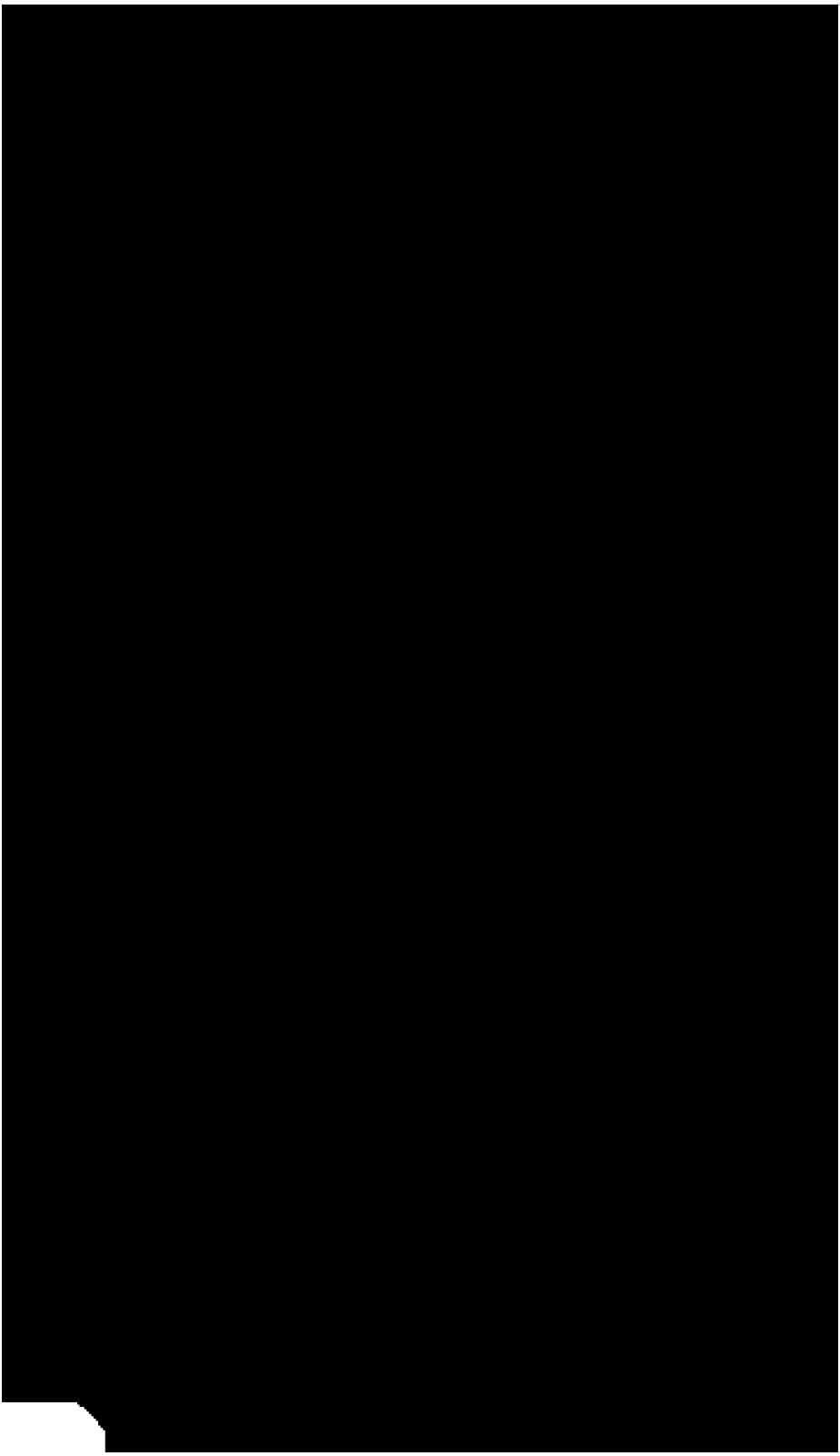
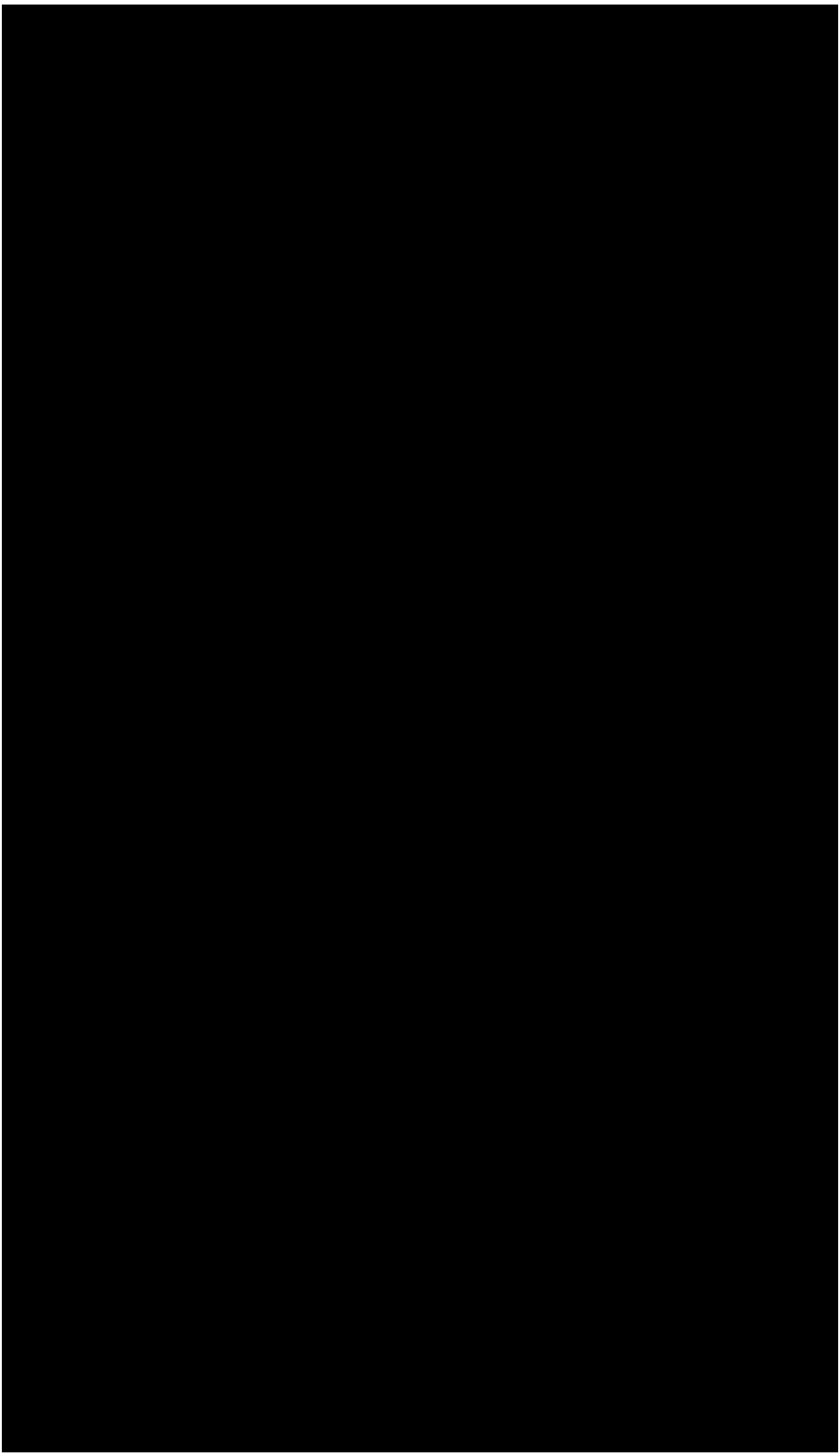
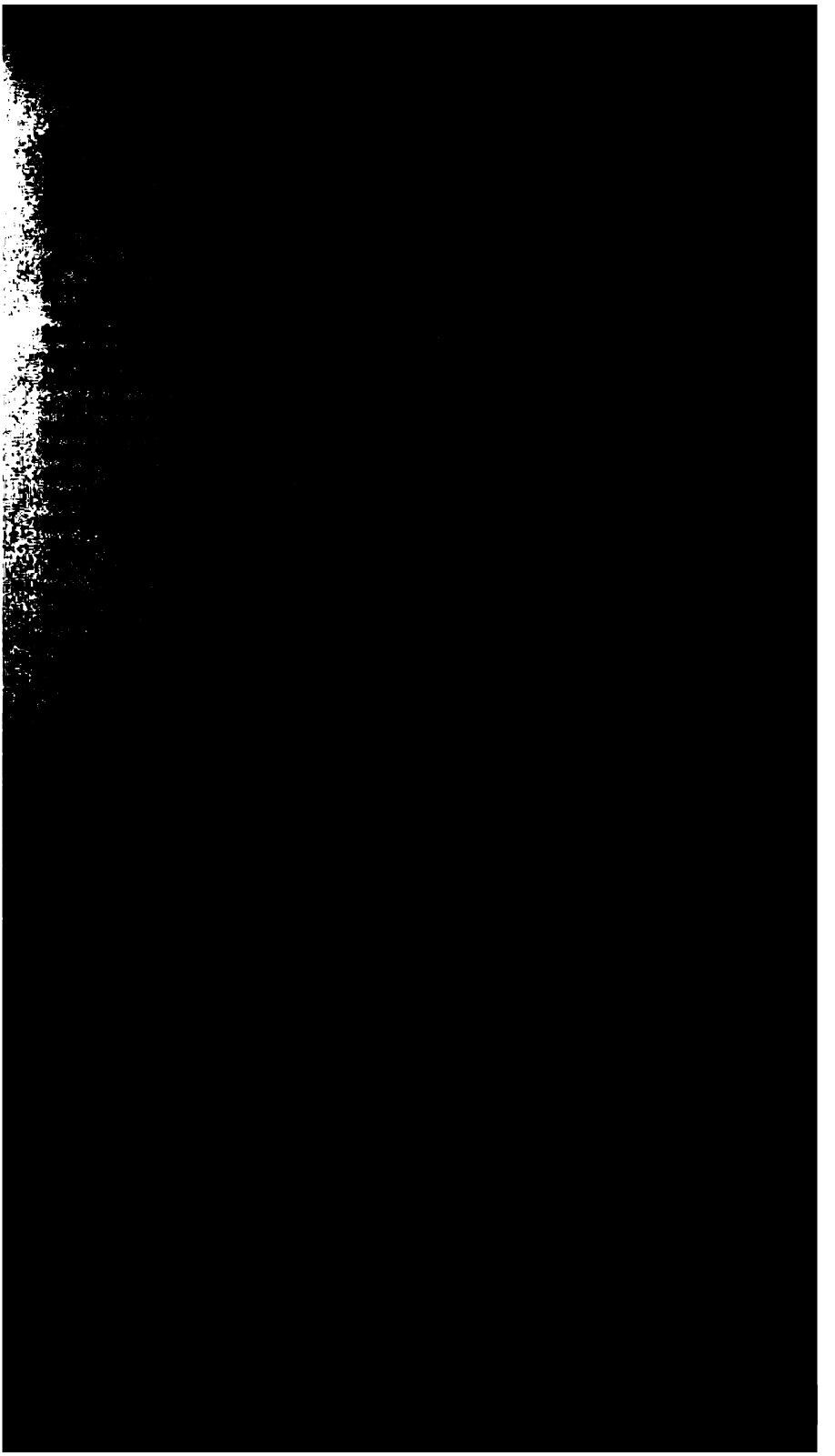
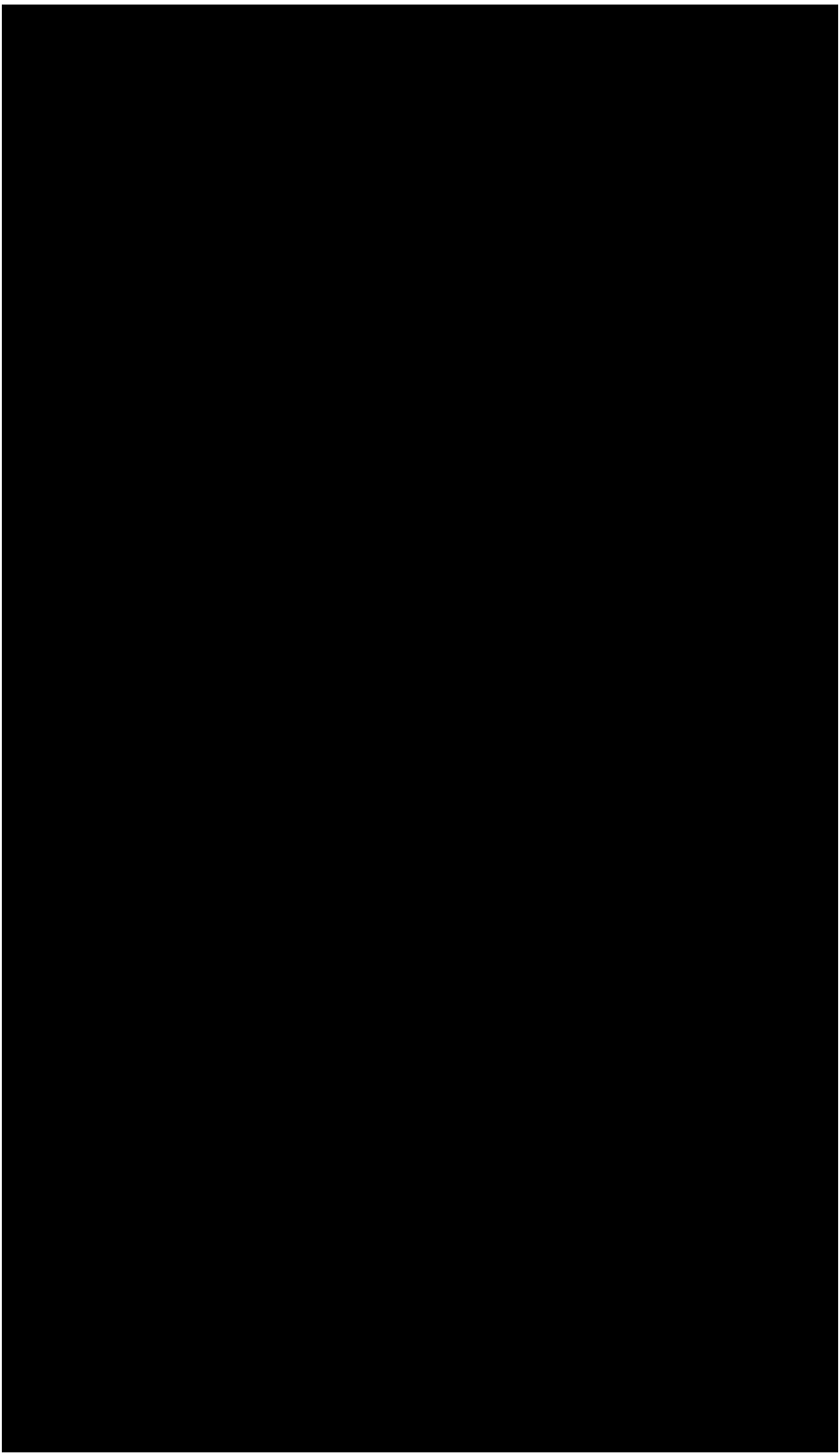
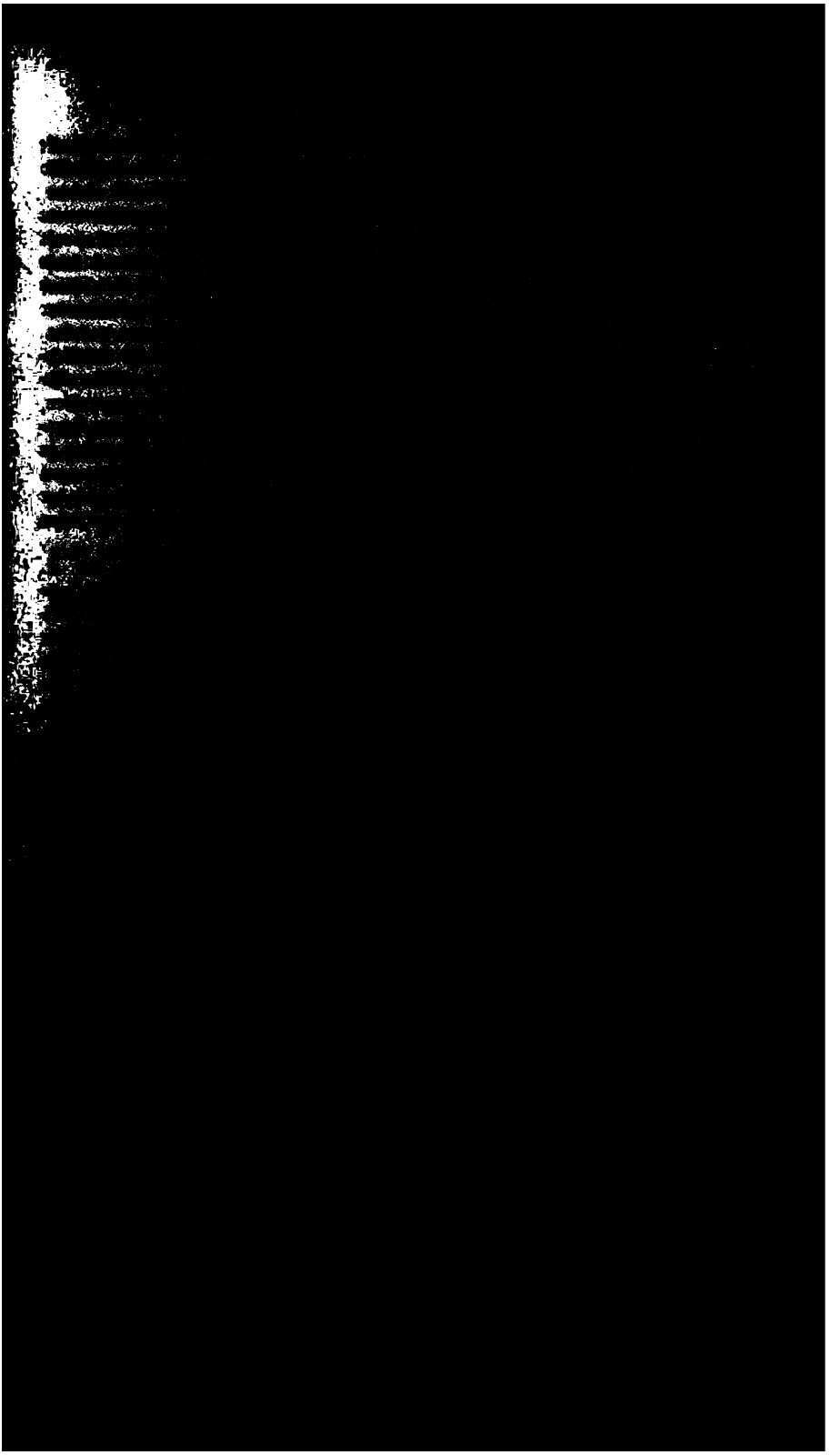
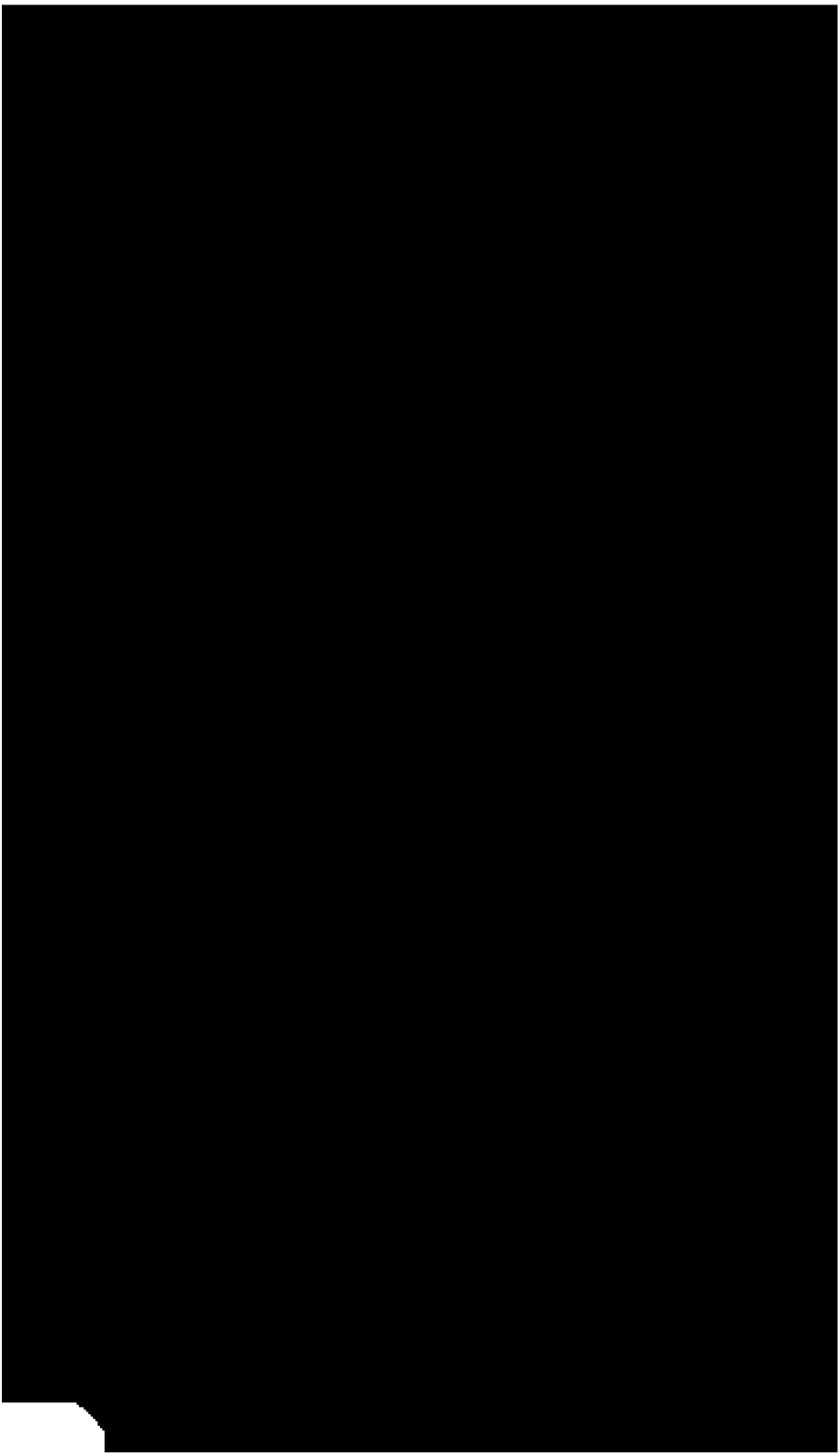
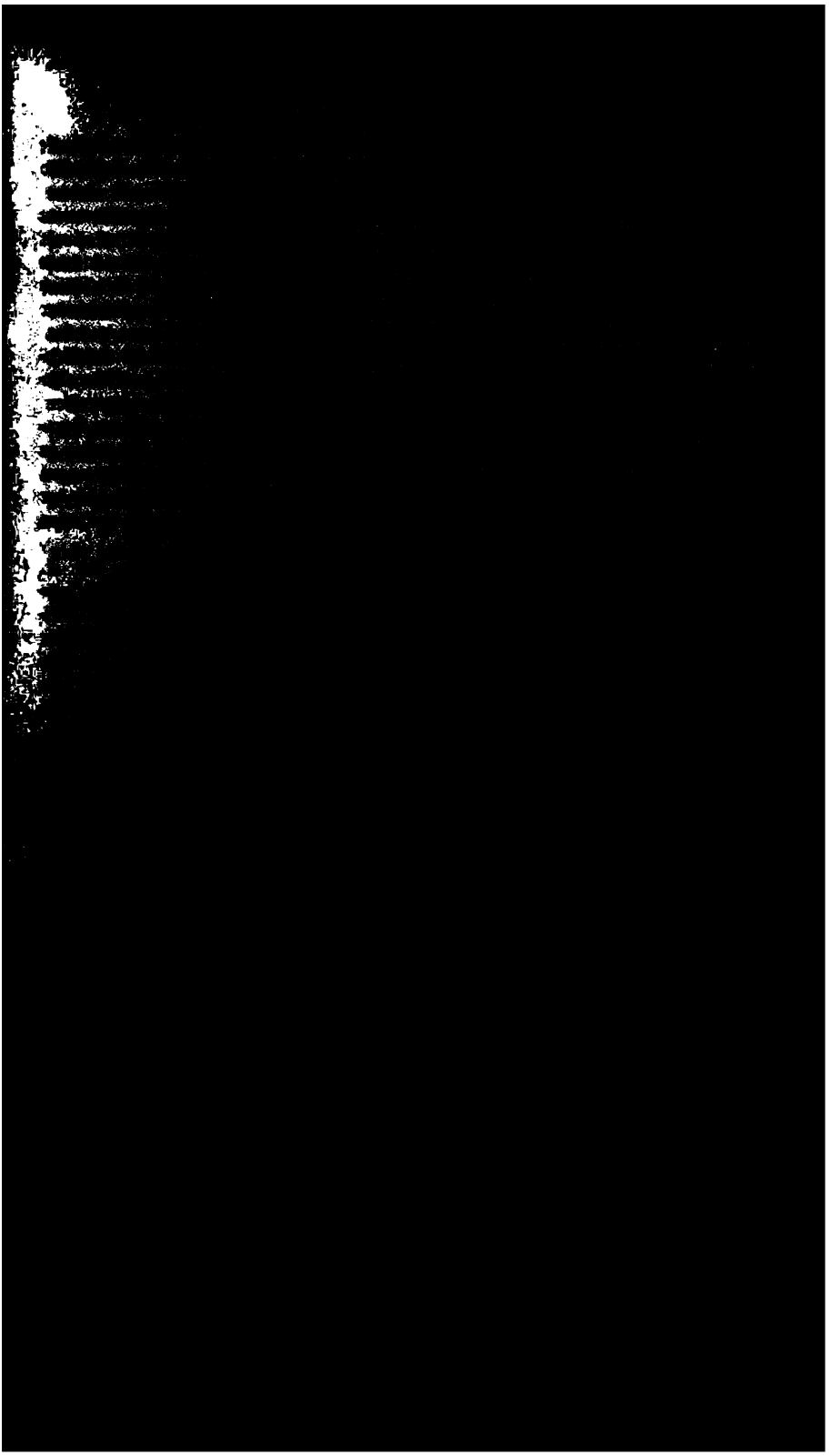
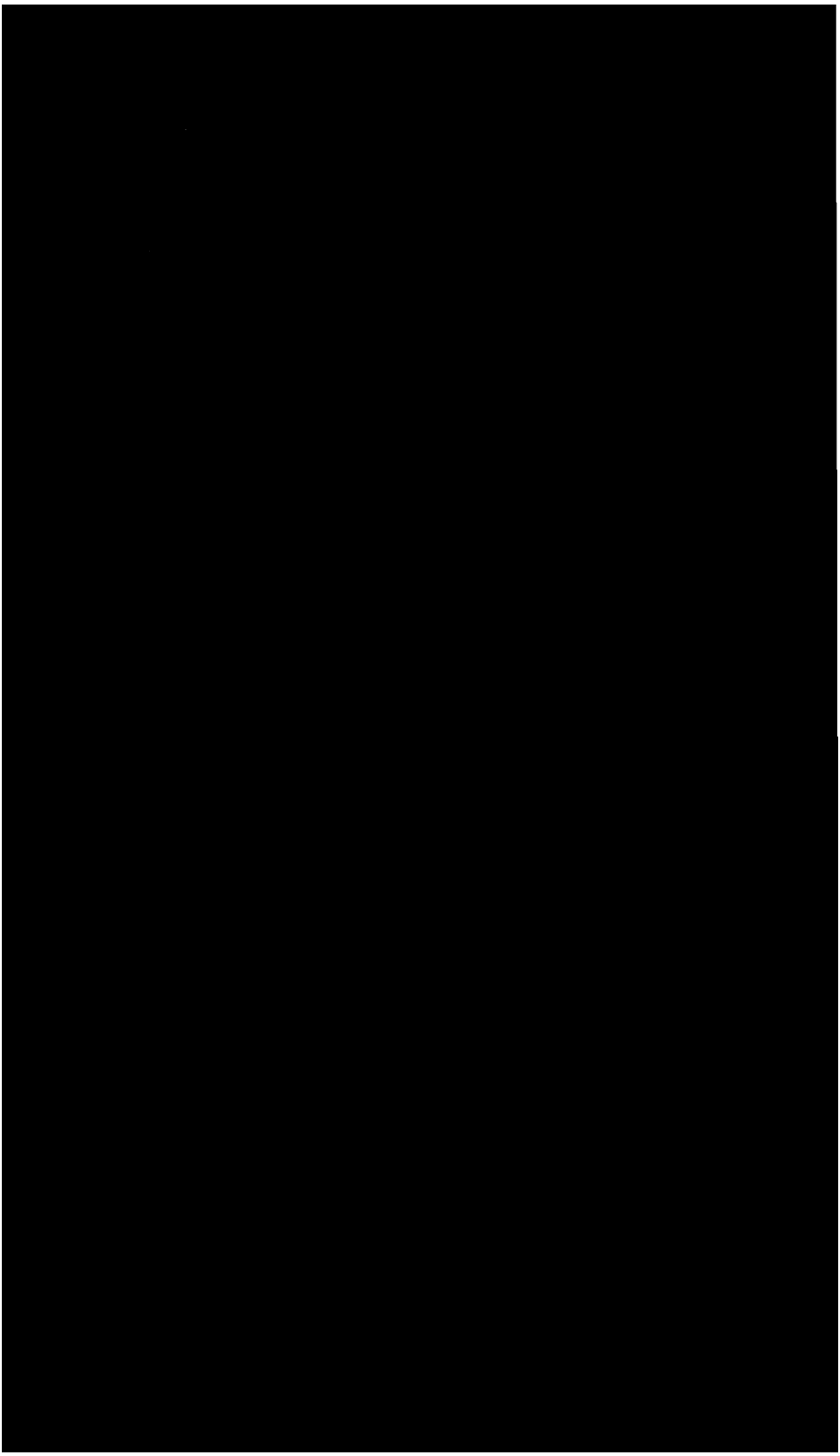
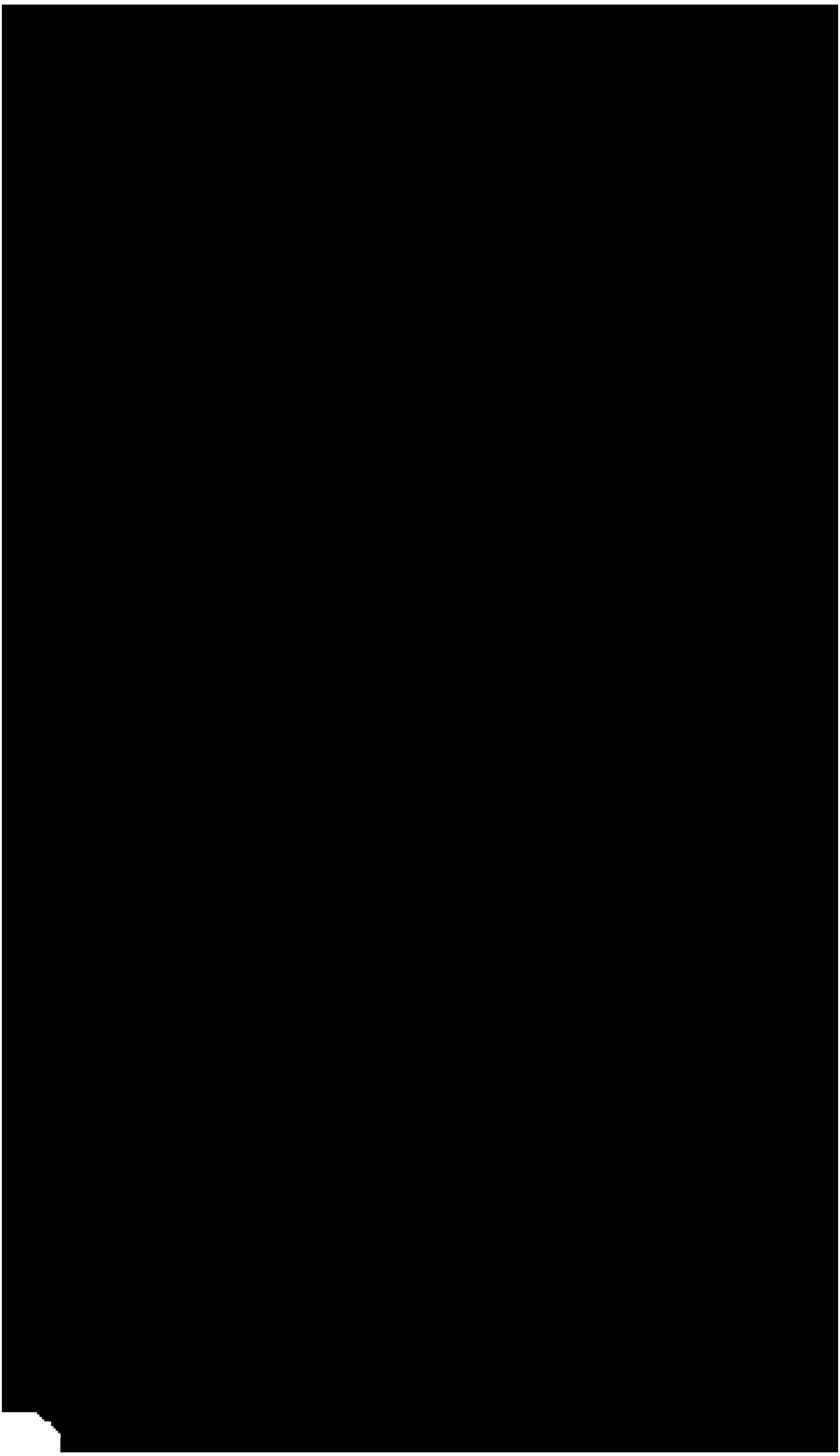
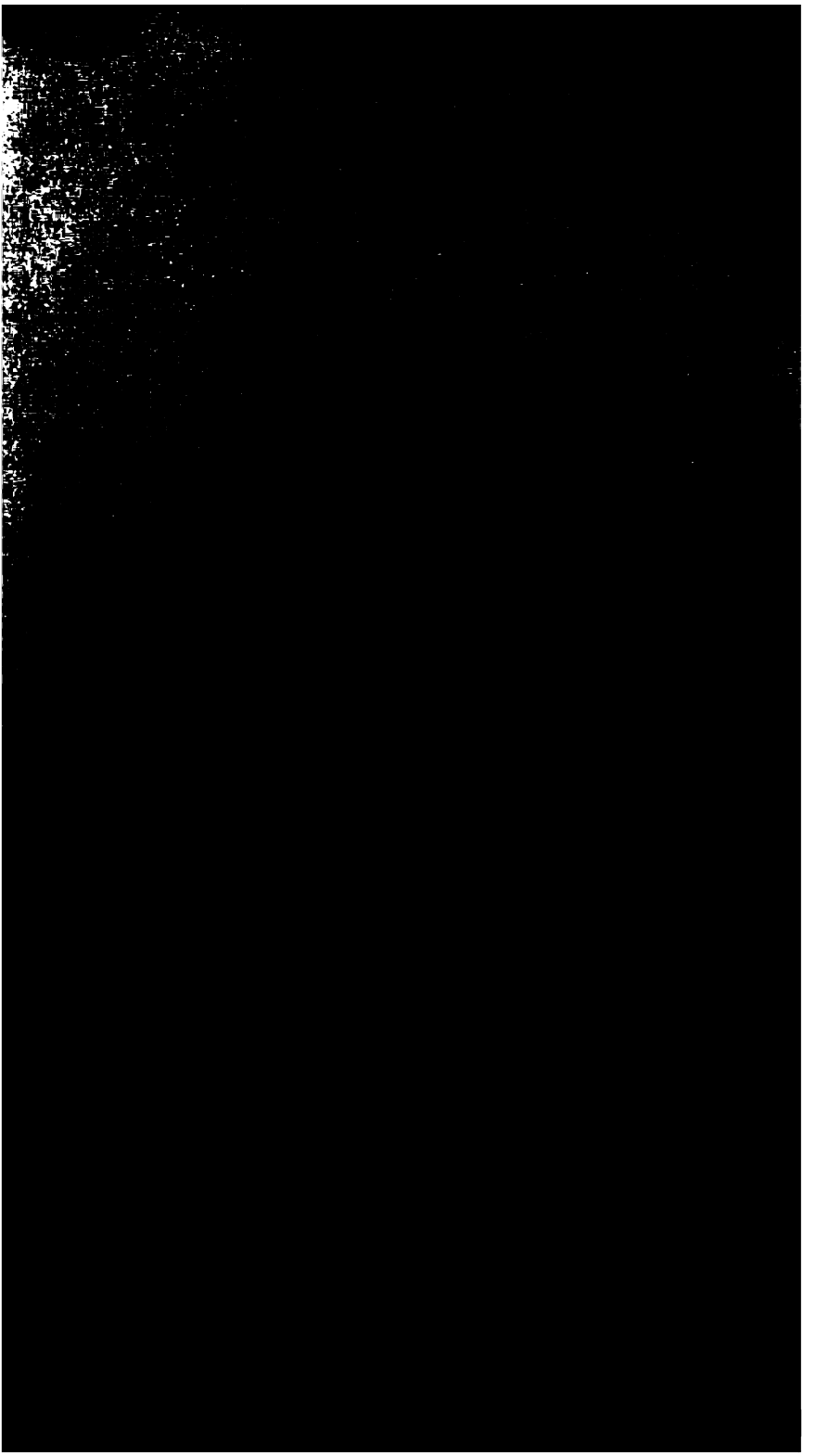
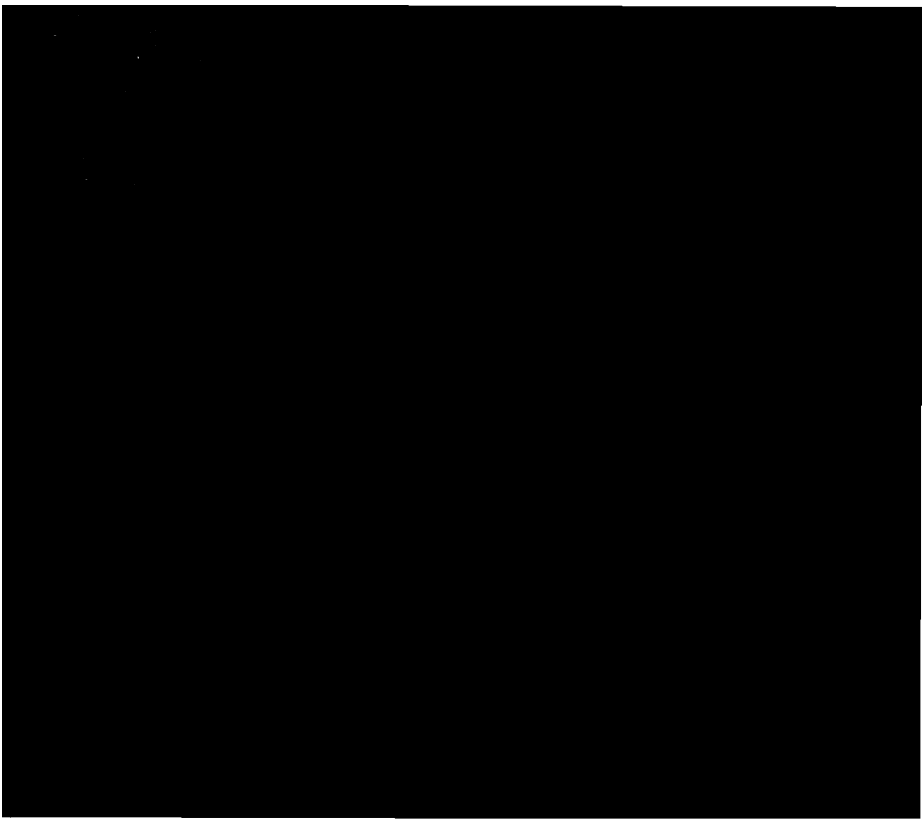
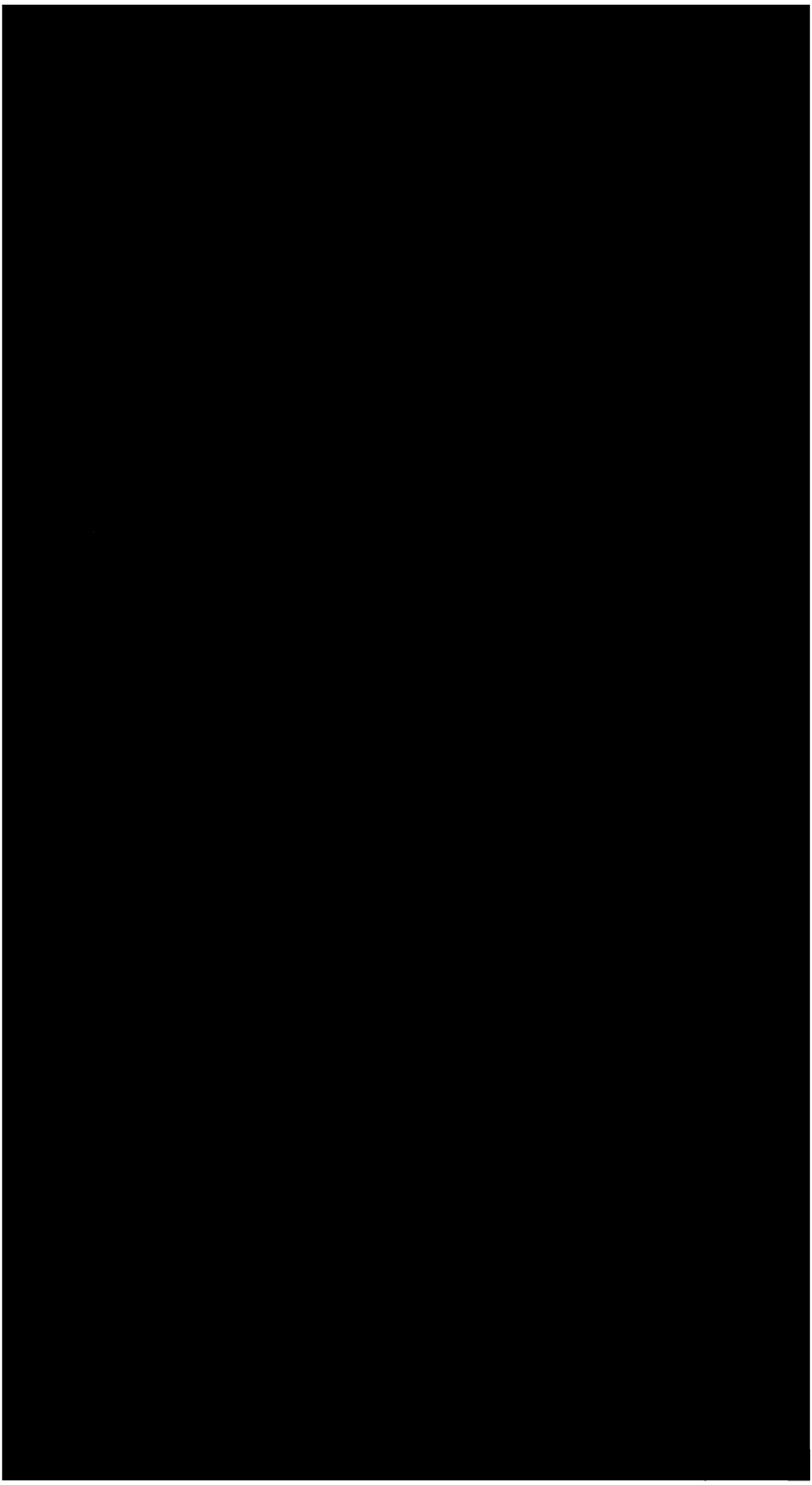






den Federkrieg gegen den Handelsverein. „Eine Souveränität, die sich durch bloße Opposition geltend machen will — rief Buchholz warnend — steht im Widerspruch mit sich selbst und kann nur Niederlagen erfahren." Auch durch Retorsionen wollte Motz den Gegnern zu Leibe gehen; er dachte den sächsischen Fabrikanten den Meßrabatt zu entziehen und in Magdeburg eine Messe zu errichten. Hier aber widersprach der König; er wollte sein Wort halten, auch jetzt noch jede Feindseligkeit gegen deutsche Bundesstaaten unterlassen, und ließ den kampflustigen Finanzminister an die Rücksichten erinnern, die man dem Deutschen Bunde schulde.*)

Die offene Sprache der preußischen Diplomatie erweckte allerdings Angst und Reue an einigen der kleinsten Höfe. Der Fürst von Sondershausen, dessen Unterherrschaft unter dem Schutze des preußischen Zollsystems aufblühte, war mit seiner Oberherrschaft dem Handelsvereine beigetreten und ließ durch sein Geheimes Consilium das Berliner Cabinet bitten, „diese abgedrungene Maßregel nicht übel zu deuten." Darauf erwiderte das Auswärtige Amt: man hoffe, „daß ein pp. Consilium keinen Augenblick darüber im Zweifel sein werde, was in der Wahl zwischen der Festhaltung an dem bisher bestehenden Verhältniß mit Preußen und zwischen der Theilnahme an einer neuen Verbindung zu thun oder zu lassen sei." Nun bat der Fürst in einem eigenhändigen Briefe den König um Verzeihung und flehte, ihn „mit allergnädigster Nachsicht zu beurtheilen und der unschätzbaren hohen Gnade nicht für unwerth zu halten."**) Auch der Herzog von Gotha schrieb an Wittgenstein (16. Decbr.): er erfahre „zu seiner größten Verwunderung", daß Preußen mit dem Handelsvereine nicht einverstanden sei; nimmermehr sei ihm in den Sinn gekommen, den preußischen Hof, dessen Gunst so werthvoll, zu verletzen.

Gegen die größeren Staaten des Vereins war mit so sanften Mitteln nichts auszurichten. Motz behielt doch Recht, da er an Bernstorff schrieb: „Ich bin der Meinung, daß andere Rücksichten, welche nicht durch die bestehenden Verträge geboten werden, gegen die betreffenden, uns in finanzieller Hinsicht nur feindlich gegenüberstehenden Bundesstaaten wohl aus den Augen gesetzt werden können, indem der preußische Staat die Macht und die Kraft hat, seinen hohen und höchsten Interessen die der Bundesstaaten unterzuordnen, und nach den seit dreizehn Jahren gemachten Erfahrungen die Liebe für uns in den Bundesstaaten erst dann zu gewinnen sein dürfte, wenn sie mit Furcht und Beachtung der bestehenden Verhältnisse vereinigt bleibt."***) Der feurige Mann war entschlossen, den Handelsverein zu sprengen: gegen offenbare Feindseligkeit reiche die Politik des Zuwartens nicht mehr aus. „Wir werden es noch dahin bringen, rief

*) Bernstorff an Motz, 13. Dec. 1828.
**) Fürst Günther von Sondershausen an König Friedrich Wilhelm, 20. Dec. 1828.
***) Motz an Bernstorff, 19. Decbr. 1828.